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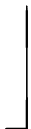
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DE BOW'S REVIEW

VOLUME XXIII

1857

AMS PRESS, INC. • NEW YORK • 1967



AMS PRESS, INC.

New York, N. Y. 10003

1967

Manufactured in the United States of America

DE BOW'S REVIEW

AND

Industrial Resources, Statistics, etc.

DEVOTED TO

COMMERCE, AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, INTER-
NAL IMPROVEMENTS, EDUCATION, POLITICAL
ECONOMY, GENERAL LITERATURE, ETC.

"Commerce is King."

EDITED BY

J. D. B. DE BOW

VOL. XXIII.—NEW SERIES, VOL. III.

NEW ORLEANS
AND
WASHINGTON CITY.
1857.

JULY-DECEMBER, 1857.

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DE BOW'S REVIEW.

JULY, 1857.

AGRICULTURAL FEATURES OF VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA.

In the May number of the Review Mr. Ruffin discusses the subject of the Low-Lands between Albemarle Sound and the Chesapeake Bay under several leading heads, to wit: their surface, soil, rivers, drainage, etc. He now completes the discussion, with other practical and striking arguments and illustrations, having prepared his very full notes at the instance of the State Agricultural Society of Virginia, of which he is the able and influential head.

VIII. Evidences or illustrations of the existing injuries from superfluous water, and of the proper means for relief.

The plan or principle on which I would propose to drain the lands of this low country is very different from what has heretofore been unusually aimed at, and, but partially effected. Instead of removing the excess of water by passing it off *over the surface* through numerous shallow and open tap-ditches, I would, by a few deep and mostly covered drains, tap the glutted sand-bed below, and thus, as much as practicable, lessen or entirely abate the previous upward pressure and direction of the confined water, and thereby relieving the upper bed of earth of its present supply of moisture from below, make it dry and permeable, and so permit, for the future, the excess of rain-water to sink into the drained upper bed, and be thus drawn off by percolation to the still lower sand-bed, (then empty enough at top to receive such temporary additions,) and thence the water to pass along the dip of the sand-bed, and far beneath the surface of the land, to the nearest deep stream or other place of discharge.

It is admitted that, except as to my own limited operations and experience, on a single farm, (Marlbourne,) there is almost no such practical proof of the effects here anticipated in regard to this great low-land region, or which so little is well known to me. But recent, and few, and limited as have been

my means for personal examination and investigation in this region, there can be little doubt of the general existence of the one important natural feature on which my plan and reasoning rest, viz: the under-lying and water-glutted sand-bed, having a general, very slight, continuous dip. If this is the general and natural condition of the land, and if it is a sufficient cause for its present wetness, then it follows that the true principle of drainage, which sound theory would direct, is to draw the water from the *bottom*, and not from the *top*, as is the only function of shallow ditches. It may be, in some few localities, that the glutted sand-bed lies too low to be reached by ditches without too great labor and expense. But even such objections to the practical operations will not invalidate the correctness of the theory. And such good objections to practice probably exist in but few cases of limited localities.

It is manifest, to the least consideration, that the usual and universally approved plan and procedure cannot drain this land. As to the moisture infiltrating from the glut below, or driven upward by hydrostatic pressure, or drawn still higher and diffused as mere dampness by capillary attraction, it is obvious that this moisture cannot be lessened by any number of ditches in the upper earth. As to the excess of rain-water, when remaining separate on the surface, some of it will flow off in shallow ditches. But none will so pass off, from a level surface until the excess of water stands in small pools. Nor can any of the surplus water escape by filtrating laterally through the soil until the soil or upper earth has drunk up more rain-water than it can retain. These conditions of extremely wet earth, (and the more if of recently and deeply ploughed land,) must exist before the present system of drainage can even begin to act, and must still remain in force after the ditches have ceased to draw from the land that portion of the water which cannot be held absorbed. All the still remaining water, (and enough for the time to convert tilled soil to mire,) will be removed only by evaporation, as none can sink into the earth below in its present and usual wet state caused by the glut of water in the sand-bed, and the moisture always rising therefrom.

The best farmers seeing the imperfect operation of this plan of draining, have sought the desired improvement in digging all their ditches deeper than usual. But, unless such deepening reached and tapped the sand-bed, the deeper ditches could not gather any water from below, and could convey no more from the surface of the land than would be done by shallower ditches in somewhat longer time.

IX. *The upper beds always permeable if drained.*

But even if it be conceded to my argument that the sand-bed could be tapped, and the previous upper layer of its water be drawn off and kept permanently lowered, it would still be denied by most of the farmers that the rain-water can then sink through the earth. This denial would be founded on the supposed impervious texture of the intervening bed of earth. This belief of the under earth being impermeable to water is not only general in Perquimons, (and with much color of truth there,) where the upper earth is extremely close and stiff, and in some places eight feet or more in thickness, but also in Princess Anne and Norfolk counties, where the soil and under earth are abundantly porous, and not generally more than four feet thick.

Further, the immense quantity of rain-water which remains long, and covers much of the surface on the forest land in its natural condition, and which water passes off where ditches have been dug, makes it seem incredible that even half of all this water could sink through the earth below. It is also a prevailing belief that there is more rain in this region than general. I presume that no more rain falls from the clouds, but as very little of the excess of rain-water sinks into the earth, (because of its wetness below,) there is far more of the surplus rain-water to be removed and discharged by ditches than in other localities. In some of the nearly as level but higher lands of parts of Southampton and Surry, in Virginia, scarcely a ditch is required, and there is no evil of rain-water remaining on the surface. There, in furnishing a pervious soil and sub-soil and dry underbeds, nature has effectually under-drained such lands, and in so doing has enabled most of the surplus rain-water to disappear by downward filtration. The great quantity of rain-water in the low-lands which passes off in the ditches is owing to the small absorbing power of the always wet lower earth, and, in less degree, of the upper also.

X. *Examples of the effects of the true principle of drainage, in both artificial and natural operations.*

Though there has been very little practice in this region on the plan of tapping and drawing off the confined water of the inferior sand-bed, and almost none by design, there still have been some such operations, and with marked beneficial results. Mr. J. T. Granberry, in Perquimons, and Mr. E. H. Herbert, in Princess Anne, tapped the water of the sand-bed when they anticipated nothing of the important effect, and merely designed to make unusually large and deep ditches. Mr. W. Sayre, then of Norfolk county, acting on my general views

and advice, given to him before I had seen his land, or even any part of the region in question, sought for and found the wet sand-bed at four to five feet deep, and to which no ditch on his farm or near to it had before penetrated. He deepened the greater length of his general outside ditch to the sand, and found great increased draining benefit therefrom in the single year which he continued to own and reside on the farm. One of the effects could scarcely be mistaken. In the summer after the first opening of this deep encircling ditch to the sand-bed, the well, half a mile distant from the ditch, ceased to supply water, and continued thus nearly dry until in the following winter. This well, (or another very close by,) had always before, and as far back as known, yielded water abundantly, and through the driest seasons. The subsequent and long failure must have been caused by the cutting off, by the deep outside ditch, the supply to the well of water from the sand-bed. It is difficult to appreciate such slow and gradual effects, or to know always to what particular courses to ascribe them. Such effects from this mode of drainage may be slowly increasing for years before reaching their maximum of operation.

But on this principle there are many other and great drainage operations which nature has executed, and which show the beneficial results that are here promised. Every river or smaller deep water channel in this low-land is, in effect, a deep drain cut into the glutted sand-bed, and which cut or tapping has been operating to draw off the neighboring confined water, and to prevent its upward pressure so far as circumstances permitted. Along the sides of every river and deep branch the bordering lands, for half a mile or more in breadth, are much drier than any other adjacent lands of equal elevation and like surface. This is the case as in Durrant's Neck, where the land is very level, and also lower than is usual for the firmest soil. This is the long peninsula of good land lying between Perquimons and Little river, and extending to Albemarle Sound.

The depressed shore of a river does not serve the better to drain bordering land because the river is a mile or more in width. A covered drain, having but a four-inch pipe or passage for water, if serving to reduce and convey away all the excess of under-water, and to prevent its previous upward pressure, and so leave the upper layer of the sand-bed dry, would, for draining effect, serve all the purposes of the widest river of no greater draining depth. If the natural depression for the river's passage serves to drain by lateral percolation half a mile width of the bordering land, a deep artificial drain sunk a foot or two into the sand-bed, and whether open or covered,

may be expected to do as much. And if so, deep parallel drains a mile apart perhaps might drain the intermediate land. And such drains, even if ten feet deep and covered, would still be made and kept at less cost than the never-ceasing trouble of the numerous shallow and open ditches in Perquimons. But in most other places, as Princess Anne and Norfolk counties, the glutted sand-bed is not usually more than four feet below the surface, and drains sunk into the sand, and if four or even eight of them to the mile of width or cross-distance, would not be very costly, and could scarcely fail of their object.

XI. *Draining vertically by bore-holes.*

Where the water is closely confined in the sand-bed by the compact texture of the wet overlying earth, and the upward pressure of the confined water is considerable, (because of the quantity, or height, or weight of the water at the higher sources,) a portion of the water may be drawn higher than the top of the sand-bed by use of the auger. As in most of the wells the water rises to more or less height above the top of the sand, so it would rise as high in holes bored by an inch-auger. And if the main or discharging ditches were sunk but a few inches lower, then the water could be thus drawn up in holes bored in such ditch, the water rising through the boring would continue to flow off along the bottom of the ditch. In such cases, the holes, if found operative, should be bored every thirty to fifty yards in a new ditch, as some will not act at all. Each such bore, when acting to bring up a continued stream, is an artificial "boiling spring." And if there is sufficient quantity and force of the water thus rising, there is no more reason why the artificial boiling spring shall be obstructed and its flow stopped than a natural one.

XII. *The presence of quick-sand both as an impediment or an aid to effectual draining.*

It was by such borings (commenced for a very different object) that I first discovered the general existence and the properties of the water-glutted sand-bed on my own farm, and by them drew up and passed off water in considerable quantity before my main ditch had been sunk within two feet of the sand-bed. But if it is practicable and safe to go deeper with the spade, this vertical draining, in open ditches, should be but a temporary expedient, as it was in my own case. If the water will rise, say two feet in such bore-holes, to the then bottom of an open ditch, it will operate partially to reduce the glut of water below and prevent so much of its up-

ward pressure. But the reduction will not be of any water that cannot force its passage so high. The greatest value of the fact of thus draining up water by boring, is the sure indication it affords of the still greater success of a future deeper digging of the ditch. If water thus rises to the height of two feet, it will rise with much more force and longer continuance if the ditch is sunk deeper and the water has so much less height to rise. If by still later and deeper digging the ditch is sunk into the sand, then there will no longer be vertical or boiling springs, but, instead, water oozing or flowing in laterally from the upper sand and along the whole line of such digging. Of course, and the more if the sand is very fine, such continuous opening is better than any number of auger holes, even if the bores should always continue open and discharging.

The inability to execute so extensive and costly an operation at once compelled me to deepen my main ditch at different times and in several successive years. But there is another reason for such gradual deepening, which will probably be found to operate in all diggings into the sand-bed in this low country. It is most likely that this water-glutted bed is every where a "quick-sand," almost semi-fluid, and which, as soon as dug into, will flow in from the sides and fill with sand the deeper excavation. And if the digging is persisted in it will cause caving or falling in of the solid and dry upper margins of the ditch, so that any effectual or permanent deepening at that time will be impracticable. If quick-sand is the greatest impediment to continued and successful deepening of the digging, its presence is also the surest proof of the necessity for the work and the best surety for its final and complete success. Quick-sand is nothing but a very pure and loose sand of which all the interstices are glutted with water. There is no coherence of the different particles of such sand, and the water contained therein is nearly as much in bulk as the solid matter of the sand itself, and when drained and passing off the water is continually renewed by lateral supply from more or less remote and higher sources. Hence quick-sand is semi-fluid, and flows in almost as freely as water, fills every lower cavity of an open ditch, and is like to enter every crevice of the filling material of a covered drain, and finally to choke the narrow conduit. Nothing can be worse than quick-sand to oppose the immediate and complete excavation of a ditch, whether to be covered or left open. But delay and time afford the remedy. When quick-sand is reached the digging should at first go no deeper than its surface, or no deeper into the sand than may be without causing damage. Then the before confined water, which rendered the sand "quick" or semi-fluid, will find a

discharge into the ditch. The previous upward pressure will be removed. Later, the water will subside, leaving free the upper sand, thus drained into the ditch, and as low as the level of the discharge. In a year after the first operation, the then bottom of the ditch will no longer be of quick-sand, as at first, but will have become firm, and may then be deepened some six or eight inches more, before reaching what is still quick-sand below. Thus so much deeper and fuller discharge is given to the water, and so much more of the quantity removed, that thereby another layer of the then highest quick-sand is gradually converted to dryer and firm sand, and which may also be subsequently taken out safely by the spade. In this manner, and easily, and with best effects, I have, in three successive years, gained two feet of depth below the original surface of a bad quick-sand, in which at first I could not keep open the shallowest permanent passage. If all the glutted sand-bed of the low country (as inferred) is also of quick-sand, in like manner it may at first be barely tapped by ditching, and afterwards, and gradually, be dug into deeper, until all the injurious excess of under-water has been reduced and removed.

XIII. Tests by which to judge in advance of the expediency or success of desired draining operations, and illustrations of effects.

Such is my view of the cause of the general wetness of this low-land region, and such the proposed remedy. If the principle is sound and the deductions true it is enough for my argument, and also for every extreme applications of the theory in practice. But it is not for me, slightly informed of particular facts and localities as I am by personal observation, to offer particular directions for practical operations, or to state the natural and various conditions of different localities, which may either invite or discourage and forbid efforts to drain by means of reaching the deep-seated sources of the injurious waters. In many or most localities of this great low-land region the proposed means may be used both cheaply and profitably. In others, owing to the greater depth of digging necessary, the operation, though equally sure of success, might be of more cost than profit. Every judicious farmer acquainted with the local details can best determine as to the applicability of my general plan to his own farm and vicinity. But there are certain indications and preliminary tests of the need for and probable success of such undertakings, which each farmer should consult in advance. These will now be mentioned.

The shallow wells on every farm will have shown whether a sand-bed has been reached, whether its being tapped

brought up water, and at what height above the sand, if any the water stands permanently, and how much higher after winter, or the wettest seasons. These facts would serve to show how high the water may be drawn up by borings, and how much below that height it may be sunk by deep ditching. Thus, any depth of ditching below the highest temporary rising of the water, in wells or bore-holes, would do *some* good in draining off or reducing the glut below, and its upward pressure, though such benefit might be but for the wettest seasons. But the deeper the digging the greater would be the reduction of the hurtful excess of water. And the remedy would not be complete, until the main ditches were sunk into the sand-bed, so as to take off from the adjacent ground, all the former upward pressure of the under-water, and also render the upper layer of the sand-bed dry, and therefore capable of freely imbibing new supplies of rain-water infiltrated from above.

Next, as to the assumed permeability to water of the upper bed of earth. It has been admitted that the upper beds, even if of the most sandy and loose texture, if full of water below, are impermeable to more water standing on the surface. But if such wet earth be deprived of all superfluous moisture, (as by any proper draining,) then, what was impervious before, may become as pervious as desirable. Every one has observed such change in clay, when dug into, and the bottom of the excavation left exposed to a drying atmosphere. Of course, such extent of drying, and the consequent great opening of fissures, is not to be looked for under the covering earth. But in long droughts, earth not affected by under-water, will become as dry as dust for four feet or more below the surface. This is often seen in the digging of graves in summer; while in that dry condition there must be formed innumerable small pores and fissures, caused by contraction, in the most compact earth, through which water would freely sink, and in great quantity, and as low as the earth had thus dried, and fissures been formed. And these fissures could not be again entirely closed by wetness and expansion of the earth, so as to exclude all percolation of water. It is not for me to assert that there will be enough of these fissures, and reaching to sufficient depth, to serve to carry down by percolation *all* the excess of rain-water, even when gradually falling on the earth. But there can be no question that water will be so absorbed, and conveyed away in great quantity, in a soil with under-beds thus drained, when the same earth, before being drained, would have been incapable of absorbing any water below the quickly saturated surface soil.

For the good effect and success of the plan of draining the earth from below, it is not necessary that all or even a large proportion of the water in the sand-bed shall be so drained off. It may be that the bed is twenty feet thick. However thick the bed, its being full of water and surcharged, (proved by the water pressing upward,) shows that the supply of water from the higher parts of the country is greater than the sand-bed has openings for its lateral discharge. Thus, suppose the whole natural discharge of the sand-bed, into rivers and other outlets, and by evaporation, to be in volume, as 19, and the supply of water from rains, and from the more elevated and distant parts of the bed, to be as 20, then it is seen that the excess of supply of 1 part can only be removed by being forced upward through the earth. This is the water that operates injuriously, directly, by causing wetness to the under-earth, and indirectly, by preventing the excess of rain-water from being discharged by sinking. Then, if by tapping the sand-bed, this twentieth part of the water only is removed, the whole upward pressure, and the surcharge is prevented. But further, if by deeper draining the still full (but not them over-gorged) sand-bed has its water drawn off and lowered only one foot of its 20, or more of supposed depth, that upper foot of sand, thus made dry, will serve as under-draining (or absorbent) material for all the the upper earth, and may receive and continually pass off all the surplus rain-water that may therefore fall on the surface. Such is the fortunate natural condition of the best low-ground farmers on the lower James river before adverted to—best not so much for their great natural fertility, and good constitution, valuable as these are, as because they are thus under-drained by nature. The upper layer of the sand-bed under these lands, is always dry for some feet down. This dry layer, though some twelve feet or more below earth of clayey texture, is the true cause of the usual dry condition of those soils. And although the wells reach water in abundance and few feet lower in the sand, that water has no upward pressure, and cannot damage the beds of earth and soil. In these cases the natural means for the lateral discharge of water from the sand-bed, (in its high level,) are greater than needed for the quantity supplied. Therefore, the higher layer of the sand-bed is kept free from water, and always ready to receive, and convey still lower, any new and temporary supply from the upper beds and soil. If, on the contrary, the average supply of water had ever so little exceeded the means for average discharge; this upper layer of sand would have been always over-gorged with water, and the surface would suffer with wetness, as do the low-lands on the

Pamunkey river, and all this great low-land region here under consideration.

Though wet earth is perfectly impervious to the entrance and passage by percolation of more water from the surface, (pressing downward, and by its own weight only,) I doubt whether any earth in the tide-water region is impervious, if perviously drained, at least, none such has occurred in my extensive draining labors and experience. Much soil is made more impervious by having been ploughed or tilled when wet. This operation approaches, in effect, to what is called "puddling," or kneading wet clay, or loam, which is done for the purpose of closing all the pores, and making the earth impervious to water, such, in the greatest perfection, is the working of clay for pottery, and in less degree, for making tiles and bricks. Hence it is that deep and proper ploughing, introduced on land before often ploughed wet, and always shallow, has well-known draining effect, because the "puddled" and impervious pan is broken up, and the rain-water then permitted to sink through the natural fissures of the lower earth.

*XIV. Some of the farming practices of the low-lands—
Defects and proposed improvements—Rotations of crops—
Pea-fallow, and narrow, and broad-bed tillage.*

In my hasty journeys through this country, though diligently engaged in taking general and superficial views, I had but little opportunity to observe extensively, or to examine the details of farming. Therefore, nothing like minute description will be attempted, and only general remarks offered on some of the most striking advantages and capabilities of the lands, and defects of their culture.

The early settlements were made on the driest places, and on most of these, tillage has been continued almost incessantly, from the first settlement to recent, or to the present time. Under such treatment, and with the necessary, or at least certain, and frequent wet ploughing of land always too wet in winter and spring, it is surprising that fields so abused have not become poorer than they are. I saw none that were so unproductive as the poorest fields of the higher tide-water counties in Virginia, which have not been marled or limed, or as all such most exhausted lands were before marling and liming were begun; and wherever the formerly most reduced lands have latterly been occupied by good farmers, they have been greatly and rapidly improved. Sundry such cases are to be seen, and especially in Perquimons county. The oldest tilled lands are here referred to. The greatest recent improve-

ments have been the bringing under culture the extensive firm swamp lands which have lost little or nothing of their original and great fertility.

On the farms of Messrs. Francis Nixon and J. T. Granberry, I saw the manner in which these swamp lands are brought under cultivation. The large trees, not needed for timber or fuel are belted and so killed. The heavy forest growth is mostly of gum, poplar, oak, and large swamp pine, (used for naval timber,) some of the latter of great size. The smaller growth is cut down more than once, and mostly dies. The land is used for grazing, until the roots are enough rotted to permit ditching and ploughing. This will be in about five years after the belting of the trees. Then the principal ditches are dug on the plan before described, and as they are to remain, except that when encountering a very large tree in the route, the ditch is there curved around the tree. The next spring, (or before) the smaller ditches are also cut, and the land ploughed and planted in corn.

There is no marl in this region, except at a few exposures of small extent—or rather, the marl lies too deep to be accessible. Some marl has been excavated and used in Princess Anne. There are extensive Indian banks of muscle-shells on the borders of the Chowan river; and in Currituck, an Indian bank of oyster-shells stretches almost continuously for forty miles along the eastern margin of the sound. There are also in shallow waters of the sounds immense beds of oyster-shells, in the places where the animals lived, before being killed by the water becoming fresh. So there is no want of material for calcareous manuring, independent of the supplies of lime and of shells, available from the waters of the Chesapeake. Some of the Indian bank-shells have been used, and more lime, and to good effect, as reported, and better than ought to be expected on land not well drained. Next after supplying the first necessity, draining, liming would be especially beneficial to all the lands of this region. Besides other reasons, and benefits to be gained, lime applied on the new and rich lands would serve the better to preserve their fertility; and, on the poorest lands, it will enable the most speedy and complete acquiring of fertility. But the best effects from lime can be counted on only on land previously well drained, or not needing draining.

The great crop of the North Carolina counties is corn. Next to this, and especially in Perquimons, is wheat. These two are the only great crops for market. The lands generally, if not suffering much from wetness, produce corn well. On the new clearings of firm swamp lands, ditched well on the ordinary plan, fifty bushels to the acre may be made. I saw

a small field of wheat in Princess Anne, (where that crop is rarely attempted, and never on large spaces,) and several large fields in Perquimons, that in growth equalled what I had just before seen on some of the best lands on James river. There is no better land for the growth of wheat than the soils of close and medium texture here. But the imperfect draining of the fields must prevent the product and quality of the grain being in proportion to the growth of straw; and, moreover, the humid air of the whole region, (caused mainly by the general want of draining,) makes the wheat crops more liable to be diseased with rust.

It was with much surprise, some years ago, that I heard that the best and largest crops of wheat in Perquimons, and in some other parts of this region, were still reaped by the sickle, or reap-hook. This primitive mode of harvesting, which is older than the days of the patriarch Jacob, and which formerly was general in the United States, as it still is in Europe, I had supposed had everywhere, in this country, been substituted by the more expeditious scythe and cradle, if not by the still more modern reaping machine. And when first informed of the ancient usage remaining here, I had erroneously inferred that it indicated very slow progress in agricultural knowledge and improvement. But, when on my visit, while finding this practice far more extended than my previous idea of it, I also heard reasons in its defence, which seem to maintain its good economy. Neither is this practice confined to small crops. The best farmers and largest wheat growers, who sometimes make crops of more than five thousand bushels, reap them with the sickle. I knew that, by this mode, there may be avoided much of the great waste of wheat that is usually made by cradling; but had supposed that the slower operation of the sickle, and the high prices of harvest labor, and the scarcity of laborers at any price, had caused this implement to be abandoned everywhere in the United States, except for spots of rank and tangled wheat, or on steep hill-sides. Even for these latter circumstances, in which the proper use of the sickle would always be preferable, I have not been able to resort to it, because none of our laborers are now accustomed to it, and they would make awkward and very slow work. But in this district, the regular use of the sickle has never been abandoned, or suspended, and, therefore, the laborers are expert; and in a heavy growth of wheat, a good hand, with the sickle, can reap more wheat than he could, on the same ground, with the cradle, besides saving much more of what is cut down. The difference of waste will more than pay the difference of amount of labor and greater expense through a crop. Further, by using the sickle,

and cutting as high as can be to save the wheat, most of the tall straw is left standing as stubble in the field, which is the cheapest, and as good a disposition as can be made of it for manuring the land, and makes a vast saving of labor in the hauling, thrashing, and stacking, compared to the handling of all the greater length of straw, as usually cut by the scythe and cradle, or by a reaping machine. But, if admitting that the reaping of a heavy growth of wheat by the sickle is preferable, still, in a merely agricultural country it could not be done, for want of the additional force of hands which this process certainly requires. But in the peculiar condition of this district, this objection does not apply. There are so great a number of laborers employed in cutting timber, and in the fisheries, that there are enough, for the higher wages of harvest, to supply the then extraordinary demand for labor on every wheat farm.

Light growths of wheat are often reaped by cradling; and where both modes are thus in use together, the more extensive use of the sickle is, in itself, good evidence of the heavy crops of wheat raised here by good farmers, and on good land. Perquimons has generally stiff soil, and is much the best wheat producing part of this region, (not including the Roanoke bottom.) In Pasquotank the lands are also good, but lighter, and better for corn. Those of Camden and Currituck are inferior in value of soil and agricultural products, and also as to improved farming. Currituck, especially, is so intersected by navigable waters, and bounded by the sound and the ocean, that the labors or pursuits of the residents are all more or less connected with the water and its products.

Except corn and wheat, there is scarcely a crop of large culture raised for market in the North Carolina counties. Cotton, which is so universally and extensively cultivated in the nearest higher counties of North Carolina, and even to some extent in those of Virginia, is not attempted here, as a crop, for market. The general prevalence of wet soil is a sufficient cause for the absence of this crop. Oats, and especially hay, would be good crops for this humid climate and soil. But neither is raised for market, and hay scarcely at all, the fodder and shucks of corn serving in the place of hay, as everywhere in our corn-growing country. Yet vessel loads of coarse and mean hay, from the northern States, are continually brought here for the use of the towns, and for the teams of the lumberers working in the swamp forests. There is no better country for grass east of the mountains. On the farm of Edward H. Herbert, Esq., Princess Anne, on a large space, and elsewhere in Norfolk county, in small lots, I saw dry meadows of orchard grass and clover that would have been

deemed good for the best grass districts, and which well attested the value and good drainage of the fields on which these crops grew.

In the counties in Virginia, where near to Norfolk, and with easy access by the regular steamers to the great northern cities, "truck" farming, or cultivating green vegetables and fruit for sale, is the sole business on sundry of the most valuable farms, and it enters more or less into the culture of many others. This business is carried on exclusively, largely, and successfully in Norfolk county, on river farms only, and within a few miles of the wharves. The limitation to these localities is compelled, first, from ready access to the steam-vessels, and also because only in close neighborhood to a considerable town can numerous laborers be hired whenever wanted for gathering vegetables and fruits, which requires, rarely, many hands, and for short and uncertain lengths of time. This kind of farming is the most perfect in all its operations, the most costly in money and labor, and the most productive, not only in the gross returns, but in net profit; and, as reported, it is the only kind of farming in the county that is well conducted. It is not long since this "truck farming" has been established on any thing like its present important position; and in that time, the lands near Norfolk and Portsmouth, suitable for this business, and so used, have increased, in market value and price, from 500 to 1,000 per cent.

This market gardening, or "truck-farming," in these large operations, is a peculiar and remarkable branch of agriculture, which well deserves thorough examination, and more full report, than this slight notice. It is an important and admirable kind of what in England is called "high farming," requiring great expenses, but returning so much the larger profits. Compared to nearly all other farming of the surrounding and neighboring lands, the "truck" farms appear like an oasis in a desert. The quantity and the cost of manures applied on these farms, and the magnitude of other expenses, and still more the great returns of products and profits would be astonishing, if not appear incredible, to a stranger. Still, this business is the most laborious employment of a proprietor, exacting unceasing attention, care, and anxiety, for every hour. Nothing short of untiring industry, care, and also good judgment, can attain success and its great rewards; and even all these will not always prevent heavy losses. The business is precarious, and subject to great changes and hazards, and losses, which no industry or care can guard against. A single severe frost, at an unusual time, may destroy a valuable crop, for which all the expenses have been incurred, except

for the gathering and shipping; and which loss may reduce the net receipts expected by thousands of dollars.

In the Virginia counties the required drainage and culture are of much easier executions than in Perquimons, and yet both are more negligently performed. No where does there seem to be any regular system of rotation of crops. This essential part of good farming is neglected every where by poor and bad farmers. The most energetic and successful cultivators and improvers here have been so much occupied in the heavy labors of clearing and draining their new and rich swamp lands, that they had no opportunity to use any regular rotation of crops. This is a sufficient reason as to the newly cleared lands, for which, for some years, regular rotation would not be required, and would even be improper. But this circumstance and the continued additions of new surface to the tilled land should not prevent the older and poorer land being kept under a proper rotation, or at least under a proper succession of crops. And the neglect is the more reprehensible and strange, inasmuch as the farmers of this region possess peculiar facilities for rotations in the pea-crop, and a climate admirably adapted to its growth. The limited territory on which both the pea and the wheat crop can grow well, (the one suiting so well to prepare for and aid the growth of the other,) I deem the most favored of all agricultural regions. Still more strange appeared to me the general neglect of peas as a manuring crop in this region, from some of the best farmers of which I obtained most of my early instruction as to this particular value of the pea crop. Yet this great means for improvement, on most farms, seems to be but little used or appreciated. It is true, that peas are planted, as a secondary crop, in every field of corn, and the returns are highly valued. But this pea-crop, except so much as is gathered for seed or for sale, is generally eaten on the ground by the hogs designed for slaughter, (greatly indeed for benefit in that respect,) so that very little of the crop, except the roots and stems, go to manure the land. I heard of no separate crops of broad-cast peas, (or "pea-fallow,") to prepare and manure for a succeeding wheat crop, the most valuable use to which the pea-crop can be applied. It is a frequent practice here for the land in corn (and secondary peas) not to be sown in wheat the autumn of the same year, (as is usual in lower Virginia,) but for the field to remain until the autumn of the following year, and then to be sown in wheat. This practice leaves the field idle and useless all the spring and summer, when in that time it might be sown in peas, and bring a manuring and cleansing crop to precede the wheat, without any loss of time or of land. This is a regular part of my own established rotation, and, as

supposed, its best feature, though my more northern position and shorter warm season render the pea-crop much less productive and beneficial than in this more favored region. Still more than this omission, another is common and as reprehensible. Wheat, in some cases, is made to follow wheat in two successive years. If, in such cases, there was merely interposed between these two crops a broad-cast crop of peas, (for which there is plenty of growing time,) that addition only would serve to substitute a cleansing, enriching, and judicious succession of crops, for one that is inexcusable and abominable. Clover is made on most of the good farms of Perquimons, and used as a preparing (or fallow) crop for wheat. With the superior facilities for the best growth of peas, if I were farming in this region, I should much prefer pea-fallow to clover-fallow to precede wheat.

The reason offered for the total omission of pea-fallow is the great and engrossing tillage labors required for the great crops of corn, and also for the wheat harvest, both of which occur with and include the very time in which the land for broad-cast peas should be ploughed and sown. This is true, and a sufficient reason, if it is necessary to plant in corn as much land as the laboring force can cultivate. But it would be much better to secure the great benefit of a manuring pea-crop to precede wheat, by the (temporary) sacrifice of omitting to plant as much corn as would release enough labor for the additional pea-crop. This sacrifice was a necessary incident of my own change (in 1848) of the five-shift rotation, without pea-fallow, to the six shift, with one entire field under broad-cast peas. The fields of both corn and wheat, by this change, were reduced, severally, to five-sixths of their previous size. Yet the wheat crops have continued since to increase, on the general average, and to exceed more and more the previous entire product, and so have the corn-crops, except in the first year only of the reduced extent of cultivation. Yet the advantages of manuring by the pea-crop in my localities and climate are very inferior to those of this region of North Carolina.

While the many firm swamps remained generally under forest, these lands afforded excellent "range" for live-stock, or a great quantity of food, especially for cattle and hogs. But this benefit, (if it was one,) has almost ceased in the best cultivated parts of the counties on the sound. Such is Durant's Neck, the narrow and level and very low peninsula which stretches for twelve miles between Perquimons and Little river to Albemarle sound. This land, being but a few miles wide anywhere, and bounded nearly around by these deep waters, is in consequence better drained, naturally, than the

interior lands, and is very productive. Nearly all this "neck" is enclosed, and an unusually large proportion of the whole is under tillage, and there is scarcely any unenclosed forest or waste land for ranging live stock, and none that affords any grazing profit. I know no place where it would be so profitable to dispense with fences, as is done, by mutual agreement, by the proprietors of three several neighborhoods in Prince George county, Virginia, each including from 4,000 to 8,000 acres, and making from 10 to 15 farms and separate properties. If the cultivators of Durant's Neck would do the like they would only have to make one short and straight fence to enclose all their fine farms, and save all the cost of their present useless fences. Yet every farm and field is now separately fenced in, and some of the proprietors have no materials for fencing, and buy, and transport from a distance, all their rails. This locality, more strongly than any other, shows the absurdity of our fence laws, and also the strength and long vitality of old habits and opinions, when the former good reasons for them have long ceased to exist. If the live-stock were reduced in numbers to one-fourth, and these were well kept, by being herded within the farms, one cow would yield as much profit as four do now. And when the grazing stocks were so lessened in number there would be much surplus grass left to manure the pasture on other land. While three-fourths of all the present fencing might be dispensed with, the other fourth would serve to make a sufficient pasture enclosure for every farm. For nothing in geometry, is more clearly demonstrable than the proposition that it will require greatly less length of enclosure to fence in the cattle of any well cleared and settled section of country, than to fence in all the fields and crops to protect them from the cattle if left at large. One-fourth of the present fencing in Durant's Neck would suffice not only to make on every farm a proper pasture enclosure, but also the general and joint barrier fence against all other people's stock. Most of the farmers in Prince George, who have joined in these arrangements, if not situated on the border, have no fence except the pens in which to confine the animals at night. But this extreme course is not true economy.

In Princess Anne, there still remains so much uncleared and swamp land, that the leaving cattle to range at large is deemed very profitable to the owners, and perhaps, in general, it is there, more an offset to the expenses of fences, under our fence law, than in any other county of lower Virginia. The open swamps bear reeds in great quantity, which afford abundant and excellent food for cattle through winter and summer. There are herds of cattle that have become wild, and are made use of when wanted for beef, only by being

hunted and shot. These wild cattle would be very profitable to their owners, as they require neither food nor attention, except that they are as much at the disposal of every other person who may be inclined to shoot and steal them.

It becomes a slight observer of a newly seen agricultural district of novel and peculiar character, to be diffident of his own opinions thereon, and more especially, when they are in opposition to those of the judicious and experienced resident farmers. One of such subjects I will mention, though without any view of urging the superior value of my opinions and practice, in this respect on my friends in this region, who unanimously and strongly protested against them at least for their lands. Their experience of facts, in contradiction, certainly deserves more to be respected, than my theoretical views as to this region, even though they have been sustained by the results of my own practice and experience elsewhere.

As stated before, the tillage generally, and on the best managed farms, is in narrow beds (five feet,) for corn, and the same size is preserved for wheat. The beds are reversed for every crop, both of corn and wheat. I will not here repeat my objections to this narrow bed tillage, nor my reasons for preferring (where any are necessary) beds of twenty-five or more feet in width. These views have been stated and argued at length in different former publications. (The latest and fullest articles on tillage in broad beds, and also on draining in general, are in "Essays and Notes on Agriculture, 1855.") I will only say here, that all the reasons for preparing wide beds for low and flat lands generally, apply with greater force to the lands of this region, and especially in Perquimons, because they are of more regular level, and with fewer alternations of slight depressions and elevations, than any other low-lands within my knowledge. The best farmers here, with whom I have argued this question, object on various grounds to my broad-beds, but especially, because their frequent cross "hoe-furrows" are deemed indispensable, and if the broad and higher beds, and their deeper alleys were in use, the "hoe-furrows" would have to be made still deeper, and require more labor to dig, and to renew after every ploughing or horse-tillage, and be even inconvenient for the ploughs to cross. This objection would be valid, if indeed it would be necessary (with the broad-beds, and deeper alleys) to retain the hoe-furrows; but this necessity I doubt. For with so much higher beds and deeper alleys between them, on land scarcely varying from a level, or from a regular and gentle slope, I think that the deeper alleys would substitute the hoe-furrows, and render them superfluous, except where a cross depression of surface required a particular cross grip. In my own practice,

on the Pamunkey flats, the surface is much more irregular, yet there are no grips kept across the beds, except along the cross depressions. If the inequalities of surface level were as rare as on the Perquimons lands, my cross grips would be fewer and less necessary than they are.

But if my plan of broad beds would suit this region, there might still be added thereto another improvement, which I commenced using in 1855, and which has been continued since on the Marlbourne farm, with increasing confidence and approval. Without taking time here to describe and recommend the operation in general on the different circumstances of my own farm and practice, I will merely apply the plan to the present existing divisions and ditches of the Perquimons lands.* We will suppose that these present ditches are all necessary and proper to be retained, though such is not my opinion, if a different system of drainage were in use. Then suppose merely the change that each of the rectangular enclosed spaces of 150 feet wide, instead of being as now in thirty beds of five feet wide, was ploughed into six beds, each of twenty-five feet width. After two or three years ploughing, and tilage, and gathering of these wide beds separately, they would be as high, and their intermediate alleys as deep as desirable. Then, instead of continuing to plough each bed separately, the first furrow should be cut alongside of the central alley, and turning the slice into it. This furrow should begin and end at 75 or 80 feet distance from the ends of the rectangular "slip," or at (or less than) the same distance of the central alley from the sides of the slip. Turning the plough at that distance, another furrow should be cut alongside, and throwing the slice to the first, thus making a "list" in the former central alley. So the ploughing would proceed around this first list, cutting across the ends as well as along the sides, and throwing every furrow-slice towards the centre of the ploughing. This ploughing, though flush, and cutting across the ends as well as along the beds, and with no regard paid to the alleys, would scarcely alter the outline of the previous surface, and would not lessen the height of the crowns of the beds or the depth of the alleys, except the central alley, which would in time be filled, and would not then be needed. The outside furrows would just reach the encircling ditches of the "slip,"

* When I first began this manner of flush ploughing of land and bedded land, and with considerable apprehension as to its complete success, it was not known to me that any other farmer had either used or thought of the same method. But, subsequently, when recommending it to the trial of E. H. Herbert, esq., of Princess Anne, as an important aid to his usually efficacious practice of draining, he informed me that he had already introduced and used this plan of flush ploughing on his land earlier than my first trial of it, and had found the results entirely satisfactory.

turning the depth and width of a furrow-slice from each at every repetition of such ploughing. One or two furrows run along each of the old alleys, after the flush ploughing, would clean them out and put the broad beds in their original shape, and they would be more thoroughly broken by this mode of ploughing. Every successive ploughing of the land to prepare for any crop should be done in like manner. The tendency and operation would be to raise the central part of each rectangular division so ploughed around, and to lower and slope the sides and ends, or margins, next to the surrounding ditches. After a few such ploughings the shallow tap ditches would be to the eye almost obliterated, or changed to mere ploughed alleys or grips. Yet, in fact, they might be deeper than before, and would certainly be more operative for surface drainage than before. The preserving and cleaning out of these "tap-ditches," instead of requiring spades and shovels, would therefore be as well done by the last finishing furrows of the plough. These ditches would no longer prevent any obstruction to the crossing of ploughs, or partially loaded carts. If desired, (and it might be even desirable in future time,) the corn-rows and their ploughing, in narrow beds, might be directed across the beds and tap-ditches. Further, the end margins of the "slip" being equally depressed, and sloping to the edges of the larger leading ditches, these would be much more easily crossed by teams, and fewer and smaller bridges would be required. Thus, in the course of time, each separate "slip" would be converted to one broad bed of a 150 feet wide, and gently rounding surface, and 1,000 feet long, (the present dimensions of the separate divisions,) with sloped margins and ditches between deeper than before, yet presenting either little obstruction, or none, to the crossing of ploughs and teams.

BLACK REPUBLICANISM IN ATHENS.

"The thing that hath been, is that which shall be; and that which is done, is that which shall be done; and there is no new thing under the sun." Man's moral and intellectual nature has neither improved nor deteriorated from the time that history gives any account of his doings. Despite of the experience of the past, he re-enacts the same follies now that he acted three thousand years ago. Each individual, and each generation, has to buy, not borrow, its experience. The denunciations of the Hebrew Prophets, and the ridicule of the Greek and Roman Satirists, neither arrested the crimes and follies which they depict, nor prevented succeeding genera-

tions from perpetrating those very same crimes and follies, despite the warnings of history. The fellow-beings with whom we daily associate, are better described by Moore's and Solomon's Homer and Horace, than by the latest novelist.

We have been led into this train of reflection from reading the play of "Ecclesiazusæ" by Aristophanes, which is a satire upon the women's rights, and other agrarian and socialistic doctrines then prevalent in Athens. It is in the main, a faithful picture of the isms of the North, and of Western Europe, except that our modern socialists exceed somewhat in absurdity and profanity the Black Republicans, and strongminded women of Athens. The Athenian women proposed to sustain their Free Love, Free Lands, and no labor system, by a substratum of slavery—not by "attractive labor" or "passional attraction;" and as slaves were extremely numerous in Athens, we do not see that their plan, so far as mere physical subsistence was concerned, was impracticable. Besides, these women did not deem it necessary, like our Northern strongminded ladies, to make war upon Heaven, and dethrone the gods; with these exceptions, one would be apt to suspect that Messrs. Greely, and Parker, and Garrison, and Seward, and the Wise Women, their colleagues and collaborators, had stolen their doctrines from Aristophanes.

In truth, they are all borrowed indirectly and unconsciously from Plato's Republic. Sir Thomas Moore's Utopia is obviously in great measure, suggested by his study of Plato, and subsequent socialists borrow from Sir Thomas. Greely is a disciple of Fourier, and little suspects that he is retailing at third or fourth hand the absurdities of Plato. The Bloomers, Free Lovers, and other strongminded women of the North, will be surprised to find that they are but acting over again the crimes and follies of Athenian dames.

This play is intended no doubt to ridicule the doctrines of Protagoras, Plato, and other visionary social theorists, whose theories were disturbing society, by a brood of isms, as pestilent and as noisy as those of modern times. For unless the doctrines of these philosophers were wide spread among the people, just as those of Seward and Greely, Proudhon and Louis Blanc now are, the play could not have been understood and appreciated.

But "truth is strange! stranger than fiction!" Poets and novelists borrow their plots from actual occurrences; and philosophers derive their theories from the same sources. The little Republics of Crete and of Sparta inspired, by their examples, the pen of Plato. He added but little in theory to what they had carried out in practice. But he mistook the exceptional and anomalous for the normal and natural. Those

little nations led a military, or camp life, from necessity. Slavery within, and larger hostile nations without and surrounding them, begot the necessity for a closer association than is natural, desirable, or practicable, under ordinary circumstances.

Under like circumstances, this close association, this modified agrarianism, will grow up as surely in modern times as it did in remote antiquity.

In the Island of Barbadoes, before emancipation, the slaves numbered seven or eight to the whites. The consequence was, that all the poor whites were employed as a police, and allowed sixty acres of land and a horse each. They were then all gentlemen—all a privileged class, who lived decently, without resorting to hireling and menial labor. They are now the most degraded and miserable wretches on earth—worse off than the negroes—for their wants are greater, and the climate will not permit their supplying those wants by field labor.

Barbadoes, in modern times, furnishes conclusive evidence of what had already been proved by the Ancient Republics, that the most perfect social system is that where the slaves number ten to one to the citizens. (We employ the word "citizen," not according to Mr. Seward and Mr. Greely's version of the Higher Law, which would invest with the privilege any "featherless biped," but as defined in the Dred Scott case, and as understood and practiced by the Greeks and Romans.) When this disparity of numbers between the slaves and the free exists, all men have to become working men—the slaves at ordinary labor, and the citizens as a police, as managers, overlookers, professional men, &c. The population of Barbadoes was more dense than that of Belgium or China, but probably not half equal to that of Ancient Egypt and the little States of Greece, Judea, Phenicia, and Carthage. This is the perfection of the system of associated labor, and of agrarianism and communism. We advise Greely and Garrison and Goodell to study the subject. Had Hume understood socialism, he never would have been guilty of the egregious folly of disputing the populousness of ancient nations.

There is an useful lesson and salutary warning to be deduced from this epoch in Athenian history. In the very next generation, a philosopher arose, who taught doctrines the opposite of Plato's, although he was one of his scholars. He was the teacher of Alexander; and Alexander became the virtual master of Athens.

May not Athenian corruption and effeminacy have grown out of the Greelyite isms inculcated by Plato, and may not the sound and natural philosophy of Aristotle have formed the character of Alexander and his invincible Macedonians. It

is time that the study of Aristotle's Politics and Economics were revived. That work and the Latter Day pamphlets of Mr. Carlyle, furnish the best refutations of socialism and abolition. They should both be text books in all our colleges: for the North has quite as much occasion to dispel the Utopian illusions of the isms as we of the South.

Yet great as are the works of Aristotle and Carlyle, there is one whose name we reluctantly introduce into mere polemical discussion, whose wisdom and whose authority are far higher than theirs. The political and social institutions of the Jews, as modelled by Moses, were the most perfect ever devised by man. This is evidenced as well by the long national existence of the Jews in Palestine, by their populousness and prosperity in a naturally barren country, as by their present wealth and intelligence, although scattered to the four corners of the world; but still adhering literally to the institutions of Moses. He was no optimist or perfectionist. He neither expected or promised, like Plato, and Moore, and Greely, and the Black Republican women of Athens and America, to banish moral and social evil. On the contrary, he expressly reminded his people: Deut. xv., 11. "For the poor shall never cease out of the land; therefore, I command thee, saying, thou shalt open thy hand wide unto thy brother, to thy poor, and to thy needy, in thy land." Although he had made the wisest provisions to institute equality of conditions and prevent poverty, he foresaw that occasional destitution, misfortune, and dependence, were necessary incidents to humanity, and he therefore not only enjoined the practice of private charity, but as that might not always be present and adequate, he superadded the right of selling one's self or children into a mild, modified, and temporary form of servitude.

Before proceeding to give the extract from Aristophanes, which is the special subject of our article, we will quote a little from Greely and Jack Cade, in order that the reader, by collating them, may see how alike the follies and absurdities of mankind are in all ages and countries.

We often honor Mr. Greely with our special attention, for he is now, by a head and shoulders, the Napoleon of the Press, and the Press has become more potent for good or evil than an "army with banners." In his discussion of association with Mr. Raymond, he adopts in general the wild theories of Fourier, and in a summing up, employs this language:

"I rest here my arguments on the point that THERE MUST BE A SOCIAL REFORM—a reform which shall secure to labor unfailing employment and adequate recompense; to children and youth, universally, ample and thorough education, moral, intellectual, and physical; and to the poor as well as rich comfortable, abiding homes, the largest opportunities for social and mental elevation, with freedom from incessant anxiety for work and bread. We have the confessions

of the best thinkers and ablest journals in the Old World (see *London Times*, also *Morning Chronicle*) that the old order of things has proved a failure—that new principles must be invoked, and new and profounder remedies for social evils be resorted to. (See also the Queen's late speech.) 'Let us alone' and 'every man for himself' have gone to the end of their tether; we must now try the opposite principle of 'each for all,' and seek individual only through universal good."

The genius of Shakespeare pales before this, for Jack Cade is not so prodigal of promises, and the shades of Plato and More, of Fanny Wright and Fourier, no doubt read it in the newly discovered world of Mr. Greely's friends, the Spiritual Rappers, with admiring envy. Cade shall nevertheless enter the lists however hopeless his tilting for the fool's cap with Mr. Greely, who precedes him, and with the Athenian dames, whom we shall soon also put against him.

"CADE.—Be brave then, for your captain is brave and vows reformation. There shall be in England seven half-penny loaves sold for a penny, the three-hooped pot shall have ten hoops, and I will make it felony to drink small beer. All the realm shall be in common, and in cheepsides shall my poultry go to grass. And when I am King, as King I will be ———"

"ALL.—God save your majesty.

"CADE.—I thank you good people; there shall be no money; all shall eat and drink on my score, and I will apparel them all in one livery, that they may agree like brothers, and worship me, their Lord.

"DICK.—The first thing we do let's kill all the lawyers!

"CADE.—Nay, that I meant to do. Is not this a lamentable thing that of the skin of an innocent lamb should be made parchment? That parchment being scribbled over should undo a man? Some say the bee stings, but I say it is the bee's wax, for I did but seal once to a thing and I was never mine own man since."

The English translator of "the Ecclesiazusæ" prefaces it by saying "The Ecclesiazusæ is like the *Lysistrata*, a picture of women's ascendancy, but one more depraved than the other. In the dress of men the women steal into the public assembly, and by means of the majority of voices, which they have thus surreptitiously obtained, they decree a new constitution, in which there is to be a community of goods and women. This is a satire upon the ideal republics of philosophers, with similar laws. Tortagoras had projected such before Plato." We only quote so much of the play as is sufficient to give the programme of these Athenian Bloomers and strong-minded women. Quite enough we hope, however, to convince the reader that the Athenian dames were but a little behind the modern free-love and infidel Amazonide who fight shoulder to shoulder with the free negroes and Black Republicans of the North.

To understand the detached portions of the dialogue we are about to quote, it is only necessary to know that Praxagora is a leader among the Athenian Black Republican women, and Bleepus is her husband.

"BLEP. Then don't you know what has been decreed ?

"PRAX. No by Jove! not I.

"BLEP. Then sit down, and chew cuttle-fish; for they say the state has been committed to you.

"PRAX. What to do? to weave!

"BLEP. No, by Jove! but to rule.

"PRAX. What?

"BLEP. The affairs of the state, every one.

"PRAX. By Venus, the state will be happy henceforth!

"BLEP. On what account?

"PRAX. For many reasons. For no longer will it be permitted for the audacious to act shamefully towards it henceforth, and no where to give evidence, or act the informer——

"BLEP. By the gods, by no means do this, nor take away my livelihood.

"CHORUS. My good sir, suffer your wife to speak.

"PRAX. ——nor to steal clothes, nor to envy one's neighbors, nor to be naked, nor that any one be poor, nor to rail at one another, nor to seize as a pledge and carry off.

"CHO. By Neptune, grand promises, if she shall not prove false.

* * * * *

"PRAX. Well now, I am confident that I shall teach what is useful. But this is the thing I am not apprehensive about, whether the spectators will be willing to make innovations, and rather not abide by the very customary and ancient usages.

"BLEP. Now about making innovations, don't be alarmed; for to do this and neglect what is ancient, is with us equivalent to another constitution.

"PRAX. Now let none of you reply or interrupt me, before he understands the plan and has heard the speaker. For I will declare that all ought to enjoy all things in common, and live upon the same property; and not for one to be rich, and another miserably poor; nor one to cultivate much land, and another not to have enough even to be buried in; nor one to have many slaves, and another not even a footman. But I will make all one common subsistence for all, and that too equal.

* * * * *

"PRAX. For I was going to say this: I will first make all the land common to all, and the silver, and the other things, as

many as each has. Then we will maintain you out of time, being common, husbanding, and sparing, and giving our attention to it.

* * * * *

"PRAX. No one will do any wickedness through poverty: for all will be possessed of all things; loaves, slices of salt fish, barley cakes, cloaks, wine, chaplets, chick-pease. So that what advantage will it be not to pay it in?"

"BLEP. Then do not these even now thief more, who have these worldly goods?"

"PRAX. Yes; formerly my good sir, when we used the former laws. But now,—for substance shall be in common,—what is the advantage of not paying in?"

* * * * *

"BLEP. How then, if we live in this manner, will each be able to distinguish his own sons?"

"PRAX. But what occasion is there? for they will consider all those who are older than themselves in age to be their fathers.

* * * * *

"BLEP. * * But who shall cultivate the land?"

"PRAX. The slaves.

"BLEP. But about garments, what will be your contrivance?"

"PRAX. In the first place what you have at present will be at hand; and the rest we will weave.

"BLEP. One thing further I ask: if one be cast in a suit before the magistrate at the suit of any one, from what source will he pay off this?"

"PRAX. But in the first place there shall not even be any suits.

"BLEP. But how many this will ruin!"

"PRAX. I also make a decree for this. For on what account, you rogue, should there be any?"

"BLEP. By Apollo, for many reasons! in the first place, for one reason, I ween, if any one, being in debt, denies it.

"PRAX. Whence then did the lender lend *the money*, when all things are in common? He is, I ween, convicted of theft.

* * * * *

"BLEP. What will you make our mode of life?"

"PRAX. Common to all. For I say I will make the city one house, having broken all into one; so that they may go into each others houses.

"BLEP. But where will you serve up the dinner?"

"PRAX. I will make the law-courts and the porticoes wholly men's apartments."

THE INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES OF DELAWARE.

HER CLAIMS UPON HER SISTERS OF THE SOUTH.

Delaware has been neglected, because she has neglected herself. She has been too proud to fill the press with flaming advertisements; and being so small, the Southern purchaser has travelled over her limited soil, almost forgetting that she, too, is one of the glorious "fifteen." Notwithstanding that she lies half-way between the two great commercial cities of Baltimore and Philadelphia—notwithstanding that she has failed to receive her share of sunny smiles from her own kith and kin, yet has she struggled on with a full and warm heart against all adversity. We will show by the annexed figures, that Delaware excels any other Congressional District in the Republic, in the variety and extent of her productions. We will show that she produces, and sells to the North, at a reduced price, the very same articles that the Southern merchant goes to the North to buy, at a profit. These articles would be trebled every year, if the South was only disposed to patronize her own household. Delaware has not of late sent delegates to the Southern Convention, because she has, in her interests, been met by them with coldness and distrust. Delaware has not, so far, been a Southern State, on account of official patronage, but solely upon principle, the glorious principle of "Southern rights." She has had much to contend with. Considering her geographical position, almost surrounded by "free State" ideas, it is really a wonder that her 3,000 slaves have not been carried off by force. This position has given the abolitionists an opportunity to work upon her politically, which is unknown to any other State south of the line. She is a sister State, around whom has burned the flames of abolitionism for more than half a century; yet she stands there without a fold of her Southern raiment soiled. Some of her Representatives have erred, and been by their votes, a living libel upon her character, but having only one Representative, she had no redeeming vote, until she could send a better man in their place, and this she has never failed to do. The old party that ruled the State for so many years, in its dying hour, as a last resort, did indeed attempt to pass certain "free State" resolutions, but they failed ingloriously in the attempt.

Let us look a moment at the productions of this little State, which asks, as her right, the patronage of her larger and more favored sisters of the South.

In iron manufactures, Delaware holds an important place. At Wilmington, a city of about 18,000 inhabitants, there are

several very extensive works for iron steamboats, steam-engines, railroad cars, boilers, sugar mills, and mill-work of all kinds, etc., etc. Harlan & Hollingsworth alone, employ over 500 mechanics, and do an annual business of \$700,000. Their boats are found in all parts of the Union, from Maine to New Orleans, in South America, and along the Pacific and China waters. Belts, Pusey & Co., also do an extensive business in nearly the same line. Bush & Lobdell turn out yearly about 3,000 tons of their patent car wheels, doing a business of about \$250,000. McDaniel, Horner & Co., steel locomotive and car spring works, turn out yearly 60 tons of springs. McDaniel, Craige & Co., bar iron works, turn out about 400 tons annually. Alan Wood's Delaware iron works, turn out about 500 tons of sheet iron, including their "Imitation Russia," the most extensive of the kind in the United States. C. & J. Marshall's sheet iron works turn out about 400 tons annually. McCullough & Co's. galvanizing iron works, the only one of the kind in the country, turn out about 350 tons of galvanized iron a year.

The cotton manufactures for 1856 amounted to \$875,000, using over \$468,102 worth of raw material. The woollen works turned out \$400,000 in value, using about \$300,000 worth of raw material. Dupont's powder works turn out, annually, about 5,500,000 lbs. The saw and planing mills of Wilmington, are very extensive, shipping their work to all the neighboring States. Ship building is done for New York and Philadelphia to a greater extent than is generally supposed, and that, too, of the best Delaware white oak. It would be impossible to give all the details of the business done in brick making, iron foundries, paper mills, coach making, tanning, potteries, &c., &c.; but it is sufficient to say that they are in the same proportion as those specified.

The flour and grist mills of Brandywine are celebrated in all flour and meal markets.

Consider, also, her great agricultural interests. She grows of wheat, 728,766 bushels; corn, 4,918,312 bushels; rye and oats, 918,876 bushels; potatoes, 800,000 bushels; hay, 80,159 tons; butter, 2,655,308 pounds; wool, 64,404 pounds; value of orchard products, \$80,000. She raises sufficient cattle and sheep for her own market and exportation. She sent in one day to Philadelphia, on the Delaware railroad, over 80,000 dozen of eggs. The little village of Odessa exported, in 1856, over 400,000 bushels of wheat to Philadelphia. Delaware city loads at one company's wharf 6 and 7 first class schooners, with coal for other markets, employing a capital of \$2,000,000; and the Legislature of Delaware granted, at its last session, a charter for a railroad from that place to the mines of Pennsyl-

vania, to be called the "Delaware and Octorara" railroad, and if supported by Southern markets, it can be made one of the most extensive coal depots in the country, as it has the best harbor on the bay.

The Delaware railroad is now traversing the entire length of the State, and efforts are being made to continue it through Worcester county, Maryland, and Accomac and Northampton counties, Virginia, thence to form a direct line to Norfolk and the entire South, which would be the cheapest and most direct route for the Southern trade, through the best manufacturing and agricultural portions of Delaware. There is now in course of construction a branch from the Delaware road to the Delaware breakwater to unload foreign merchandize, instead of shipping it to Philadelphia and back with the profits. Shall the South allow those great commercial advantages to slide away from her, by letting Philadelphia and New York alone drain Delaware of her productions? Remember, if Delaware ever becomes a free State, the masters of Maryland and Virginia may soon bid a last farewell to their servants, for the very strict and honest laws and people of that little State have been a barrier to the underground railroad, and a continual stumbling block to abolitionists. Delaware has always been true to her principles, and always to that Constitution, which she claims as an honor to have first adopted. Her masses are well educated, besides having two colleges and innumerable male and female seminaries; she spends over \$60,000 annually in her public schools, the buildings of which, will equal those of New England. Her mode of business is sound, as she but seldom has a failure, and has never had a broken bank.

Since the compilation of the above facts, the following additional figures have been sent us by Major Jones, of Delaware, a celebrated agricultural statistician, and will be found worthy of interest. The table is for 1856, and will show a most remarkable increase, since the census of 1850, on account of the reasons given below:

| | 1856. | 1850. |
|---|-----------|---------------------|
| Population..... | 117,161 | 91,532 |
| Acres cultivated..... | 600,000 | 580,862 |
| Bushels of wheat..... | 767,724 | 482,511 |
| Oats..... | 1,217,553 | 604,518 |
| Corn..... | 7,475,170 | 3,145,542 |
| Potatoes..... | 611,970 | 305,985 |
| Hay, tons..... | 40,000 | 30,159 |
| Value of other products of the farms, <i>not specified</i> | | \$13,113,616 |
| Value of products above specified..... | | 10,953,674 |
| Total..... | | <u>\$24,067,290</u> |

The rapid increase of the agricultural products of Delaware is owing much to the increased prices of living in the manufacturing and commercial sections of our country. The farmers of Delaware make a very free use of guano, phosphate of lime, bone-dust, poudrette, &c., all of which, they can have carried to their farms by the railroads of the State, at a trifling cost above the original purchase. It is ascertained, that more than 1,000,000 bushels of quick-lime has been used in each of the last ten years, and now the Delaware railroad is finished, through the length of the State, that amount will soon be doubled. The lime, with a free use of clover, well plastered, for ploughing under (*not pasturage*) has added largely to the products of the State.

Five of the New England States, which contain a population of 2,628,960, produced only 555,955 bushels of wheat in 1850, or less than one peck to each inhabitant, which either shows that the means of fertilizing have been very much neglected, or else that, comparatively, all the capital must be in manufactures; so that there is, perhaps, no State in the republic which combines within itself such extensive resources of self-preservation as the State of Delaware, and this may account in a great measure for her neglect of the advertising medium of the country, yet where her heart, her past life, and her principles are allied, there she would rather make use of her trade.

THE COOLIE TRADE.

This trade has become of such world-wide importance, as well on account of its magnitude as of its probable influence on the well-being of nations, that it attracted the attention of the Senate of the United States, who, by resolution passed 24th April, 1856, directed the Secretary of State, "to furnish the Senate any documents, papers, or other information to be found in his department, tending to show the extent to which the transportation of laborers is now being carried on from the continent of Asia or any of the Asiatic islands, to English or Spanish Colonies in America, or to any of the Chincha Islands; whether said laborers be termed slaves, coolies, or apprentices; also any information in his department tending to show the way in which said laborers are treated during transportation, and after arrival into the countries into which they are imported, together with statistics showing the sacrifice of human life resulting from said traffic."

Every word of this resolution deserves studious attention and investigation, because it suggests the existence of new and wide-spread evils. Yet comprehensive as it is in its scope,

it does not embrace the whole subject, for we observed a statement from some English paper lately, to the effect that there were a hundred and thirty thousand apprentices in Mauritius, which is not included in the words of the resolution. At least two hundred thousand must have been shipped from Asia and Africa, considering the usual mortality during the passage and in acclimation, in order to attain the existing number of one hundred and thirty thousand.

This Mauritius affair is one of England's spasmodic, but vain, efforts to retrieve the error of her West India and South American emancipation. Neither the oceans of blood which she sheds in Asia, nor the hundreds of thousands of apprentices whom she decoys from Asia and Africa, will supply the place of the negro slaves of Jamaica, Barbadoes, Guiana, and her other slave colonies.

Sugar, cotton, coffee, rice, molasses, tobacco, and all other Southern products are distressingly dear, and the white laborers of Europe find themselves almost cut off from half the comforts and necessities of life, by black philanthropy, which in its zealous endeavor to remit the negro to a state of Pagan cannibalism, has quite overlooked the consequences resulting to the whites.

Columbus and Vasco de Gama opened the way to the South. Europeans learned to enjoy the products of tropical regions. Increased quantities of cheap food and clothing, obtained by the means of slave labor from those regions, stimulated the increase of population in Europe, until it has become, probably, treble what it was three centuries ago.

South American, Mexican, and West Indian emancipation, suddenly deprived this vastly inflated population of the means of subsistence, by cutting off in great measure the usual supplies of food and clothing. But self-preservation is the first law of nature; and now fillibustering philanthropy is vainly struggling to remedy the evils of negrophilism and "rose-water philanthropy" of Clarkson, Wilberforce, and the other abolitionists. New York and Boston import Coolies and Africans, annually, to the West Indies and South America, by tens of thousands. France, to make up for the loss of St. Domingo, seizes upon Algiers; Russia bears down upon Circassia and Turkey; and England is plundering the whole Southern world.

Abolitionism has, by setting the negroes free, and producing scarcity and famine at the North, made fillibusters and buccaneers of more than half of christendom.

But this new system, brought into life by blundering abolition, although it is attended with ten times as much of crime and sacrifice of human life, as the old slavery and slave-trade

system is inefficient, for Southern products still grow daily scarcer and dearer.

This report of the Senate, of which we propose to give a short summary, treats of but a small part of the ill inflicted on humanity by abolitionism; yet, will suffice to excite useful inquiry and investigation on the absorbing subject of slavery.

In confirmation and illustration of the view we are taking, we will cite from the report to the Senate an extract from an article taken from a Cuban paper:

"In the great scarcity of hands which prostrates Cuban agriculture, I do not say, in order to supply the pressing deficiency, that said Asiatics should not be resorted to; but I do say, that even *Orang-outangs* should be used, were they susceptible of domestication."

Negro slaves have multiplied ten-fold in our Southern States in the last one hundred and fifty years; yet the demand for them is so great that their price has increased four-fold. But it is not the Southern and Cuban planters who most feel and suffer from this *demand*. No, it is the European and New England laborer, who have to pay three-fold for the necessities of life, for the want of sufficient slave labor, who are the actual victims of this *demand*. Abolition has greatly benefitted the planters of Cuba and the South, by enhancing the price of their products; but it has driven the steel deep into the vitals of its own neighbors, which fillibusters and coolie traders are vainly endeavoring to extricate.

The first thing we find in this report is a letter from Wm. H. Robertson, acting Consul at Havana, in reply to interrogatories from Mr. Marcy, in which he mentions the arrival of a large English ship with four hundred Chinese immigrants. "The first lot of a number exported under contract for 7,000 or 8,000." In the same letter he mentions the landing of a cargo of negroes from Africa. This letter is dated April 14, 1855. Under date of June, 1855, he mentions the arrival of another English ship with 700 Asiatics, with two minor cargoes of Yucatanese, "being part of a contract with Santa Anna for 11,000 by a highly respectable house." "Negroes, he says, continue to land in different parts of the Island." August 6, 1855, he writes: "Chinese are coming in fast; and according to reliable information given me, these laborers are, on some plantations, treated no better, and even worse than negro slaves. This immigration of Chinese does not, however, for the present, diminish the trade in African negroes." Under date of September 3, 1855, he mentions one capitalist who he knew had sent out an agent to procure 10,000 Chinese. November 7, 1855, he estimates the number of African slaves landed on the Island within three months at 5,000. He adds, speaking of the negro slave trade, there seems to be now no

check whatever to the trade, and I have good reason to believe that opposition, either from the Spanish or British Government, has ceased, so far as this Island is concerned; the continuation of the trade is evidently on the increase, and this, with the contracts existing for the coming year, of Chinese, estimated at 40,000 to 50,000, will furnish a large increase of laboring hands.

The report of which we are treating is contained in a pamphlet of 183 pages, full of details, such as we have cited. We will not weary the reader by quoting more of them, except two, to show the manner in which the Coolies are treated on their passage, and how they sometimes retaliate. The following quaint extract is from the log book of the ship *Waverly*, bound from Swutoo to Callao, with a cargo of 450 Coolies:

"At 11, a. m., the coolies' cooks came off and refused to cook any longer, without they could get their wages paid down every month. I promised I should do all I could when I got on shore; but that would not satisfy them, and all the coolies came aft for the intention to kill me and Mr. Weeks. I got the men all aft and got the arms on deck, and they commenced to show fight. I killed about four or five, and drove them all down below, in between decks. In the afternoon, at 3, p. m., I was obliged to get water on deck. I went down and found they had broke the lock on the cistern hatch and had got hold of some of the provisions. There was one of them which was very impudent, and I killed him. At 4, p. m., I found they were breaking off the forward hatch, and two of them stood on the steps; tried, with all their strength, to come on deck, but I shoved them down again and shut the hatches on again. Watched the ship inside and out. At 8, p. m., set the watch, with one officer and six men. I think I should have no trouble with the coolies if I only had a good interpreter and doctor for them on board, for that is the greatest trouble for carrying coolies, and by having had lots of Chinese on board is very fatal."

"*Sunday, October 28.*—All this day light airs and fine pleasant weather. At 12, midnight, between the 27th and 28th October, took off the hatches for to let the coolies come on deck again. Got some lanterns and went down myself for to get them up; but, to our great astonishment, found that they had murdered one another. They had broken the bars of the hatches and broke two or three of the after bunks down, which they had used for weapons. It was an awful sight to look at; some were hanging by the neck, some were shoved down into the tanks, some had their throats cut, and the greater part of them were strangled to death. I went to work and took all the bodies on deck and provided some water for the living ones, which were all the poorest and sickliest on board the ship. At 3, p. m., the government steamer came down and anchored a cable's length from us, and sent her two large boats alongside for to discharge the dead bodies into. Got through by 10, p. m."

We add the account of a gentleman who was sent to investigate the case:

"He arrived there at midnight, and at his request the hatches were at once removed, where they found, as before stated, that some three hundred men had been suffocated. The bodies were buried immediately by the authorities, who, after discovering that there was no contagious disease on board, relieved the ship from quarantine, and on the 6th November the officers and crew were taken from her and placed in prison, until the affair could be legally investigated. The trial is not yet concluded, and nothing official can be known in regard to the testimony given by the various witnesses in the case; but, officially, I learn that when the captain went below at 3 o'clock, he was accompanied by one man only, who states that no attempt to revolt was made, and the men were peace-

able, but that the captain, without any provocation, shot two of them with his revolver, killing both. Also, that whilst the coolies were in confinement below, hot water was poured upon them through the seams of the hatches. Captain French, in various conversations with me, admits this fact, but says the water was lukewarm only, and was done 'merely to frighten them.'"

The following is an extract from a letter of the American Consul at Canton, Mr. Parker, under date May 21, 1852, to Mr. Webster :

"The American merchantman, 'Robert Bowne,' Lesley Bryson, master and sole owner, left Amoy on the 21st March, having on board four hundred and ten Chinese coolies, so-called, bound for San Francisco. On the 30th March, when some three hundred miles to the eastward of Formosa, the Chinese rose and killed the captain, first and second officers, and four seamen, took command of the vessel, and constrained the remainder of the ship's company to take the vessel to one of the 'Majicosima' group of islands, where they plundered her, and some hundreds of the Chinese landed."

That these enormities continue to be enacted is matter of every day's news. The two most recent cases are the following:

From the Singapore Straits Times of March 21.

A boat arrived at Singapore yesterday morning having on board nine of the crew of the Peruvian ship *Carmen*, which vessel left Swatow on the 1st of March with two hundred Chinese coolies for Callao. On Sunday, March 8th, when off the Great Natunaa, the interpreter warned the captain that the coolies meditated a revolt, and intended to take the ship; upon which, as it was nightfall, the coolies were forced to go between decks. About three hours afterwards the interpreter returned, and requested that they might be set at liberty; and the captain endeavored to pacify them by asking for delay until the following day, when he would place the four ringleaders in irons. Next morning, between seven and eight o'clock, the coolies proceeded on deck, and remained quiet until the crew went to breakfast. Some of the coolies—thinking probably to get possession of the ship, and that the crew would go below to extinguish the fire—went to the forepart of the ship and threw a quantity of burning straw into the hold, which fell amongst the contents of their beds, (straw,) paper, and fragments of wooden boxes, which, it appears, they had previously broken up. The crew speedily armed, and the coolies were forcibly driven below. The captain first desired the powder in the ship to be thrown overboard and then tried to extinguish the fire by closing the hatchways, but in vain; the flames soon seized on every part of the ship, affording time only to get out two boats. The captain, officers, and crew, numbering in all fourteen, with seven passengers, having been able to secure a few arms, but without water or provision, quitted the burning ship in the boats, the captain proceeding in the same boat with the chief officer. Finding there was no sail in the boat, the captain got into the other boat and returned to the ship, if possible, to secure something that would serve for a sail. At this time some of the coolies had forced the hatchways and were observed passing up the rigging, but the masts shortly afterwards fell over into the sea. Just as the boat (in which was the captain) had reached the vessel, the latter went down, and the boat must have been taken down with the sinking ship, as nothing was seen of the captain or the people in the boat, although the mate remained close by for nearly four hours. The greater part of the coolies must have been suffocated by the smoke; the whole perished except an interpreter. The mate's boat made for Singapore, the nearest port of refuge. Their sufferings and misery were intense; exposed in an open boat for nine days without water, and with no other food than the two baskets of sweet potatoes and a dolphin, which they fortunately caught and most eagerly devoured uncooked.

From the Friend of China of March 15.

We had hoped our summary would have been completed without the record of another coolie horror, but this morning, to our extreme regret, we find announced the arrival of the British ship *Gulnare*, (Captain Wardrop,) bound from Swatow to Havana, with coolies. On Wednesday, 11th instant, the *Gulnare* left Swatow, with coolie passengers, for Havana. She rounded the Cape of Good Hope at 5, p. m., and then placed armed sentries fore and aft. Nothing occurred all night. At 7-15, a. m., on the following morning, the coolies in a body attacked the third mate and sentry in the fore part of the ship. The watch at the time were washing down the poop. The high land of Togas a little before had been sighted, bearing N. W., about 12 miles distant. The chief officer was at the time talking to the interpreter, when the Chinese gave one of the most horrible yells possible to be imagined. The captain, officers, and crew, immediately rushed out and rescued the third mate and sentry, who were seriously wounded. The coolies fought with fearful desperation, and in some instances were fairly cut to pieces before they were driven below; in fact, they returned the fire for some ten minutes with basins, firewood, &c., and, by an oversight of the officers, had smuggled from the deck all the chain hooks and axes, and concealed them below. After the coolies had been driven below they again began throwing up at the crew basins and firewood. One pistol was fired up the hatchway in the direction of the poop. Finding they could not regain the deck, the coolies broke up their berths and set the ship on fire in the main, mizen, and poop, and hatchway, but when the leaders in the incendiarism were shot down, they immediately extinguished the fires. The third mate and sentry were the only two of the crew who were seriously wounded. Twenty-seven coolies were killed and wounded; ten killed, three drowned, and fourteen wounded. Some have since jumped overboard. The *Gulnare* arrived here yesterday at a quarter to 8, p. m.

EARLY CONGRESSIONAL DISCUSSIONS UPON SLAVERY.

We have not before us the first volume of Mr. Benton's admirable abridgement of the debates of Congress, but if it should come into our hands it will add further material to what we are about to condense and extract from the second, relating to the subject of slavery as it presented itself in Congress almost from the beginning of the Government.

In 1796 the kidnapping of free negroes to be sold into slavery gave rise to animated debate; Mr. Swanwick, of Pennsylvania, urged the necessity of action in the premises by Congress, but Coit, of Connecticut; Murray, of New York; Smith, of South Carolina; and Macon, of North Carolina, opposed.

Mr. SMITH, of S. C., said, "it was that kind of business which, by the Constitution, was to be left to the different States, he could not agree to the subject going any further. The observations of the gentleman from Pennsylvania had convinced him that that House ought not to interfere with the individual States on the subject; the interests and policy of the different States were so various, that it would be a dangerous thing to meddle with. He thought it an improper question for discussion; he conceived it would be sound policy not to touch it in that

House. The gentleman had gone too far to make use of the word *emancipation*. He feared lest the use of it should spread an alarm through some of the States. It might imperceptibly lead from step to step till it ends in mischief."

Mr. NICHOLAS, of Virginia, added in that kind of deprecatory and apologetic language, which so long was adopted by the public men of the South, but which subsequent experience, reflection, and study, have entirely changed, enabling them to place the question upon the high vantage ground to which it is entitled. "We who reside in the Southern States are unfortunately possessed of such a kind of property as has a considerable odium attached to it; but, if we unfortunately hold slaves, we ought not to contribute to the making slaves of free men, but I would wish to establish them in their freedom. If we can give relief as the thing exists, let it be; by all means do it, whether it incur the pleasure or the displeasure of some of the slaveholders."

During the same session, a petition was presented, and asked to be referred to a select committee, emanating from three negroes, claimed under the fugitive slave law. They had been slaves in North Carolina, but were manumitted contrary to the laws of the State, and again reduced to bondage from which they escaped to Philadelphia. In the debate which followed, Northern and Southern members divided almost entirely, as at the present day, though good temper and moderation prevailed. Only one member from the South, Mr. Rutherford, of Virginia, admitted the dangerous doctrine, that such petitions might be referred.

Mr. MADISON said, "he should be sorry to reject any petition whatever, in which it became the business of the House to attend; but he thought this case had no claim on their attention. Yet, if it did not come within the purview of the Legislative body, he thought it might be suffered to lie on the table. He thought it a judicial case, and could obtain its due in a Court of Appeal in that State. If they are free by the laws of North Carolina, they ought to apply to those laws, and have their privilege established. If they are slaves, the Constitution gives them no hope of being heard here. A law has been passed to prevent the owners of those slaves emancipating them; it is therefore impossible that any relief can be granted. The petitioners are under the laws of North Carolina, and those laws cannot be the interpreters of the laws of the United States."

Mr. W. SMITH, of South Carolina, said, "the practice of a former time, in a similar case, was, that the petition was sealed up and sent back to the petitioners, not being allowed even to

remain on the files of the office. This method, he said, ought to be pursued with respect to the present petition. It was not a matter that claimed the attention of the Legislature of the United States. He thought it of such an improper nature, as to be surprised any gentleman would present a petition of the kind. These men are slaves, and, he thought, not entitled to attention from that body; to encourage slaves to petition the House would have a tendency to invite continual applications. Indeed it would tend to spread an alarm throughout the Southern States; it would act as an 'entering wedge,' whose consequences could not be foreseen. This is a kind of property on which the House has no power to legislate. He hoped it would not be committed at all; it was not a proper subject for Legislative attention. He was not of the opinion of some gentlemen, that the House were bound to sit on every question recommended to their notice. He thought particular attention ought to be paid to the lateness of the session; if this subject were to be considered, too much time of the House would be devoured which was much wanted on important business."

Mr. THATCHER, of Massachusetts, said, "he was in favor of referring this petition. He could see no reason which had been adduced to prove the impropriety of receiving a petition from these people. The gentleman from North Carolina, (Mr. BLOUNT,) is of the opinion that these people being slaves, the House ought not to pay any attention to their prayer. This, he said, was quite new language—a system of conduct which he never saw the House practice, and hoped he never should. That the House should not receive a petition without an evidence to prove it was from a free man. This was a language which opposed the constitutional freedom of every State where the Declaration of Rights had been made; they all declare that every man is born equally free, and that each has an equal right to petition if aggrieved; this doctrine he never heard objected to.

"The gentlemen from Virginia, (Mr. MADISON and Mr. HEATH,) had said, "it was a Judicial and not a Legislative question; they say the petition proves it, and that it ought not to be attended to. Mr. T. said, he saw no proof whatever of the impropriety of the House receiving it. There might be some Judicial question growing out of the case; but that was no reason, because it might possibly undergo a Judicial course, that the General Government were not to be petitioned. The gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. SMITH,) had said, 'that this was a kind of property on which the House could not legislate;' but he would answer, this was a kind of property on which they were bound to legislate. The fugitive act could

prove this authority; if petitions were not to be received they would have to legislate in the dark. It appeared plainly that these men were manumitted by their masters; and because a number of men who called themselves legislators should, after they had the actual enjoyment of their liberty, come forward and say that these men should not remain at liberty, and actually authorize their recaptivity, he thought it exceedingly unjust to deprive them of the right of petitioning to have their injuries redressed. These were a set of men on whom the fugitive law had no power, and he thought they claimed protection under the power of that House, which always ought to lean towards freedom. Though they could not give freedom to slaves, yet he hoped gentlemen would never refuse to lend their aid to secure freemen in their rights against tyrannical imposition."

Mr. W. SMITH, of South Carolina, observed, "that a gentleman (Mr. THATCHER) had uttered a wish to draw these people from their state of slavery to liberty. Mr. S. did not think they were sent there to take up the subject of emancipation. When subjects of this kind are brought up in the House they ought to be deprecated as dangerous. They tended to produce very uncomfortable circumstances."

In March, 1798, a bill for the settlement of the Georgia boundary, and the erection of a government in the Mississippi Territory being under consideration, and it being proposed that the government should be in all respects similar to that established in the Northwestern Territory, except that slavery should not be forbidden, Mr. THATCHER, of Massachusetts, moved to strike out the excepting clause. The debate thereupon took a wide range.

Mr. GORDON, of New Hampshire, thought, "that when the gentleman from Massachusetts recollected that, by the establishment of this Government, the United States do not establish their exclusive right to this territory, he would consent to withdraw his amendment, as that went to say that we had the absolute right of jurisdiction, and were determined to exercise it; and in making a difference between the ground on which property was held there from that on which it was held in Georgia, they would militate against the 5th section of the bill."

Mr. OTIS, of Massachusetts, "hoped his colleague would not withdraw his motion; and the reason why he wished this was, that an opportunity might be given to gentlemen who came from the same part of the Union with him to manifest that it is not their disposition to interfere with the Southern States as to the species of property in question. With respect to the

existence of slavery, the House had often heard gentlemen, who are owners of slaves, declare that it is not their fortune, but their misfortune that they possess them, but who still keep them, and claim the right of managing them as they think proper. He thought it was not the business of those who had nothing to do with that kind of property to interfere with that right; and he really wished that the gentlemen who held slaves might not be deprived of the means of keeping them in order.

"If the amendment prevailed, it would declare that no slavery should exist in the Natchez country. This would not only be a sentence of banishment, but of war. An immediate insurrection would probably take place, and the inhabitants would not be suffered to retire in peace, but be massacred on the spot. By permitting slavery in this district of country, the number of slaves would not be increased—as if emigrants from South Carolina or Georgia were to remove into this country they would take their slaves with them; and he could see nothing in this which could affect the philanthropy of his friend. The Northwestern Territory is inhabited by a description of persons who have not been accustomed to hold slaves, and therefore the restriction is agreeable to them; but the territory in question will be settled by people from the Southern States, who cannot cultivate the ground without slaves. He hoped, however, the motion would be persisted in, and negatived by a large majority."

Mr. RUTLEDGE, of South Carolina, "wished the gentleman from Massachusetts would withdraw his motion, not from any apprehension he had that it would obtain; but he hoped that he would not indulge himself and others in uttering philippics against a practice with which his and their philosophy is at war. He submitted to the gentleman's candor whether it was proper, on every occasion to do this—to bring forward the Southern States in an odious light, or to give his neighbor and colleague an opportunity of bringing them forward, and comparing them with Algerines! He thought propriety and decency towards other members required that such language should be checked. He believed if his friend from Massachusetts had recollected that the most angry debate which had taken place during this session was occasioned by a motion on this subject, he would not have brought forward the present question. One gentleman says, you call these men property; another, you hold these men in chains; a third, you violate the rights of man! And are not these men property? Do not the people in this territory hold them as such? Did they not hold them under the Spanish Government? And must we thus address these people: 'We have made a treaty which puts you

under the mild government of the United States, but we must take from you your property; or rather, we must set your blacks at liberty to cut your throats. The rights of man was the watch-word of the day, and Congress have determined that you shall not possess this property. They cannot as yet do slavery away altogether—the day is not yet arrived; but they have determined it shall not exist in the Mississippi Territory.’”

Mr. NICHOLAS, of Virginia, “believed it not only to be the interest of the Southern States, but of the United States, that this motion should be rejected. They were to legislate for the whole of the Union, and ought to consult the happiness of the whole. It was not for them to attempt to make a particular spot of country more happy than all the rest. If it was a misfortune to the Southern States to be overwhelmed with this kind of property, he asked if it would not be doing service not only to them but to the whole Union, to open this Western country, and by that means spread the blacks over a large space, so that in time it might be safe to carry into effect the plan which certain philanthropists have so much at heart, and to which he had no objection, if it could be effected, viz: the emancipation of this class of men? And when this country shall have become sufficiently populous to become a State, and the Legislature wishes to discountenance slavery, the increase of slaves may be prevented, and such means taken to get rid of slavery altogether, perhaps in conjunction with other parts of the United States, who by that time may be in such a situation as to admit of it, as shall appear prudent and proper.”

In January, 1799, it being proposed to suspend all commercial intercourse with France and her islands, Mr. Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, referred as follows to the Island of St. Domingo:

“Suppose that island, with its present population, under present circumstances, should become an independent State. What is this population? It is known to consist, almost altogether, of slaves just emancipated, of men who received their first education under the lash of the whip, and who have been initiated to liberty only by that series of rapine, pillage, and massacre, that have laid waste and deluged that island in blood; of men, who, if left to themselves, if altogether independent, are by no means likely to apply themselves to the peaceable cultivation of the country, but will try to continue to live, as heretofore, by plunder and depredations. No man, said Mr. G., wishes more than I do to see an abolition of slavery, when it can be properly effected; but no man would be more unwilling than I to constitute a whole nation of freed slaves, who had arrived to the age of thirty years, and thus to

throw so many wild tigers on society.* If the population of St. Domingo can remain free in that island, he had no objection; but, however free, he did not wish to have them independent, and he would rather see them under a government that would be likely to keep them where they are, and prevent them from committing depredations out of the island. But if they were left to govern themselves, they might become more troublesome to us, in our commerce to the West Indies, than the Algerines ever were in the Mediterranean; they might also become dangerous neighbors to the Southern States, and an asylum for renegadoes from those parts.

"This being the case, Mr. G. said, he must deprecate every encouragement which may be held out to produce such an event. Did not gentlemen recollect what an alarm was sounded last year, with respect to the probability of an invasion of the Southern States from the West Indies; an alarm upon which some of the strongest measures of the last session were grounded? Mr. G. could not help hoping, there would be a general wish not to take any measure which may embody so dangerous a description of men in our neighborhood, whose object may be plunder, and who might visit the States of South Carolina and Georgia, and spread their views among the negro people there, and excite dangerous insurrections among them."

On the second day of January, 1800, "Mr. WALN presented a petition of Absalom Jones and others, free men of color, of the city and county of Philadelphia, praying for a revision of the laws of the United States relative to the slave trade; of the act relative to fugitives from justice; and for the adoption of such measures as shall in due course emancipate the whole of their brethren from their present situation; which he moved to have referred to the committee appointed to inquire whether any and what alterations ought to be made in the existing law prohibiting the slave trade from the United States to any foreign place or country.

"The petitioners, after mentioning their sense of the bounties of Providence in their freedom, and the happiness they felt under such a form of Government, represent that they cannot but be impressed with the hardships under which numbers of their color labored, who they conceived equal objects of representation and attention with themselves or others under the Constitution. That the solemn compact, the Constitution, was violated by the trade of kidnapping, carried on by the people of some of the Southern States on the shores of Maryland and Delaware, by which numbers were hurried into

* A strong expression, but justified by what had been seen in St. Domingo.

holes and cellars, torn from their families and transported to Georgia, and there inhumanly exposed to sale, which was degrading to the dignified nature of man. That by these and other measures injurious to the human species, there were 700,000 blacks now in slavery in these States. They stated their application to Congress to be, not for the immediate emancipation of the whole, knowing that their degraded state and want of education would render that measure improper, but they ask an amelioration of their hard situation. They prayed that the act called the fugitive bill, which was very severe on that race of people, might be considered; also that the African slave trade might be put a stop to."

Mr. OTIS, of Massachusetts, said, "he hoped the petition would not be committed; he had never seen a petition presented under a more dangerous and unpleasant aspect. It appeared to be subscribed by a number of individuals who were incapable of writing their names, or of reading the petition, and, *a fortiori*, of digesting the principles of it. It therefore was a petition of certain men made out by other men, who ought to have come forward themselves, but had forborne. To encourage a measure of the kind would have an irritating tendency, and must be mischievous to America very soon. It would teach them the art of assembling together, debating, and the like, and would soon, if encouraged, extend from one end of the Union to the other. A great part of the petition was improper, and the other part entirely unnecessary. No particular object or evils were pointed out in the fugitive law, but the truth was, they wanted a repeal of the law. Although, he thanked God he had no slaves, nor ever wished to possess any, yet he thought the subject ought not be meddled with by the General Government, and if any grievances existed, they were properly and only objects of legislation in the several States. It was the duty, and he thought the interest of the States, while they were kept in servitude, to ameliorate their situation as much as consisted with security. He thought those who did not possess that species of property had better leave the regulation of it to those who were cursed with it. However, it was unjust to intermeddle with it to the injury of the possessors."

Mr. BROWN, of Rhode Island, said, "he was in hopes that every member belonging to the Northern States would have seen by this time the impropriety of encouraging slaves to come from the Southern States to reside as vagabonds and and thieves among them, and have been tired of the bad policy. No subject surely was so likely to cause a division of the States as that respecting slaves. He did not hold a slave in the world, he said, but he was as much for supporting the

rights and property of those who did, as though he was a slave owner. He considered this as much personal property as a farm or a ship, which was incontestably so. He went into a view of the federal compact, to argue the impropriety of legislating on the subject. This petition, he said, did not come from the blacks, but from a combination of people who had troubled Congress for many years past, and he feared never would cease. He did not fear the power of the 700,000 enemies that the gentleman had pointed out, since there were five millions to withstand them: they could at any time subdue them. He begged that the gentleman who put the petition on the table, might be desired to take it back again. He was sorry to see the commitment supported by two such worthy members of the House, both good Federalists." (A laugh.)

Mr. HILL, of North Carolina, "thought if any evil existed under any law now in force, a committee ought to be appointed to examine into and correct it: but he hoped the petition would not be committed. It was to be lamented that this kind of property did exist; but it did exist, and was sanctioned by the Constitution. That being the case, the House ought to set their faces against any innovations on it, either directly or indirectly."

Mr. DANA, of Connecticut said, "if the petition before the House contained nothing but a farago of the French metaphysics of liberty and equality, he should think that it was likely to produce some of the dreadful scenes of St. Domingo. Or if he believed it was only the effects of a religious fanaticism in a set of men who thought they were doing their duty, though he thought the subject quite out of the power of Congress, he might be disposed to think it quite wrong. But when he perceived a petition, addressed in language which was very decent, and which expressly declared that the petitioners did not wish the House to do what was inconsistent with the Constitution, but only asked an amelioration of the severities under which people of their color labored, he thought it ought to be received and committed. He did not think the gentleman who presented it ought to withdraw it, nor was he the least culpable, but executed a duty he conceived him bound to."

Mr. RUTLEDGE, of South Carolina, "thought it a little extraordinary that when gentlemen from some parts of the Union were positively assured that very serious, nay, dreadful effects, must be the inevitable consequence of their discussion on the subject, they still would persist. He used strong words, he said, because no others would be appropriate. Gentlemen recommended the subject to be calmly argued. Would gentlemen feel calm if measures were taken to destroy most of their property? Would calmness be consistent if entering

wedges were prepared to ruin their property of whole estates? If ever it was justifiable to be warm on any subject in the House, it surely was on an occasion like the present, when imminent danger was in view. Yes, we deem this as an entering wedge to an inevitable loss of our property, if persisted in. It appeared by the gentleman's arguments that he had just been reading the opinions of his brother philosopher, Brissot.

"Three emissaries from St. Domingo appeared in the hall of the Convention, demanding the emancipation of their species from slavery. The Convention were told it would operate as an entering wedge that would go to the destruction of property, and the loss of one of the finest islands in the world; that it would be murderous in the extreme; that it would open scenes which had never been practiced since the destruction of Carthage; that a whole rich country would be buried in blood; that thousands would instantly be reduced to abject penury; that the first towns in that fine island would be reduced to a heap of ashes. But those gentlemen said no, it cannot be, all our desires originate in philanthropy—we wish to do good! But, sir, we have lived to see these dreadful scenes. These horrid effects have succeeded what was conceived once to be trifling. Most important consequences may be the result, although gentlemen little apprehend it. But we know the situation of things there, although they do not, and knowing we deprecate it. There have been emissaries amongst us in the Southern States; they have begun their war upon us; an actual organization has commenced; we have had them meeting in their club rooms, and debating on that subject, and determinations have been made. It might be wrong in me to mention these things, because many of those people can read and write, and will be informed of what I am now saying, which they think I did not know, but knowing, I am determined to make use of."

"Sir, I do believe that persons have been sent from France to feel the pulse of this country, to know whether these are the proper engines to make use of: these people have been talked to; they have been tampered with, and this is going on. They now will see that the argument has been agitated in the Legislature; that the subject of emancipation has been discussed. Is not this extremely wrong, when gentlemen are told how much it puts our property at hazard? Although these people are unable to do any harm, yet the work will be done by gentlemen in this House, *they* must be answerable for the mischief.

"Before I had the honor of a seat in this House, one question which was agitated by the people was, how do the Gene-

ral Legislature regard this species of property? I said, our brethren in the Northern States are willing to leave this business entirely to us who possess it—they will not intermeddle. I did hope that they never would take the lead in any arguments of this dangerous tendency. But, as gentlemen have gone into this business, I find I am compelled to use arguments which otherwise ought not to be mentioned.

“I recollect that gentlemen in France used arguments like the gentleman from Massachusetts: ‘We can indemnify these proprietors.’ But how did they do it, or how can it be done? Not at all. Farther, we were told these things would take place, we need not be alarmed; it was inevitable; that it was reasonable and unavoidable. Sir, it never will take place. There is one alternative which will save us from it, but that alternative I deprecate very much; that is, that we are able to take care of ourselves, and if driven to it, we will take care of ourselves.”

On the 26th and 28th of April, 1800, the subject of the slave trade was under discussion in Congress, it being proposed to prohibit the carrying on of this traffic from the United States to any foreign place or country.

Mr. J. BROWN, of Rhode Island, said, “when the motion was first laid on the table, he thought it improper to prevent the citizens of the United States enjoying the benefits of a trade enjoyed by all the European nations. He really was in hopes that the good sense of the select committee would have permitted them to have seen the policy of realizing the act in question. Many members of the House, he observed, knew how the former act was passed; they knew that Congress was drilled into it by certain persons who would not take *no* for an answer. It was well known that the Abolition Society, otherwise the Society of Friends, as they were called, were very troublesome until they got that act passed. It was also well known that those people did not do much to support the Government, but that they did as much as they could to stop the measures of the Government, and particularly our defensive system, on which our national security depended.”

Mr. NICHOLAS, of Virginia, “asked whether it was in order to abuse any class of citizens in this manner, and particularly since no motion was before the committee?”

Mr. BROWN, of Rhode Island, resumed. “He was only speaking agreeably to his information, how this bill came originally into existence. He was certain that this nation, having an act against the slave trade, did not prevent the exportation of a slave from Africa. He believed we might as well, therefore, enjoy that trade, as to leave it wholly to others.

It was the law of that country to export those whom they held in slavery—who were as much slaves there as those who were slaves in this country—and with as much right. The very idea of making a law against this trade, which all other nations enjoyed, and which was allowed to be very profitable, was ill policy. He would further say that it was wrong, when considered in a moral point of view, since, by the operation of the trade, the very people themselves much bettered their condition. It ought to be a matter of national policy, since it would bring in a good revenue to our Treasury. It was not pleasing to him, Mr. B. said, to pay an interest of 8 per cent. for our loan: rather than borrow money, he would wish to be paying off some of our old standing debt, which could be done by increasing our commerce, or rendering it free. He wished it to be free as the wind that blew—from one end of the world to the other. As he observed before, he believed not one more slave would be exported from Africa, while our merchants and our revenue would enjoy the benefit.

“Mr. B. said, our distilleries and manufactories were all lying idle for want of an extended commerce. He had been well informed that on those coasts New England rum was much preferred to the best Jamaica spirits, and would fetch a better price. Why should it not be sent there, and a profitable return be made? Why should a heavy fine and imprisonment be made the penalty for carrying on a trade so advantageous?

“But, he observed, if it was thought advisable that the old act should continue, he would wish it could be made to meet the purpose altogether, and prevent the system of slavery entirely, so that equal advantages might be given to all the inhabitants of the Union; without this, it would, as it ever had been, remain a great disadvantage. He therefore moved that the committee rise, in order to postpone the bill. He believed the House would be better prepared to meet it in a few days.”

Mr. RUTLEDGE, of South Carolina. “He thought it was perfectly unnecessary to make a new act upon the subject; he believed the former act did every thing that was necessary or practicable to be done. What more could be wanted than that persons engaged in this traffic should forfeit their ships and pay a fine, besides, in many instances, imprisonment of the person offending? Surely that was all the occasion required. The different States which had heretofore imported those people into the United States had established the policy not to import any more; but in addition to this willing restriction, the Federal Government thought proper to prevent the trade being carried on, by our ships, to those countries which did suffer their importation. This was going very far

indeed, but so far it was thought proper to go, to furnish a peace-offering to those philanthropists whose urgency was great to accomplish the general destruction of the trade. However, the activity of the people of the four New England States first engaged them in this profitable traffic; their produce would bring a good price on the African coast, and why they might not enjoy the profit of it as well as the English he could not conceive. He believed it to be impossible effectually to prevent it. Some gentlemen, indeed, had talked of authorizing our cruisers to seize vessels of this kind, but, suppose they were confiscated, what was to be done with their cargoes? They could not be brought into the United States. Where could they be carried? It was not consistent with the policy of the West India Islands to suffer them to land there, since it was their practice to keep these people in bondage, and they did not want, nor could they suffer free men to inundate those colonies. He knew of no place where they could be landed but St. Domingo, and as these people would not have been of those who had procured the freedom of slaves there—were not of those who had spread devastation and murder throughout that island, it was probable they would spurn them from their shores. What then was to be done with them? Surely no gentleman would wish them to be drowned, and it would be as absurd to think of sending them back to Sierra Leone! These difficulties he thought insuperable."

THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

Upon an able paper which appeared some weeks ago in the New York Herald, and which presented the material relating to the slave-trade, in a succinct form, we shall rely, mainly, for what is said in the following article. It will be an invaluable adjunct to the other sketches on that subject which have lately appeared in the pages of the Review.

LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES IN REGARD TO THE SLAVE TRADE.—Though declared by *law* piracy, the United States Courts consider the pursuit legal. By the Constitution the trade could not be prohibited before 1808, but as early as 1794 American vessels were forbidden to engage in it, and in 1800 fine and imprisonment was made the penalty of serving on board a slaver. Neither of these laws reach the case of an American citizen carrying on the business *on the coast of Africa*, the prohibition reaching only to those employed upon slave ships. In 1809, the penalty of fitting out a slaver in the United States was increased, but in 1818 it was laid upon the vessel, which was to be forfeited, the owner, factor, or master, to suffer also fine and imprisonment. The Ashburton Treaty, in 1842, bound Great Britain and the United States to maintain a fleet on the coast of Africa for the suppression of

the slave trade. Little or no good has resulted. A consideration of the statutes shows that a merchant or factor may build and equip a vessel in any of our ports, knowing that she is to be a slaver, without the least apprehension of risk or danger, provided he does not intend himself directly to employ her in that capacity. Hence the present flourishing state of the slave trade in Northern ports.

PROGRESS OF THE SLAVE TRADE AND THE NUMBER OF SLAVES TAKEN FROM AFRICA.—The American slave trade, from the time of its inception in the first years of the discovery of America, has undergone great changes, both as regards the flag under which it has been carried on, and the nations that have been engaged in it. At first it was prosecuted almost exclusively by the Spaniards and Portuguese, who brought over a few negroes to the Antilles and the newly settled districts of Brazil. The trade shortly after passed into the hands of the English, whose superior skill and energy as sailors and traders, gave them advantage over the cavaliers of Spain, who, fresh from the Moorish wars, were then settling the countries of tropical America. Bristol, in England, was for a long time the principal seat of the slave trade, and Liverpool owed a part of her early growth to the same profitable occupation. Contracts were entered into by the English traders with the Spanish Government, and every effort made to obtain a monopoly of the trade, in which they succeeded in a great measure. About one hundred and fifty years ago some enterprising French traders endeavored to compete with the English, but they have never been successful in securing any large portion of the African slave trade. The English, up to the beginning of the present century, were the great slave traders of the world. The first introduction of African slaves was in 1620, by a Dutch vessel from Africa to Virginia. Mr. Casey, in a work upon the slave trade, says that the "trade in negro slaves to the American colonies was too small before 1753 to attract attention." In that year 511 were imported into Charleston, and in 1765-'66 those imported into Georgia numbered 1,482. The importations up to the year 1808 numbered altogether 333,000.

The statistics of the trade with Cuba and Brazil from the beginning of the present century to 1840 are so defective and unreliable that it would be utterly useless to give them. Besides, so little attention was given to this part of the subject till after the year 1833 by the Anti-Slavery Society, and humanitarians generally, that the returns were not full and perfect enough for publication. Under these circumstances we have not included them; but the number imported by both countries during the period referred to could not have been less than a million and a half.

We may state here incidentally, that of the 1,700,000 slaves who were brought from the coast of Africa to the British West Indies, up to the year 1817, only 660,000 survive, showing that there are not two living for every five that were imported, while in the United States the number of Africans is nearly eight or ten to one of those that were imported.

Passing over the interval from the period when the slave trade was declared to be piracy to the year 1840, we find that the number in-

roduced into Brazil from that year to 1851, inclusive, was 348,609, or a little more than 30,000 a year. During the same period the number imported into Cuba amounted to an average of about 6,000 a year. The following tables show the importations into Brazil and Cuba from 1851 to 1854:

| | | | | Slaves |
|----------------------------------|------|-------|------|---------|
| Imported into Brazil in the year | 1851 | .... |  | 47,000 |
| " | " | " | 1852 | 60,000 |
| " | " | " | 1853 | 3,700 |
| Total | | | | 100,700 |
| Imported into Cuba in | 1851 | ..... |  | 5,000 |
| " | " | | 1852 | 7,924 |
| " | " | | 1853 | 12,500 |
| " | " | | 1854 | 10,230 |
| | | | | 35,345 |
| Total | | | | 136,045 |

From the four years from 1851 to 1854, inclusive, this gives an average importation in both countries of something over 34,000 a year. As perhaps not more than three-fourths of the whole number was reported to the mixed commission, the yearly average for this period may be set down at 45,000. From the year 1854 there were very few, if any, slaves imported into Brazil, in consequence of the laws passed by the Government of that country against the traffic. The slave trade is now mainly, if not wholly, carried on with Cuba, which imports about twenty thousand slaves every year—which, added to the total of the trade with both Brazil and Cuba since the year 1850, gives the average number imported every year, up to the present time, at about 30,000. If the profit realized on the purchase of one slave amounts, as we have shown in the following tables, to \$365, the total profit of one year's trade will therefore be about eleven millions of dollars:*

EXPENSES OF VESSELS AND OUTFIT.

| | |
|---|----------|
| Cost of a two hundred and fifty ton vessel..... | \$8,000 |
| Sailmaker's, carpenter's, and cooper's bills..... | 3,000 |
| Provisions for crew and slaves..... | 1,000 |
| Wages advanced..... | 1,000 |
| Stealings in New York by the agent..... | 4,000 |
| Commission of 10 per cent. on the whole expenses..... | 1,700 |
| Total cost of vessel and outfit..... | \$18,700 |

EXPENSES ON THE COAST OF AFRICA.

| | |
|--|----------|
| Cost of 400 negroes, at \$50 per head..... | \$20,000 |
| Pay of crew and officers on the coast..... | 500 |
| Gratification money to the American captain..... | 1,000 |
| Total..... | \$21,500 |

* See some valuable statistics showing the expenses and profits of the slave trade in the April number of the Review, 1857.

THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

EXPENSES ON THE HOMEWARD PASSAGE.

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| Captain's head-money, averaging \$15 per head, on 380 negroes, allowing for 20 deaths on the passage..... | \$5,700 |
| Head money to officers, at \$7 50 per head..... | 2,850 |
| Wages of crew and officers..... | 2,500 |
| Total..... | \$10,050 |

EXPENSES AFTER THE ARRIVAL OF THE VESSEL IN CUBA.

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| Gratification money to the Captain General, at \$51 a head | \$19,380 |
| Landing expenses, at \$34 a head..... | 12,920 |
| Total..... | \$32,300 |

RECAPITULATION OF EXPENSES.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Cost of vessel and outfit..... | \$18,700 |
| Expenses on the coast of Africa | 21,500 |
| Expenses of the homeward passage..... | 10,050 |
| Expenses after arrival in Cuba..... | 32,300 |
| Commission on sale of 5 per cent..... | 11,400 |
| Total..... | \$93,950 |

RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES.

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Received for 400 negroes in market, at \$600 a head..... | \$240,000 |
| Total expenses..... | 93,950 |
| Total profits on cargo..... | \$146,050 |

The inducements which are held out to men with capital, and without principle, to engage in this business, by the immense profits realized in it, has led a comparatively large number of our wealthy men, and those who are anxious to become suddenly so, to embark in the slave trade. In fact, there never was a time, perhaps, when the trade was so actively carried on at this port as it is at present.

TREATIES FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.—The agitation commenced by the humanitarians, about the beginning of the nineteenth century, and began to effect serious changes in the manner of carrying on the trade. Its early abolition by the United States and England drove the citizens of those two countries from the field, which was taken possession of by the Portuguese and Spanish, who at that time were establishing their settlements on the coast of Africa. The unceasing exertions which were made by France and England, and the treaties which have been entered into between those Powers and other nations, have had the effect of circumscribing more and more the scene of this traffic. Treaties were eventually formed with Brazil and Portugal abolishing it entirely, Spain having entered into a similar compact, which she complied with to a certain extent, but the treaty has never been fully carried out. The continued endeavors of England to have those treaties carried out, according to their spirit and letter, have resulted in wholly stopping the trade between Africa and the Brazils, and the only countries which continue to import negroes from Africa for the purpose of supplying the demand for slave labor are the Spanish islands of Cuba and Porto Rico.

In 1835, a new treaty was made between Spain and England, by

which the former country declared the carrying on of that traffic under her flag to be piracy, thus driving the Spanish flag entirely from the trade. It was carried on for a time under the flags of Portugal and Brazil, but subsequent treaties between England and those countries have led to the almost complete exclusion of slaves from the protection which those flags gave them upon the ocean. The treaties with Portugal are not so definite and strict as with other countries, and hers is the only flag that is now used in the homeward passage from Africa by slave ships. Yet the greater part of the voyages which are now made are made without any flags or papers of any kind. The moment the ships take their departure from the African coast they assume the character of the Arabs of the ocean. Such being the condition of the traders on their return voyage, their only object is to secure the delivery of their vessels upon the coast of Africa without liability to capture before the slaves are put on board. The energy with which the people and Government of the United States have maintained their interpretation of the right of search, preventing cruisers of all nations from examining vessels under their flag, gives the greatest margin to African traders for the delivery of vessels upon the coast, and accordingly the system that the traffic is at present pursued under is what we now purpose to describe.

HOW A SLAVER IS FITTED OUT AND PERFORMS HER VOYAGE TO AND FROM AFRICA.—A vessel which has seen some years of service, of good quality as a sailer, and with a fair outfit, is purchased in one of the ports of the United States, and a contract made with the seller that he shall deliver her at a certain port on the African coast. This he has a legal right to do, under the law as it at present stands, as he is legally supposed to know nothing of the subsequent employment of the ship, and is not responsible therefor. On board of this vessel a small quantity of lumber is shipped, with rice and provisions, and the means of cooking for a large number of people. The cooking apparatus forms a portion of the indirect evidence of an intention to engage in the slave trade; but though it may be a cause of suspicion, it has never proved sufficient for conviction or condemnation. In addition to this she is required to take on board, at some quiet spot, a large number of water casks, to be filled upon the coast of Africa, for the purpose of supplying the negroes on the homeward passage. These water casks are generally held to be, in connection with the cooking arrangements, sufficient to condemn the vessel upon a charge of intent to engage in the slave-trade, and they are, therefore, always taken on board immediately before departure from port, or perhaps the vessel touches at some small outport in the vicinity, and takes them on board after she has cleared and sailed from the harbor of New York. Some of them have touched at Greenpoint, on the western shore of Long Island, and receive their water casks there, while others have received them during their passage through the Sound, others again touching for that purpose at the mouth of the Connecticut river, or some of the little ports along the Sound, and not a few return to the port for them, having an excuse prepared in anticipation. The vessel is provided with her regular papers for clearance, and having received her casks, continues at once upon her

voyage; so it will be seen that the suspicious circumstances connected with her do not congregate around her till all her papers have been issued by the custom-house, and she is almost beyond the jurisdiction of the courts. The consequence is that not one out of twenty of the vessels fitted out in the United States for the coast of Africa, can be brought within the power of the law. Having cleared the coast, they pursue their voyage to Africa, counting upon the protection of the American flag to secure them from search by British cruisers, and having escaped detection by them, they are run into some of the numerous river arms that characterize the African coast. Here they are enabled to load twenty, thirty, and even as far as forty miles from the shore, and secure a favorable opportunity for departure, of which they are informed by their lookouts, and which they generally effect immediately after the sailing of the cruiser in her visit along the shore.

The run to Cuba is made, as we have already stated, without paper of any kind, the American commander and crew having been left upon the coast of Africa, from whence they find their way home through Sierra Leone or Monrovia. On arriving at Cuba the negroes are landed upon some unfrequented spot, and generally with the knowledge of the officers of the Government, who are in the confidence of the dealers. They are then immediately carried into the interior and distributed among the plantations, so that the large number of new negroes may not attract public attention. The vessel is burned, or sometimes sent to an American port to get papers, or they may have succeeded in getting papers for her in a Spanish port: after which she is sent in ballast to the United States, or in some instances to a port in Germany. During the voyage all evidence of the traffic in which she has been concerned is destroyed; and if she succeeds in entering an American port, she may be again fitted out and make another voyage. But the greater part of the vessels now used in these voyages are destroyed or abandoned by their owners; and this is the reason of their seeking in the purchase of the vessel to obtain one that has been sometime in use.

The operation of getting up a slave voyage is a simple business transaction. The plan is arranged in Cuba, the point of landing selected, the officers of the Government brought into the business, unless, indeed, they are well known to be favorable to the trade, so that their confidence can be counted upon, and a sum of money sufficient for the purchase of the vessel is remitted to New York or to some other place in this country, with an order to a broker or commission merchant to purchase a suitable one, and send her out under the arrangements we have described to the coast of Africa. As this trade lies under a stigma in this country, those men who are engaged in the outfitting of slavers make large sums of money by their exactions. It is not unusual for them to charge ten thousand dollars for a vessel which they have bought for six, and the various articles which constitute the outfit are sold to the Cuban slave trader in the same proportion, while, according to circumstances, there are numerous other charges for hush-money given to custom-house officers, District Attorneys, United States Marshals, and many other of the sharpers that are supposed to hang around our ports on the look out for such "fat jobs."

Having made his arrangements to procure a vessel in the United States, the Cuban slave-trader makes a remittance to England, and sends orders for shipment to the coast of Africa of the goods necessary to carry on the barter with the traders there. For this reason the outfit of the vessel contains nothing but the food and water for the return voyage of the negroes, and a little lumber for the purpose of making a slave deck. The purchase of the negroes is effected with goods that are placed upon the coast in a different way. Cargoes are sent out from England to the slave factors, and they also obtain a portion of their supply of cotton goods and shackles from the British traders at Sierra Leone. When the great establishment of Don Pedro Blanco, one of the most noted and successful of the African slave-traders, was in existence at Gallinas river, a short distance south of Sierra Leone, it was even asserted among the slave-traders of Cuba that cargoes of his negroes which had been captured and carried into Sierra Leone, and there condemned by the British Courts, were resold to him at his factory, to which they were brought by land by native traders, and again reshipped within the period of one month of their first capture. These negroes were known to him from the fact that they bore his brand—a capital “B,” the initial of his own name—immediately under the left nipple of the breast. This brand was made by a small punch of iron, which was heated and applied to the skin till it raised a blister, which in a couple of days would heal, leaving the initial letter indelibly marked upon the flesh.

WHERE THE SLAVE FLEET IS FITTED OUT.—Vessels for the African slave trade have been fitted out at Baltimore, New York, Bristol, R. I., Boston, and Portland, Maine; but New York is the favorite point, because it is so much easier in the crowd and rush and whirl of business here to carry on the operations silently. Another reason is to be found in the fact that the people of New York have not the same spirit of inquiry as to the business of their neighbors, that distinguishes the inhabitants of smaller cities, like those of Boston and Philadelphia. In regard to the persons engaged in the outfitting of those vessels here, they are generally men of low standing in our community, desperate adventurers in the whirl of commercial life. Not unfrequently the Cuban slave trader, being forced to confide in this class of people, loses the whole investment. Sometimes this is effected by selling the vessel at a different point on the coast of Africa from that to which she was ordered by the slave dealer, and where she is sold to other parties, the captain taking the proceeds and coming here in the same way as if he had delivered his ship to those for whom it was intended. No recovery can be obtained from these men, as the law does not oblige the execution of an illegal contract, and as his contract to deliver the vessel for a slaver on the coast of Africa is not a legal one in the eye of the law, the slave trader has no remedy.

This is the only risk that the Cuban slave trader is exposed to from the duplicity of agents; for it sometimes happens that the captain to whom he has entrusted the cargo for delivery in Cuba, where he is anxiously waiting to receive it, carries it into Porto Rico, or some other part of the island of Cuba than that to which it was destined,

and there sells it on his own account. In this case there is no legal recovery either. Yet notwithstanding the immunity which rascality seems to have in this trade, we must confess that, so far as we have been able to ascertain, instances of rascality on the part of men to whom these affairs are entrusted are exceedingly rare, and indeed more rare than in the ordinary transactions of honest business—a fact we can only account for on the supposition that there is honour among thieves.

It is very seldom that a slaver is fitted out in New Orleans, or any of the gulf ports, as they do not afford the facilities which are to be obtained in New York, nor are persons to be found there so readily disposed and able to carry out the arrangements necessary to secure the successful departure of the vessel. It is in New York, as we have already stated, that the greater part of the slave fleet is fitted out, and a large portion of the capital is furnished by some of her wealthiest citizens—men who have acquired their fortunes in this trade. The credit which the Cuban slave-trader enjoys in our market is probably as high as that of any other class of merchants, not even excepting the Rothschilds. They find no difficulty in obtaining advances to the largest amount here upon the securities they offer, and many of our honest psalm-singing merchants take advantage of the odium which attaches to the business, to charge an extra per centage for their services.

THE MIXED COMMISSION AND ITS OPERATION.—The statistics in relation to the slave-trade upon which the information of the world on this subject is based, are obtained from the returns of the several mixed British commissions of Brazil, Cuba, and Sierra Leone to the government of Great Britain. The reports of these commissions are based on their returns of the arrival of each cargo, and its presentation in market. These returns are purchased by them from brokers engaged in the sale of negroes, who for a small gratuity, are willing to report to the English commissioners the arrival of every cargo in the market. In almost every instance, in Cuba, the commissioners make these reports the basis of a communication to the authorities, and demand the action of the legal courts for the seizure of the slaves; but the legal courts get out of the difficulty by making a short delay in the issue of the order, taking care, in the meantime, to advise the slave-dealer that it is to be issued. The place denounced by the English commissioners as being the deposit of the slaves is consequently prepared for the search. We have been told of a case of this kind that occurred several years ago at Havana, where a cargo of seven hundred negroes had been landed from the brig *Venus* and brought to within three leagues of the city for sale. The British commissioner reported the same to the Captain General, and demanded their seizure. The proper order was issued, and as the place denounced was in the vicinity of Havana, the English commissioner accompanied the Spanish officers to see that they performed their duty; but when they arrived at the barracoons, or slave barracks, they were found empty and freshly whitewashed, and the slaves were nowhere to be seen. The English commissioner was not allowed to inquire into the cause of their disappearance, or to extend his search into the woods around, as the order of the court was only for the seizure of negroes that might be found in the barracoons; and although

the negroes were hidden in the woods within half a mile, they not only escaped seizure, but were sold in the markets. When the case was made known it was made the subject of severe recrimination on the part of the Captain-General towards the British commissioners, for having, without justifiable cause, induced him to issue orders in a case where there was nothing to warrant such a course. In subsequent denunciations this case was referred to, and the commissioners was satirically asked whether it was not another Venus affair.

AFRICAN SLAVES AND AFRICAN SLAVERY.—The tribes of negroes which furnish slaves for the markets are not as a general thing known, nor are they to be found in the works of geographers or travelers. One of the best and most numerous of these tribes is the Mandingo, whose *habitat* is placed on the western coast of Africa, inland from Monrovia. They are generally considered as making the best slaves for all purposes. The Congoes, who are brought from districts south of the Equator, and about the mouth of the river Congo, are highly valued as agriculturists. The Carabali tribe give a class of negroes of the most active mind, to whom servitude is perhaps more intolerable than to any other tribe of negroes, and who are admirably fitted for small traders and peddlers. Those of this tribe that are brought to Cuba, are generally found in cities and towns, where they hire themselves from their masters and trade on their own account. The greater part of the water sellers of Havana are also taken from the Carabalís. There are also the Ganga, the Arara, and others whose names we don't find in any work upon Africa. These all come from the western coast of that continent; but they have been importing negroes from Mozambique, which has become within a late period the principal scene of the Cuban slave-trade, as the extension of colonization upon the western coast and the activity of the British cruisers have increased the dangers of departure from Africa. The comparatively small number of slaves that are brought from Africa to market has very little effect on the domestic markets there. The number that is supplied to the caravans carrying on the domestic trade in every direction across the African continent, far exceed those exported from the coast. In fact, a large majority of the native population of Africa—perhaps three-fourths—are held in a state of slavery of the worst description, by members of their own race. The prisoners taken in war are held as slaves, and the experience of slave-traders proves that husbands will sell their wives for rum, powder, and such other articles of commerce as are most in demand among them. Incursions are also frequently made by one tribe into the territories of another for the capture of negroes to be sold as slaves; and there are instances on record of the unfortunate captives having been deliberately slaughtered when their captors found the supply in the market exceeded the demand. In fact, human nature in Africa appears to have sunk to the lowest depths of moral and physical degradation, and the history of that continent does not tell us when the negro race was ever in any other condition. The most revolting and horrid crimes are common among them, and cannibalism appears to be the practice among nearly all the tribes. We are told that in Africa “a man is the standard of prices—a slave is a note of hand that may be discounted

or pawned; he is a bill of exchange that carries himself to his destination and pays his debt bodily—he is a tax that walks corporeally into the chieftain's treasury."

The result of our inquiries among people acquainted with this trade leads us to believe that the knowledge of the interior of Africa is in a much higher and more advanced state among the Portuguese and Spanish slaveholders than any one has ever before supposed; and that were the geographical societies and learned bodies of Europe and America, who are fitting out missionaries and explorers at such expense and labor, to direct inquiries among the slave-traders of Portugal, Brazil, and Cuba, they would obtain much more correct information in regard to life in Africa, the geographical character of that continent, its products, methods of communication, and all that are deemed the vital statistics of a country. As an exemplification of this fact, we can point to a work recently published in this country, purporting to be the adventures of a slave-trader; and the descriptions which he gives of scenery, manners, customs, and trade of the African nations, far surpass anything that has ever been given by all the missionaries who have written upon the subject. The reason for this is, those men come into direct and friendly contact with the negroes—they are considered their friends, and the only men whose trade is profitable, from the simple fact that they trade in the only currency which is a legal tender throughout the whole African continent—that is slaves. For these they exchange powder, arms, tools, rum, and finery of all kinds that are desirable to the negro, while the missionary or the discoverer, who comes merely with a few moral truths, is looked upon as an enemy by the negro, because he tells him that the slave-trade, which is the only one in which he finds custom and profit, is wrong in the eyes of his deity.

The better to escape the cruisers along the slave coast, the traders have come to the conclusion to employ propellers in the work of transportations. Only a few days ago it appears a contract was made for one at this port, to be employed on the "Black Bird Line," as it is facetiously called by those engaged in the traffic. If this is not a fact, we should like to know what was all that conversation about between some three or four persons last week, in South street, near Peck slip. What do the parties want with a propeller on the coast of Africa?

DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTHERN RESOURCES.

A coal-field is said to have been lately discovered near the Ouachita river in Louisiana, which promises most favorable returns. Another is mentioned near the Big Black on the dividing line between Clairborne and Hinds counties, Mississippi, about eighteen miles east of Vicksburg, and in the vicinity of the New Orleans and Jackson railroad. Says the New Orleans Delta:

"Coal is but a part of the mineral and other treasures discovered on these lands. The stratum of coal, which is about

four feet thick, is said to be interspersed with rich veins of iron ore, and both these articles were discovered in digging a well which contains the finest chalybeate water. On the same ridge of land in which these discoveries are made, Cooper's Well and Mississippi Springs are situated. It extends through Clairborne, Hinds, and Madison counties, and has been long known to be rich in iron ore as well as other minerals.

"Thus we see that geography and geology both combine to furnish an abundance of the most needful elements of commerce, manufacture, and internal improvements, almost at our doors. Nothing but intelligent enterprise is wanting to bring to a brilliant completion what nature has so lavishly begun."

The Picayune adverts to the receipt of nearly a hundred barrels of the Ouachita coal at New Orleans, which was at once submitted to the severest tests for every description of use, in furnaces, grates, stoves, or steamers, etc., with entire satisfaction.

From a pamphlet which has been laid on our table, by Henry Colton Morris, Esq., as well as from facts within our own knowledge, we are assured that recent discoveries of coal on the Upper Ouachita, by Mr. Morris and others, will prove an invaluable blessing to New Orleans and all portions of the Lower Mississippi. In extent, the Ouachita coal embraces hundreds of square miles with an average thickness of vein of from five to seven feet. The coal is of the "brown" or "lignite" variety, and similar to the celebrated Torbain Hill coal of Scotland, which, being too valuable for fuel, has for several years past been exclusively used in the manufacture of gas and illuminating and lubricating oils. On the English and French railroads, the oil made from this coal is now used in preference to the best descriptions of sperm oil.

Professor Riddell, who analyzed the Ouachita coal, has declared that, "it cannot fail, so far as quality is concerned, to give entire satisfaction as a fuel for domestic uses. It is also well adapted for the production of steam in stationary engines and on rivers steamboats." The Professor also states that their is but a shade of difference between it and the Torbain Hill coal. This opinion is fully confirmed by Mr. Glover, of Pennsylvania, both the Torbain Hill and the Ouachita mines, the former with a view of ascertaining all that could be learned concerning the manufacture of mineral oil, and the latter for the purpose of ascertaining the practicability of working the mines with advantage in order to supply the New Orleans market.

A rope factory at New Orleans is also the subject of comment in the same paper. The situation of the factory is on the river bank, within the limits of the city of Jefferson; and the liberal view entertained towards the enterprise by the

Common Council of that city, is in striking contrast with those held by the city fathers of a more pretentious corporation that we could name were we so inclined.

The machinery for the new factory is of the most approved description. It is made under Tyler's new patent, which almost entirely does away with hand labor in the fabrication of rope and twine, and while the capacity of the machinery is immense, it does its work far better than manual labor has ever yet pretended to do.

The buildings—which have been erected by Mr. George Purves—will be completed and handed over to the company during the present week. They consist of a main building for the factory, 100 feet in length by 40 in width, three stories high, with a boiler house at one end, 20 by 40 feet! a warehouse entirely detached from the main building, 75 feet by 30, and other appropriate out houses. The warehouse and factory are fire-proof, with iron shutters, and are built in the most substantial manner. No fire is to be allowed in either building, the fire in the boiler-room having no communication with the factory, as the two are separated by a solid party wall. Connected with the engine, there is to be a complete set of fire extinguishing apparatus, which in a minute can be brought to bear on any portion of the factory.

The propelling agent is one of Tyler's truss-frame suspension wheel engines, of seventy horsepower, which is a marvel of neatness—and indeed, the whole of the machinery is said to be superior to any thing this side of Mason and Dixon's line. Baling rope, cotton cordage, and twine, are expected to be the principal products of this manufactory—all home productions, for the supply of a home demand.

THE WEALTH, RESOURCES, AND HOPES OF VIRGINIA.

FRENCH STEAMSHIP LINE—HOW VIRGINIA WAS SETTLED—WHY SOUTHERN COMMERCE HAS GONE TO THE NORTH—POPULATION OF VIRGINIA—HER INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS—HER REAL AND PERSONAL ESTATE, AND GENERAL WEALTH AND PROSPERITY—HOW SHE CAN FULFIL HER DESTINY.

M. Laconture's letter to Governor Wise, of Virginia, was referred to by us in a late number of the Review. This gentleman has earnestly employed himself in arranging a line of steamships from the waters of James river to some port in France, acting in behalf of the Franco-American Trans-Atlantic navigation company, which has a capital of 18,000,000 francs, owns eight screw steamers of 2,000 to 2,500 tons each, and is building two others of 3,500 tons each. It has established already lines to Rio Janeiro, New York, and New Orleans, and is disposed to open immediately a navigation line with Norfolk or any other point bordering on the Chesapeake, by uniting itself with a Virginia company that will furnish one-half of the necessary material.

If the Commonwealth of Virginia will consent to pay the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars per voyage, the Franco-American company will engage to establish a monthly service, commencing on the first of September next, between Norfolk and Havre or Nantes.

To the letter, and to these proposals, Gov. Wise has made a reply in behalf of Virginia, which is one of the ablest, most patriotic, and truly interesting papers that has ever emanated from his pen. It admirably unfolds the causes that have retarded the advance of Virginia, as well as of the other Southern States—exhibits her resources and increasing wealth, and points to the means of future commercial opulence. We insert almost the entire letter in our pages, believing that it will be a service to the South at large.

The economical condition of the State of Virginia, and the causes which have influenced or affected its results, need to be explained and understood. It is not wonderful that they are so misunderstood abroad, whilst they are so little apprehended at home, and that strangers should err about our interest, whilst our own people have neglected to generalize the facts of our history, and our neighbors in the sister States of the Confederacy have not failed to make a profit out of the anomalies of our modes of life, and at the same time to misrepresent our industrial character.

In the first place, I call your attention to the fact that *our first settlers were all planters*, and the earliest interest of our people was a *plantation interest*. This was something more characteristic than an *agricultural* interest simply. It was an occupation of land in very large extent, by liberal proprietors, who cultivated staple crops of tobacco, grain, and cotton, by slave operatives, whom they were encouraged by Great Britain to import from Africa, during the whole time of our colonial existence. This in itself was opposed to the concentration of capital and population necessary to generate trade and commerce.

At the same time, the mother country discouraged the navigation and commercial interest of all the colonies, and monopolized the carrying trade almost entirely to herself.

Again: Looking at the map of Virginia, you see the whole Atlantic low-lands watered by the Potomac, the Rappahannock, the Piankatank, the rivers of Mobjack bay, the York, the James, and the Roanoke, streams rising in the great Appalachian chain of mountains, and running a few miles only apart from each other in parallel lines, from west to east, and all of them, except the last, emptying into the grand reservoir of the Chesapeake bay, which entirely cuts off the main eastern peninsula. Thus all the eastern and first settled part of the territory was found naturally divided into no less than seven distinct peninsulas, separated from each other by eight considerable bodies of navigable waters. Up all these waters the tonnage of Great Britain came and found facilities of shipment every where, deep water, wharfage, and accessi-

bility to navigation up to the very steps of the Blue Ridge of the Alleghanies.

This also tended to diffuse population and capital, and prevented the concentration of either at any one point to form a city for purposes of commerce. Every plantation found a landing at its own fields or near in its neighborhood, and but a ship load had to be collected at any one locality, such was the convenience to and from market of the earliest settlements in Eastern Virginia.

Again: When population moved westward, it crossed the Blue Ridge mountains into a rich and beautiful valley running north and south, which has no natural outlet but at its northern terminus in our limits, and it had to pour its products out of our marts into those of the adjoining State of Maryland, at the head of the Chesapeake bay. And when it crossed the next and parallel ridge of the Alleghanies, it settled upon rivers flowing westward into the great basin of the Mississippi, and had to send its products by the Monongahela and the Guyandotte and the two Kanawhas and the Sandy, to float on the Ohio, to build up Pittsburg and Cincinnati and New Orleans, cities of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Louisiana.

Thus, by every geographical and geological cause were our people segregated into separate communities, and divided from each other and all mutual commercial dependency. Thus, at the beginning, from the character of their settlers and interests, and of their operatives in labor, from the nature of their various territory, from both physical convenience and necessity, the habitudes of our people were formed anti-commercial. They grew up a planting and purely pastoral people, segregated and isolated in a way utterly opposed to the concentration of population and capital, to the building of cities and of ships, and to the encouragement of the mechanic arts, all depending upon commerce.

Again: Besides these causes, a great oceanic cause compelled the concentration of commerce at New York, as long as *sails* have been the motors by sea. The icebergs of the Arctic and the Trade winds of the Tropics and the Gulf stream, have made currents of water and of air so defined in their course and limits, that whether a ship sail from Florida cape or Barnagat, from Chesapeake bay or Newfoundland banks, she has to take the same offing and pursue the same track over the seas, to make the quickest trip to Liverpool or Havre. If she veers a fraction of a degree too far north, she is in mists and storms and floating ice; if too far south, she is in baffling currents of air and water to delay and endanger her passage. The great turnpike over the atlantic is about a degree and a half in breadth, with New York at the western and Liverpool at

the eastern end of the way. The laws of insurance and of time in trade, then, made New York the importing and exporting point of the Atlantic front of the American continent, until steam has interposed to defy baffling airs and currents. A steamship can now lay straight across, south of the old sailing line, in latitudes comparatively much safer, from Norfolk better than from New York. But I am speaking of the past; and in the past there was no competition from this cause, alone, with New York. No fact can better illustrate this than the rivalry of Philadelphia with New York, for commercial supremacy. She had more capital than New York, higher commercial character, was the centre for many years of the financial means of Government, and lacked neither ambition nor enterprise to contend for the mastery, but she was obliged to yield. Her ships would get to the capes of Delaware, whilst the competing New Yorker, beaten perhaps on the way, turned in direct to port, and had out her shipping lists whilst the Philadelphia ship was slowly beating up a swan neck channel. The two day's delay determined the struggle. Philadelphia had to withdraw from the contest, became a distributing point for New York importations, and sagaciously turned her capital to manufacturing. *And yet she has not gone behind hand, nor have we, by not struggling against natural and uncontrollable causes.* She has ceased comparatively to import, *but she has gained and not lost thereby, and thus far so have we.* In this we have done wisely and well, and this I will try to show.

By the operation of these causes we have begun and kept ourselves an agricultural people, producers of the raw material, relying on manual labor in planting and grazing, and as yet left commerce, and mining, and manufacturing, and the mechanic arts to the concentrated population and capital and skill of other people. And thereby we have lost nothing, the world has gained a great deal, and we have fulfilled a mighty destiny in the moral and political field, greater than the achievements of trade and arts in the physics of other States. We have no cities, but we have a meliorated country populace, civilized in the solitude, gracious in the amenities of life, and refined and conservative in social habits. We have little *associated* but more *individual* wealth than any equal number of white population in the United States. We have no mechanic arts, but are better able, en masse, to own their utensils than the people are who manufacture them. Our labor in the past has been and at present is better employed than to manufacture them ourselves. We have no commerce, that is, we are not our own carriers, but we supply the very pabulum of commerce, which would not be so largely and well

supplied if we were to turn traders. We are wanting in a body of laboring white yeomanry, but our operatives are slaves, an inferior race, who are blessed by a patriarchal government of benign domestic rule which supervises every want and provides for it; and this affords a class of *masters* who have leisure for the cultivation of morals, manners, philosophy, and politics, which has given the nation its heroes and sages, and its blessings of free government, and its wisdom of administration in the field and in the cabinet.

We have not as many people by the census as commerce and manufactures would account for; but we have kept at home more than a million and a half on 60,000 square miles, and sent more than any other old State to settle the western empire of States, at a time when national development called for the policy of dispersion of population from the old to the new States. Immigration from Europe supplied the demand of the manufacturing States, but the causes enumerated were required to settle Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Texas. And besides these planting States, Virginia has contributed to fill up Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, and now California, Kansas and Nebraska. She has emigrants and their descendants in these States and territories, equal to the number she has retained at home. And this has given her a moral influence equal to if not exceeding the power of railroads, canals, and denser population. If she has not constructed the former and increased the latter, she has built up empires of free States to acknowledge her maternity, to sustain her polity, and to feel her sympathies and ties of political affinity. She has *produced the population which has gone forth from her womb*, and they have fructified and multiplied so as to strengthen her stakes in the Confederacy of States. If she has not commerce as yet, she has this, and this is *not going behind commerce*, and she has done her part for commerce too, for she has furnished to New York her full proportion of raw material to make up the audit of a great American mart, besides a direct trade of \$5,495,367 of exports, and \$692,395 of imports per annum. In all aspects then, she has not gone backwards, nor stood still in the race of empire; and this is proved by the moral force she now wields in the nation, with thirteen federal representatives only, as compared with Ohio, Pennsylvania, or New York, each having nearly double her number in Congress. If she does not wield stocks on exchange, she does have the power of a first rate State in the cabinet of Government, and in the conservation of society.

And during all this time, from first to last, she has not, as has been supposed, neglected her physical improvements.

Her undertakings of grand works were among the very earliest, and she gave birth to the first conceptions of the greatest enterprises which have since been executed and realized by applied science in our country.

By turning your eye to "A New Chapter in the Early Life of Washington, in connection with the Narrative History of the Potomac Company, by John Pickell," published by D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1856, you will see that it was the Virginia mind which anticipated every idea of De Witt Clinton; that it was the forecast of Washington which opened up to view the most extensive connections of North America, reaching indeed across the continent in space to California, and down the tide of time to the very ideas of improvements of this present day and hour. And under the influence of Washington, the State and private contributors expended nearly a million on the Potomac river in commencement of the policy of that development of internal trade which is now exciting universal wonder. It is a greater wonder still that any mind should so early have comprehended the plan and practicability of a policy so astounding; and though the first effort was a failure for want at the time of trained civil engineers, yet the conception was there then, if not the art of manipulation, and the spirit of enterprise and development was sent forth from the Virginia oracle at Mount Vernon. That spirit has not ceased to brood over our territory and our destiny. After projecting the great Chesapeake and Ohio canal, resulting from the Potomac company, Virginia organized and put into progress the great James River and Kanawha Company, and has executed 200 miles of its canal at an expense of nine millions. Also the Dismal swamp canal, 23 miles, at a cost of \$1,112,000. And her railroads are numerous and extensive. Norfolk has penetrated North Carolina by eighty miles, costing one and a half million, and has another road to Petersburg of eighty miles, at a probable cost of one and a half million. Petersburg has connected herself with North Carolina's great Southern route, by sixty-three miles, at a cost of one million; and with Richmond, by twenty-two miles, at a cost of \$1,150,000; and with Lynchburg, by the South Side road, of 123 miles, at a cost of \$1,975,000. Richmond has penetrated the Roanoke valley to Danville, 143 miles, at a cost of four millions; has reached the Tennessee line by the Southwestern road, 204 miles, at a cost of five and a half millions; has touched the Potomac by her Fredericksburg road, 76 miles, at a cost of one and three-quarter million; has nearly completed her Central road, by 180 miles, at a cost of four and a quarter millions; has her York river road in progress, 38 miles, at a probable cost of one million; and has 34 miles

of road in operation to her coal mines, at a cost of something less than a million. Alexandria has her Orange road complete to Gordonsville, 88 miles, at a cost of two and three-quarter millions; and crossing the Central, is reached south to Lynchburg, 80 miles, at a probable cost of \$1,200,000; and has her Manassa road penetrating the valley to Harrisonburg, 139 miles, at a cost of three and a half millions. Wheeling has her part of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad complete between the Ohio and the Patapsco, 382 miles in all, at a cost of 23 millions; and Parkersburg has her branch of the same complete to the forks of the Potomac, 103 miles, at a cost of four and a half millions. These, besides innumerable smaller railroads, and turnpikes, and improvements of navigable streams, costing the State, other than individuals, in the aggregate about \$6,703,000, are, in addition to the great works now in progress on State account, the Blue Ridge and the Covington and Ohio roads, 247 miles, at a probable cost of \$16,000,000.

Thus, you see what a variety and extent of works Virginia has begun and is going on with, and what an amount she has already expended upon the enterprises of the greatest magnitude, notwithstanding that she is so reproached with being laggard in the exertion to develop her resources—making in the aggregate 223 miles of canal, and 1,820 miles of railroad, at a grand total expenditure of near 70 millions of dollars.

The causes of delay in beginning and completing her works, were obstructions of an extraordinary character, not hindering any other State, new or old. Her social and territorial conformation not only segregated her communities, but detached her plans of public improvement into separate and independent and competing schemes; they wanted unity, entirety, and concentration.

Again: Cast your eye upon the map of her mountain ranges, and you see that from the point where she first touches the steps of the Blue Ridge with her great canal or her roads, to the point Trans-Alleghany, where she can connect them with the Ohio waters, she must pass over or through a back-bone of from one to two hundred miles of mountains running in parallel ridges, northeast and southwest across her entire limits. Tunnel after tunnel, at short intervals, arrests her progress, and makes each work one of patient labor and of time. She has to overcome a summit level of nearly 2,000 feet, for a breadth from east to west, which no other people on the continent, no more than Virginians, have as yet overcome. Another obstruction of improvement has been a very defective system of land laws, preventing dense settlement of population by the confusion of titles which involved the western people in litigation,

and drove them from our locations to other States, settled under the land ordinance of the United States, by regular surveys, entries, and registries. We have had no land system; our warrants of location were left to private selection; the State has issued patents without proper tests of titles; and thus surveys, entries, and titles, have become confused and uncertain, and litigation has depopulated the very western territory which most needed settlers to develop our newer, larger, richer regions of the Commonwealth. This cause, I trust, will be removed for the future by our next General Assembly.

Another obstruction in the past, up to 1851, was the anomalous condition in which our divided territory had placed our popular representation in the legislature. The mountains divided our people into three sections, with apparent diversity and opposition of interests. The eastern slope, with every facility to market, had the power of representation; the new, rugged, western mountains and valleys, without access to market, except on the hoofs of fat cattle, had the majority of population, and felt the necessity of taxation for development. *Thus the power of the State was divided against the necessity of the State.* The necessity was on one side of the mountain and the representation on the other. The struggle to equalize the representation according to the number of citizens and voters, engendered strife and sectional antagonism. The east then felt the necessity to be taxed for roads and canals, and had the majority of representatives to withhold appropriations to public works; the west was obliged to get to market, and demanded representation according to the number of sovereign voters, in order to exert the legislative power of taxation to develop the transmontane section, to connect the east and the west, to give homogeneity of interest to the State, and to begin the work of improvement and progress. The east with equal sagacity and generosity yielded the contest, and equalized representation, seeing that the west was its back country of production, and its only resource of commerce, and that it (the east) would benefit *even more in trade than the west in agriculture*, it wisely consented to the great problem of *uniting the power to the necessity of the State*, and thus gave a new impetus to internal development. At first this impulse was too strong, and over-acted. Appropriations to the amount of some twelve millions in 1851, 1852, 1853, raised the amount of public debt rather rapidly, and there was a reaction on our credit. But the checks and balances were provided in the new constitution of 1851, to restrain the extravagance of appropriations, and to guard the sacredness of public credit. By the 27th section, no debt can be created without a majority of the members of each house of the General Assembly. By the 28th section, the Gene-

ral Assembly cannot pledge the faith of the State or bind it in any form, for the debts or obligations of any company or corporation. *By the 29th section, a sinking fund is imperatively provided for the old debt, and no new debt can in future be incurred without in like manner providing the means to redeem it in 34 years; and the General Assembly is prohibited from appropriating the sinking fund, except in time of war, insurrection, or invasion. By section 30th, provision is made for sale of State stocks for increase of sinking fund. And by section 31st, the General Assembly is restrained from contracting loans or causing to be issued certificates of debt or bonds of the State, irredeemable for a period greater than 34 years.* Thus you see that municipal legislation is guarded by the organic law, and public credit fortified and guaranteed by the constitution, instead of being left to repealable statutes. So jealous has Virginia been of her honor as a debtor, that no Rev. Sidney Smith of England could ever make her blush for any sin of repudiation in all her history!

In aid of this removal of obstructions to progress, and of this consolidation of public credit, other causes of prosperity have arisen and co-operated. Whilst the State's tonnage *in foreign trade* has not materially increased, the vessels of our *coast and licensed tonnage* have been greatly magnified in capacity and speed and regularity of voyage. • The steamers now plying between Norfolk and Richmond, in Virginia, and New York and Philadelphia and Baltimore, the points of export and import, are of a class quite equal to the ocean class of steamers a few years ago. • An increased licensed and coast trade have gradually demanded these, and these in turn have increased that trade and enriched our rivers by their *drippings of trade in transitu*.

Again: The increase of our population and of the comparative activity of trade in the eastern portion of the State, has changed the large *plantation* system of culture into a *smaller horticultural and arboricultural farming*, and the immense fields once scourged by tobacco are brought under a rotation of cereal and garden products, or made green again by manures and grazing.

And above all the agricultural causes, *the concentrated manures, guano, and the chemical preparations*, have come in to fructify our fields and make them smile as gardens. At least two millions of acres have been thus improved at the rate of \$4 50 cents per acre, making a gross annual increase of products of at least ten millions of dollars, at a cost of three and a half millions, leaving a net annual gain to the State of about six and a half millions dollars per annum from this cause alone. This, more than the demand for cotton, and more than

the increase of the precious metals, has added to the price of labor and the value of our slaves and lands.

The effect of the public works already completed, and of those other causes, has been in the last five years to increase the value of the real estate more than 100 millions of dollars, to double the value of about 500,000 slaves, and to largely increase the amount of taxable personal property, now exceeding 200 millions. By actual assessment, just reported for revenue purposes—

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| The real estate is in round numbers... | \$378,000,000 |
| The slaves..... | 237,000,000 |
| The personalty..... | 167,000,000 |

Grand total of State wealth.....' \$782,000,000

But the personalty is greatly under-valued and the aggregate wealth of the State may be safely estimated as exceeding 800 millions. In 1850 the maximum estimate was 600 millions, showing an increase in half a decade of 200 millions. Besides this permanent value, already acquired, the State has nearly 16 millions of acres of *unimproved land yet to be developed and appreciated*, and has besides an *annual product* of 75,000 hogsheds of tobacco; 15 millions bushels of wheat; 500,000 bushels of rye; 40 millions bushels of corn; 12½ millions bushels of oats; 4 millions pounds of wool; half million bushels of peas and beans; 1½ million bushels of Irish, and 2½ millions bushels of sweet potatoes; 250,000 bushels of barley and buck-wheat; 12 millions pounds of butter; half million pounds of cheese; half million tons of hay; one million pounds of flax, besides 50 tons of hemp; 1½ million pounds of sugar—besides her other innumerable agricultural products, and the products of her mines of iron, copper, coal, salt, gypsum, lime, and the products of her forest and her fisheries. And she has a peculiar source of wealth in her extensive region of mineral waters, her hygeia alone bringing in a million and a half at least of income in cash per annum.

And, sir, be not startled when I assure you that all this is small—is nothing—when compared with the development—the gush of confluent production of which we are on the eve. Our progress thus far has been slow, gradual, aye, on a hard, ascending grade, but we have reached a summit level. When Virginia shall have completed her leading State line to the Ohio river, from Covington to the mouths of the Kanawha and the Sandy rivers, and connected her communication with the great net-work of roads and canals in the whole northwest—when she shall have carried her James river and Kanawha canal across the Alleghanies, and joined the waters of the

Chesapeake to those of the Ohio—when her southwest line to Memphis shall have finished its last link, now only about fifty miles uncompleted—when that line shall have been connected with the works of Kentucky as well as those of Tennessee—when the Central road shall have been connected with the great Southwestern road—when the Baltimore and Ohio road shall have been turned at the great iron and coal fields on the Potomac, down that river to the city of Alexandria—when the Valley shall have been made to pour its produce through the Manassa gap, by a connection with Fredericksburg, into the Rappahannock as well as into the Potomac at Alexandria—when the York river road shall be completed from Richmond to West Point—when Richmond shall have connected herself with the North Carolina works by the Danville road—when the James and Appomattox rivers shall have been cleared of their bars up to Richmond and Petersburg—when the State shall, in addition to the improvement of the navigation of the James river, have sent a line of railroad directly down to thirty feet of water at some eligible point on the Hampton Roads—when these, or the chief of these works shall have been accomplished—we will have radiated back to every point of the interior—a confluence of the trade of the continent will have taken place, through its centre, on the shortest lines, in the best temperature of climate, and a convergence of transportation, and concentration of wealth and population will be found at a point where there is a harbor spacious enough and deep enough for all the merchant and naval marine of the world, and affording a site for a city rivaling in the course of time New York or London. And the accomplishment of this confluence and convergence and concentration will find Virginia an empire in herself, *in the anomalous condition of an old State with all the undeveloped resources of a new State, and of a new State with all the ameliorations of an old State.* Her old eastern fields, derided for exhaustion, will not be counted any longer a curse, for they are cleared of the virgin forest which requires so much work for the log wood-axe in the hands of first laborers in the new States; and the ways will then be opened to fields of coal and iron and limestone of the richest quality and greatest variety in immediate juxtaposition, ten-fold larger than those of Pennsylvania: to mines of copper ore of unknown extent: to innumerable and exhaustless springs of salt, which bubble up from natural crevices and through artesian bores, with naphtha and gas to perform all the uses of light and fuel, without wood or coal: to the luxuriant pastures of more than ten thousand hills and valleys now uncropped by horses, cattle, mules, or swine; and to a sheep-walk for wool-wealth une-

qualed in Saxony or England: to a greater extent of water-power for manufacturing than is known in any other territory of the same dimensions: to mountain forests of giant timber without stint, and to the lumber of the low-lands of the growth in salt sea air, the fittest for ship-building: to immense fisheries of shad and herring, and a great variety of other floating fish in every river of the eastern slope: to a *jus publicum* of more than 2,000 square miles of *oysters* and *other shell-fish*, yielding now more than thirty millions of bushels, and employing nearly 100,000 tons of coasting vessels; to every variety of soil for agriculture, horticulture and aboriculture, in every variety of climate from sites for the turnip, to the garden for the strawberry, the peach, the pomegranate, and the fig, as sweet as those of Smyrna. To these—all these—and more resources in *Virginia's own limits*, and now undeveloped and almost untouched! And this will show you that *Virginia's* counted and uncounted wealth *alone* is enough to justify all her expenditure and taxation, past and prospective. But if *Virginia were a waste from the seaboard to the Ohio*, without a tithe of this perpetual resource, still the back country beyond her is interminable and exhaustless, and her *eligibility of track for its produce* is worth ten-fold more millions than she can ever be called on to expend. *A track simply Mediterranean, on her temperate line of latitude of 37°, due west from the Chesapeake to the Ohio, and from the Ohio to the Mississippi, would, to enumerate nothing else, add two months of labor to Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Missouri, and the whole of the Northwest, against the obstruction of frost in winter, on northern lines to the Atlantic, and against the low stages of water in the Western rivers in summer; and would save millions worth per annum of Western flour from souring, and of Western pork from spoiling, by being sent through our lines instead of South, down the river by New Orleans and through the Gulf of Mexico.*

And that track don't stop at the Mississippi, but goes on to the gold mines of California, and takes the China trade at San Francisco, and brings along with it back the continental trade of North America, in a belt expanding from the Messilla valley in the southwest to Minnesota in the northwest, and converging through Texas, Arkansas, and Tennessee on the southern, and through Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio on the northern limb, to the focus of the trade with Europe at the mouth of the Chesapeake, the last and only point fit for large shipping between Philadelphia and New Orleans, all the rest of the coast being Hatteras bound. The race track of lightning after light around the globe is directly over and across North America from the Chesapeake to San Francisco;

and when it reaches there, it will telegraph one ocean as it has the other—America China, as England America! With our own connections, and a Pacific road on this track, we will heap up pabulum enough on the quays of commerce at Hampton Roads for the trade of all Europe, Asia, Africa, and South America, without touching the transit of the Isthmus of Central America: *a transit across the continent, in the temperate zone, will prove better for the population of the globe.*

To complete some of the principal works, and put in progress other works in the next ten years, Virginia will require for Covington and Ohio

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| road | \$8,000,000 |
| James river and Kanawha canal | 10,000,000 |
| Other works | 7,000,000 |

Total.....\$25,000,000*

THE EARTH AND ITS INDIGENOUS RACES †

Every day adds its contributions to the science of Ethnology, and enables us to advance further in the intricate and unexplored paths of research, which lead up from the crowded and wonderfully diversified nations of the earth to the original family, race, or stock, or families, races, and stocks from which they have descended. Though a science comparatively new; in its relations to the development of man, the organization of society and of government, it is one whose value can not easily be overestimated by philosopher or statesman.

Among the most active laborers in the field of ethnology, are the editors of the work before us. The earliest contributions of Dr. Nott appeared in the Southern Quarterly Review, in the year 1844, when

* Mr. Wise goes on to show how this money can be provided by taxation, without the least embarrassment to the people of the State, and the argument seems to be unanswerable. Among other sources of revenue hitherto unnoticed, he refers to the oyster trade as follows:

"The smallest tax upon the oyster fisheries in her limits would yield a very considerable annual revenue. The soil upon which the oysters grow extends over a space of more than 2,000 square miles. About 16,000 tons of licensed vessels, belonging to our citizens, and at least five times that number of tons belonging to citizens of other States, making in all 96,000 tons per annum, are engaged in the oyster trade of Virginia. That amount of tonnage accounts for more than 25 to 30 millions of bushels of oysters taken and carried away from the public soil of Virginia every year. The oysters are worth from 20 cents per bushel, at the place where taken, to 50 cents per bushel in the market at wholesale. A tax of *two cents* per bushel, on 25 millions of bushels, would yield a gross revenue of \$500,000 per annum, to be collected, under inspection laws, by not more than four small steam-cutters, at an annual cost of not more than \$20,000 per annum for them, and a cost of fees for licenses not exceeding \$30,000 per annum, leaving a net revenue from this *jus publicum* of \$450,000 per annum."

† Indigenous Races of the Earth. Philadelphia; J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1857.

that Journal was under our editorial control; he afterwards, by invitation, delivered from one of the chairs of the University of Louisiana, in the Medical branch of which he is now Professor, several lectures, which were elaborated into a volume, and subsequently published under the title of the "Races of Men," etc. These lectures being severely attacked, Dr. Nott defended himself in the pages of this Review, and of the Charleston Medical Journal. His other writings have been in connection with Mr. Gliddon, and embrace an edition of the work of Count Gobineau, and a volume issued two years ago, entitled "Types of Mankind."

The present is by far the most thorough and learned attempt that has yet been made to disprove the popular theory, that mankind were descended from a single pair of progenitors, and to maintain the opposite one, that there were many creations, in different zones of the habitable earth, each original creation or pair having certain physical characteristics, adapted to its native climate, and differing in color, habits, and constitution. The argument may be conducted upon grounds purely scientific, and whether decided in one way or the other, involves no cardinal point of scriptural interpretation, nor the validity of the generally received teachings relating to the creation and fall of man. If the diversity of races be established, the scriptural account of Adam and Eve and their descendants will then be the history of one of these races, and any expressions to be found inconsistent with such a meaning, may be considered properly to be figurative. If it be objected that responsibility for Adam's fall is inconsistent with the idea of several independent races, the answer may be made that the ways of God are inscrutable to human ken, and are not to be called in question because they cannot be understood. Bishop Butler tells us this, and it is quite as difficult, by unaided human reason, to discover the justice of involving Adam's own posterity in the consequences of his fall, as the posterity of his brethren or contemporaries. It is not our purpose, however, to enter into the argument here.

The several chapters on the Indigenous Races of Men will be examined and commented upon in their order.

The work opens with a superb chart, on which there are fifty-four portraits of the various races of mankind, with tables showing their geographical distributions, their cranioscopic peculiarities, linguistic and physiological distinctions. Geographically, the distribution according to Agassiz, is—

I. ARCTIC—Hyperborean.

II. ASIATIC—Mantchurian, Japanese, Chinese, Centro-Mongolian, Caspian.

III. EUROPEAN—Scandinavian, Russian, Central-European, South-European, North African, Egyptian, Syro-Irarian.

IV. AFRICAN—Saharan, Nubian, Abyssino-Arab, Senegalian, Guinean, Afric Table-land, Hottentot, Madagascan.

V. AMERICAN—Canadian, Alleghanian, Louisianian, Rocky Mountaineer, Northwest Coaster, Californian, Main-lander, Antilles, Brazilian, Pampas, Cordilleras, Peruvian, Patagonian.

VI. POLYNESIAN—Northern, Western, Southern, and Eastern.

VII. MALAYAN—Dukhun, Indo-Chinese, Sunda-Islandic.

VIII. AUSTRALIAN—Papuan, Tasmanian.

Mr. Agassiz, in an introductory note, protests against the inference drawn from affinity of languages in favor of the primitive unity of man, asserting that the same affiliations run through the animal kingdom :

"Let any one follow upon a map exhibiting the geographical distribution of the bears, the cats, the hollow-horned ruminants, the gallinaceous birds, the ducks, or of any other families, and he may trace, as satisfactorily as any philological evidence can prove it for the human language, and upon a much larger scale, that the brumming of the bears of Kamschatka is akin to that of the bears of Thibet, of the East Indies, of the Sunda islands, of Nepal, of Syria, of Europe, of Siberia, of the United States, of the Rocky mountains, and of the Andes; though all these bears are considered as distinct species, who have not any more inherited their voice one from the other, than different races of men. The same may be said of the roaring and miaowing of the cats of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America; or of the lowing of the bulls, the species of which are so widely distributed nearly over the whole globe. The same is true of the gackeling of the gallinaceous birds, and of the quacking of the ducks, as well as of the song of the thrushes—all of which pour forth their gay and harmonious notes in a distinct and independent dialect, neither derived nor inherited one from the other, even though all sing thrushish."

Chapter I. is by Alfred Maury, of Paris, one of the most distinguished of the savans of Europe, and is devoted to a consideration of the diversity of tongues existing among nations, tracing their points of resemblance, yet demonstrating such radical differences as forbid the idea of any common original. The research is wonderfully erudite, the classification comprising fourteen different families of languages subdivided into an infinite number of branches and dialects. In regard to the American languages he maintains that they are assimilated more to the African than to the Polynesian, so generally supposed. The common points of resemblance in the American languages are the agglomeration of words through contraction, (by suppressing one or several syllables of the combined radicals,) the new words being considered simple : 2, the substitution of the animate and inanimate gender in lieu of the masculine and feminine. The existence of two plurals, and sometimes of two duals, is common to the Polynesian also. There were found by Mr. Gallatin thirty-seven families of tongues, comprising more than one hundred dialects, in North America, without exhausting the idiom of that portion of the world. That nothing may be inferred from these resemblances between the American and African, Mr. Maury remarks :

"The aspect of two vast linguistic groups, placed at distances so remote, might have engendered a supposition of some links of proximate relationship between the populations speaking them, if, in view of their *physique*, the Indians of the New World, and the negroes and Hottentots of Africa, were not so entirely different. But, seeing that we have established each floor (*étage*) of linguistic civilization—if one may so speak—we cannot admit that these tongues have been transported from Africa to America, or, at least, that their grammar already governed the idioms spoken by such supposititious emigrants. Similitude between the two groups shows us merely, that the native aborigines of Africa and of America possessed an analogous faculty of language; and that neither could rise above a certain level, which, at first sight, may have been taken for a common characteristic, and as a sign of filiation."

Chapter II. is by Francis Pulsky, of the Hungarian Academy, etc., a brilliant scholar and writer. He takes for his theme Iconographic

researches, analyzing carefully the arts of the several nations of the earth, ancient and modern, with the view of discovering their analogies and differences, the conclusions being opposed to the theory of a common family. The aim of M. Pulsky is to establish—

"1. That whilst some races are altogether unfit for imitative art, others are by nature artistical in different degrees.

"2. That the art of those nations which excelled in painting and sculpture, was often indigenous and always national; losing not only its type but likewise its excellence by imitating the art of other nations.

"3. That imitative art, derived from intercourse with, or conquest by artistic races, remained barren, and never attained any degree of eminence—that it never survived the external relations to which it owed its origin, and died out as soon as intercourse ceased, or when the artistic conquerors became amalgamated with the unartistic conquered race.

"4. That painting and sculpture are always the result of a peculiar artistical endowment of certain races, which cannot be imparted by instruction to unartistic nations. This fitness, or aptitude for art seems altogether to be independent of the mental culture and civilization of a people; and no civil or religious prohibitions can destroy the natural impulse of an artistical race to express its feeling in pictures, statuary, and reliefs."

Speaking of American art, he does not think the time has yet arrived for writing its history, the existing specimens being little heeded at home, and scarcely to be found in Europe. The people of the United States are too utilitarian to care about anything but the present and the Spanish races, neither have the genius or the repose to give attention to antiquities. Europeans are not invited to the field by the charms and beauties which distinguish the Græco-Roman period, or the historical interest which attaches to Egyptian, Assyrian, or early Christian art.

These red nations are strangers to the civilized world, their civilization not being connected with its history, and their states being far inferior to that of the Japetides, Shemites, and Tauranians. Even Chinese art presents far higher claims to attention and study than the monuments of the mound-builders, of the Toltecs and Aztecs of Mexico and Central America, and of the Quichuas and Aymaras of Peru, and the Lake of Titicaca. China still exists in populousness and might. Referring to the Africans, Mr. Maury says, that sober history encourages no dreams that they can ever exhibit any artistical characteristics:

"Long as history has made mention of negroes, they have never had any art of their own. Their features are recorded by their ancient *enemies*, not by themselves. Egyptian kings who, from the earliest times of antiquity, came often into collision with the blacks, had them figured as defeated enemies, as prisoners of war, and as subject nations bringing tribute. Their grotesque features, so much differing from the Egyptian type, made them a favorite subject for sculptural supports of thrones, chairs, vases, &c.; or painted under the soles of sandals, of which instances abound in Museums as well as in the larger works on Egypt."

"Petronius, who lived under the emperor Nero, describes, in his Novel, three vagabond literary men who, having taken passage in a ship on the Mediterranean, suddenly discover that it belongs to a merchant on board, whom two of them had previously robbed. Dreading his revenge, one of them says:

"Emolpus, being a scholar, has certainly ink with him: let us, therefore, dye ourselves from top to toe; and as Ethiopian slaves we shall be at his command without fear of torture; for by the change of color we shall deceive our enemies." But Geiton exclaims in reply: 'as if color alone could transform our

shape! for many things have to conspire that the lie might be maintained under any circumstances. Or can we fill our lips with an ugly swelling! can we crisp our hair with an iron! and mark our forehead with scars! and distend our shanks into a curve! and draw our heels down to the earth! and change our beard into a foreign fashion!—artificial color beamears the body, but does not change it.”

“Voltaire has somewhere wittily remarked, ‘the first white man who beheld a negro must have been greatly astonished; but the reasoner who claims that the negro comes from the white man astonishes me a great deal more.’”

Chapter IV. was prepared by Dr. Meigs, Professor in the Medical College of Philadelphia. It is entitled “Cranial Characteristics of the Races of Men.” The magnificent cranial collection left by the lamented Morton have been arranged and classified by Dr. Meigs, with the view of publishing a fourth edition of the celebrated catalogue. In his opinion long years of severe and earnest research are necessary before we can pronounce authoritatively upon the ultimate and perplexing problems of ethnology. On page 250, Dr. Meigs remarks, and what is said is worthy of the most profound consideration:

“It will be readily inferred that every additional foreign element introduced into a nation will only serve to render a thorough fusion more and more difficult. Indeed, an almost incalculable time would be required to bring the blending stocks into equilibrium, and thus cause to disappear the innumerable hybrid forms or pseudo-types. As long as the blood of one citizen of such a nation differed in the degree of its mixture from that of another, diverse and probably long-forgotten forms would crop out in the most unaccountable manner, as indications of the past, and obstacles to the assumption of that perfectly homogeneous character which belongs to the pure stocks alone. To be assured of the truth of these propositions, we have but to examine with care the population of any large commercial city, as London, Constantinople, Cadix, New York, &c.

“If, now, it be true, as Count de Gobineau maintains, in his philosophical inquiry into the Cause of National Degeneracy, that a nation lives and flourishes only so long as the progressive and leading ethnical element or principle, upon which it is based, is preserved in a vigorous state, and that the exhaustion of this principle is invariably accompanied with political death, then should the American statesman turn aside from the vapid and mischievous party-questions of the day—questions whose very littleness should permit them to pass unheeded—and earnestly compare the historical phases of our youthful Republic with those of the fallen Greek and Roman empires, and the already enfeebled English commonwealth, that he may learn those unalterable laws of political reproduction, evolution, and decay, and thus forewarned, provide intelligently for the amelioration of that disease whose seeds were planted when the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed, and whose deadly influences threaten, sooner or later, like the Lianes of a tropical forest, to suffocate the national tree over which they are silently spreading.”

Chapter V. is by Dr. Nott. It considers the subject of acclimation or the comparative influence of climate, endemic and epidemic diseases upon the races of man. This subject is of great importance, for should it be made evident that each type of mankind, like the several species of plants and animals, has its appropriate climate or station, beyond which it cannot travel, or acquire domiciliation, in any length of ages, then the advance has been great towards establishing the doctrine of disunity. Dr. Nott writes with great power and erudition. He tells us that the pure white man degenerates in the tropics. His body and mind are affected. His average duration of life is lessened, and he would become extinct without fresh importations. His descendants

restored to their native climes recover the healthful standard of their original types :

"This fact may be familiarly exemplified by the habits of English sojourners (*colonists* they cannot be termed) now scattered throughout Hindostan and the Indian Archipelago, on both sides of Africa a few hundred miles north of the Cape, along the southern shores of the Mediterranean, in the West Indies, South America, and elsewhere. Such emigrants are, moreover, out of all proportion, athletic adults before quitting their birth-place; who set forth with the intention, and are ever cheered by the hope, of returning *home* the moment their ambition is realized. Few, notwithstanding, come back to their native land with constitutions unimpaired; but, in no cases do those English whose means are not absolutely insignificant, attempt to rear up their children in any of the above tropical regions. If they do so, parents mourn over the graves of lost offspring, or sigh on beholding the sickly appearance of the surviving; of the latter, and adult generation, especially amongst the females, suffering under hourly increasing morbid influence, is destined to succumb far within the average limits of longevity that would have been accorded to them by a life-insurance actuary, had they grown up in Europe. On the contrary, every sacrifice is made, under the name of 'education,' to send them homeward, in order that they may become constitutionally *retempered*, before they are once more exposed to such deleterious intertropical influences. So true is this rule, that, on the authority of a friend of Mr. Gliddon's, Major General Bagnold, of the Hon. East India Company's Service—a veteran who now, with his family, in London, practically carries into effect half a century of Oriental experiences—we know that the oldest purely English regiment in India, the "Bombay Tufts," notwithstanding that marriages with British females are encouraged, has never been able, from the time of Charles II. to the present hour, to rear, from births in the corps, boys enough to supply its drummers and fifers."

According to Desjobert, French and English races labor in Canada, in the northern United States, in New Holland; but in the southern United States, and on the adjacent islands, it is the blacks who work—in India the Hindoos. Spaniards, coming from a hotter climate, do labor a little in Cuba and Porto Rico, and Italian and Spanish fishermen toil upon the Southern Atlantic coasts, but their labor is far less than in Europe, or in the Northern States of the Union. The Dutchman works only in Europe. The Portuguese does not labor in India. In Brazil it is the black who works for him; in Central America the Carib, the Indian, or the half-caste. In Egypt no European or Turk is an agricultural worker, but he leaves the field to the indigenous *Fellah*. The French discover colonization to be impossible in Algeria without Arab or Kabyle labor. In South America, the West Indies, etc., Coolie labor is sought in the deficiency of African. The negro follows the same law. Unlike the white, however, his complexion never changes. No northern frosts bleach his skin. Cold kills him, but affects not his hair, his color, or his frame :

"If we turn now to the physical history of the negro, we shall find the picture completely reversed. He is the native of the hottest region on the globe, where he goes naked in the scorching rays of the sun, and can lie down and sleep on the ground in a temperature of at least 150° of Fahrenheit, where the white man would die in a few hours. And while the degenerate tropical descendants of the whites are regenerated by transportation to cold parallels of the temperate zone, experience abundantly proves that, in America, the negro steadily deteriorates, and becomes exterminated north of about 40° north latitude. The statistics of New England, New York, and Philadelphia, abundantly prove this. The mortality of blacks in our northern States averages about double that of the whites; and although their natural improvidence and social

condition may, and do, have an influence on this result, still, no one conversant with the facts will deny the baneful influence of cold upon the race.

"It is evident, then, that the white and black races differ, at the present day, as much in their physiological as they do in their physical characters; and until their actual characteristics are changed, it cannot be expected that their normal geographical range will be enlarged. The respective types which they now present, antedate all human, written, or monumental records, and will only disappear with the other typical forms of our Fauna."

Dr. Nott asserts, unhesitatingly, on the basis of all experience, that though there may be acclimation from yellow fever, growing out of birth, etc., in Southern cities, yet, to residents in the country, there can be no acclimation against intermittent and bilious fever, and other marsh diseases. The inhabitants of the regions about Rome are acclimated no further than were their ancestors two thousand years ago:

"There have been many disputes about the comparative longevity of races; but all the statistics of our Southern States would seem to prove, that the negroes are the longest-lived race in the world; and if a longevity of any other race can be shown, equal to the blacks of Charleston, we have been unable to find the statistics.

"On a review of the tables of mortality from Charleston, it will be seen that the average mortality of the colored population, for the last ten years, is 1 in 43.6—about the same ratio as the eighteen previous years. When it is remembered that this is exclusively a laboring class, and including a considerable proportion of free colored population, it cannot but excite our wonder. It proves two points: 1. That the black races assimilate readily to our climate; 2. That they are here in a more favorable condition than any laboring class in the world. It should, perhaps, be remarked, that, in a warm climate, a pauper population and laboring class do not suffer from the want of protection against cold and its diseases; which, at the North, cause, among these classes, a large proportion of their mortality. Even in the sickliest parts of our Southern States, there are more examples of longevity, among the *whites*, than are seen in cold climates; for the reason, I presume, that the feebleness of age offers little resistance to the rigor of northern climates. This, however, does not prove that the average duration of life is greater South than North."

Chapter VI. is by Mr. Gliddon. He reviews the doctrines of the schools that maintain either side of the argument of the races, and examines into the question of the antiquity of man, chronologically, historically, and palæontologically. Mr. Gliddon has devoted his whole life to archæological studies, and more especially to those relating to Egypt. He is the editor of the volume we are reviewing, and in addition to this chapter prepares innumerable valuable notes. We have not space enough for as many references as we desire to this chapter. It is able and thorough, and, we are glad to see, administers a proper rebuke upon the want of courtesy and Christian bearing, as well as the intolerance displayed in his relations to himself as well as to others engaged in this controversy, of a clergyman of the Dutch Reformed Church of Charleston. On the subject of the introduction of camels into this country, Mr. Gliddon has a note claiming a large part of the merit. It seems that he prepared a memoir dedicated to Col. Davis, and presented it to the War Department. But we allow him to present his own claims, and close our article with the extract:

"It is known to everybody in this country that the United States Transport 'Supply' has already made two trips, one to Alexandria, and the other to Smyrna, and brought over to Texas some 80 of these animals, in good condition.

The undertaking could not fail to be successful—1st, because the ship was commanded by my old friend (welcomed 'chez moi' at Cairo as far back as 1835,) Lieut. David Porter, U. S. N.;—and 2d, because the War Department has merely carried out (with but one solitary exception) every detail—down to the most minute—of my 'Remarks' aforesaid, in regard to the importation of these animals.

"Following the maxim—'je reprends ma propriété où je la trouve'—I claim here the credit of chalking out the lines upon which these *camels* reached America; confident that if (and I hardly think such contingency possible after the instruction the party in charge had from myself) there should be any failure in developing the unbounded utility of these quadrupeds after their landing, such eventuality can proceed solely through United States' official mismanagement.

"Meanwhile, I presume my above mentioned MS. has become mislaid at the War Department; because I see that Mr. Marsh, in his very nice little work, (Boston, 1856,) on the 'Camel,' whilst gratefully acknowledging the various documents on the subject lent him by the War Department, with honorable mention of the *Authors* of each paper, has nowhere alluded, either to myself (who planned the whole affair for them in writing, 1851-6,) or to my said 'Remarks.'"

THE AGRICULTURAL BUREAU OF THE PATENT OFFICE—ITS OPERATIONS AND REPORTS.

Without assenting always to the opinions of Mr. Goss, who is an intelligent chemist, and pupil of Liebig, we freely accord to him a place in the Review, believing it a public service to point out abuses in any branch of administration, or errors and incompetency, should such exist.

The Agricultural branch of the Patent Office undoubtedly does some good; but its rapid growth, the enormous sums it is now drawing from the treasury, increasing, and likely to increase, every year, and the class of duties it is assuming to perform, may well excite the apprehension of every true friend of the Constitution and of limited government. If these things may go on, where will there be a pause short of absolute power and centralism? Ten millions, or fifty millions, may be expended in time as easily as a quarter of a million. If seeds can be distributed, so may ploughshares—for even guano finds already a vent. If agriculture can make such demands, will not manufactures and commerce become in time as clamorous? It is as easy to prove a case for one as the other. Better return to the legitimate objects of Government, and leave to private enterprise, individual or associated, what private enterprise can do so much better and cheaper. The South (the real agricultural region) asks for nothing here, and, indeed, gets little. So far as she is concerned, you may shut up the office and discontinue the Reports. She has not yet been taught, and hopes never to be taught, reliance upon the public crib, instead of reliance upon her own energies and intelligence.—EDITOR.

The astonishing progress which has been made in all the branches of natural science during the last thirty years, is owing in no small degree to the overthrow of those pedantic and intolerant monopolists of science and learning, who, while speaking *ex cathedra*, very seldom recognized any but their own authority, or gave credit to any system, theory, view,

and experiment, other than such as emanated from the school to which they belonged, or of which they were regarded the shining lights.

Any one conversant with the progress made in Physics, Chemistry, Geology, and Physiology, knows of the desperate struggle and severe trials, which the modern masters of science had to contend with against the old oligarchy of professors and scholars, before they could succeed in revolutionizing the vast field of applied sciences. These old fashioned gentlemen fell upon Liebig, when he first startled the world with his bold views, daring theories, and ingenious hypothesis, and his contemporaries, in other branches of natural sciences, did not fare better.

However, the revolution has been accomplished; and, at this day, there is in the scientific world of Europe no other authority recognized but what can show cause for the pre-ference on the very face of its teachings, investigations, or conclusions. Humboldt, Faraday, Agassiz, Liebig, Dumas, themselves, form no exceptions to the rule.

It is our purpose now to present a few critical remarks on the operations of the Agricultural Bureau of the Patent Office, as they are developed in its "Reports."

The man of science, as well as the practical agriculturist, was accustomed to date the advent of the period of a more rational theory and practice in agriculture from the days of "father Thaez," or the latter part of the last or the beginning of the present century; but the compiler of the Agricultural Report frequently rejoices in referring to the sayings of Cato, Pliny, Palladius, Columella, and others of the old Latin writers. The men of our days, to whom we are indebted for the scientific structure and more rational development of the art of culture, must feel some surprise at this. One might just as well, in treating of astronomy, physics, chemistry, and other branches of the natural sciences, resort to Pythagoras, Archimedes, Galen, Hermes, or the old Egyptian magicians, for his principal authorities. Was it the object of the founders of the Agricultural Bureau to make it the archives of all the historical rubbish of the dark ages—the infant tune of science and industry—a source of every description of information however destitute of any real value to the agriculturalist of our days and of our land? While we know that the Romans, Greeks, Egyptians, and other ancient nations had not the means furnished by the very modern sciences of geology, chemistry, and physiology, to look into the nature, the laws, and the conditions of vegetable life, it is indeed quite immaterial to our farmers and planters to learn what Cato, Theophrastus, or Pliny may have thought in this regard. But if

even worthy of note, it is certainly beyond the proper province of the Agricultural Bureau to convey this kind of knowledge. The object of this Bureau, as we regard it, is to examine into the condition of our national agriculture, and by pointing out its deficiencies, and ascertaining and proposing the certain or probable remedies, to devise the means and ways for its general or special amelioration and improvement.

There are undoubtedly many good things contained in all of the "reports," but they are so mixed up with incongruous, contradictory, impractical, trifling, and very often erroneous statements, suggestions, and propositions, that their value is greatly impaired, and not seldom entirely paralyzed. So far we can see in these "reports" nothing but a cheap and unfair competitor to our statistical and agricultural periodicals, which does not possess the adaptability and practical value for specific regions, of which many of the latter may be proved.

The suggestions of the Commissioner, in the volume for 1855, relating to the system to be adopted in promotion of the objects of the Agricultural Bureau, we are not prepared altogether to contradict, though it may be doubted among other things if the "assessors" will be suitable agents for procuring "*reliable* annual statistics." If one remembers the stubborn and persistent opposition which the marshals of the census encountered on account of the peoples' horror against taxation, it naturally suggests itself that such will be still more the case with assessors.

The propriety of the introduction of the valuable meteorological tables of Professor Henry in the Agricultural Report may be questioned. This is going back to elementary and abstract principles, with which the mind of the farmer and planter may not be troubled successfully. In agricultural matters the science of climatology is chiefly destined to aid in establishing the laws for the natural geographical range and distribution of the plants, by showing the analogies of various regions in the character of their seasons, the changes in temperature, of winds, moisture, etc., in the course of the year. Beyond the study of these varying or parallel characteristics of certain agricultural districts, the practical cultivator is not likely to go. But as this science is in its infancy yet, it appears that its exposition could find a more appropriate quarter. The views of Prof. Henry, as set forth in his article, "*Meteorology in its connection with Agriculture*," no matter how ingenious, are hypothetical to a great extent, and however much praise the author deserves, I am decidedly of the opinion, that the communication is in the wrong place. We can, further, not agree with the Commissioner of Patents, when he calls the chemical analysis of soils and products "a supple-

ment to these meteorological investigations," insisting "that the full purpose of the latter cannot be carried out without a resort to the former." We maintain that any competent judge would rather express the opinion that the objects of chemical analysis of soils, products, and ashes, may be more fully and conclusively secured if mere meteorological observations are once reduced to certain immutable and generally understood laws.

Many of the statements in regard to the results so far obtained from this wholesale practice of distributing "seeds and cuttings," are made on *ex parte* experience, and the anticipations attached to them, to say the least, are, in most cases, sanguine and premature. It is surprising, that the culture of certain trees, shrubs, and herbs is recommended on the score of our yearly importing the useful parts of them to the amount of such and such value from other countries.

Are we to make a China or Japan out of this country? or are we afraid that England, France, or Spain, in case of war with us, would close up all the seas to our merchantmen? When was it ascertained that an import of raw and manufactured materials is injurious to the prosperity of a country, which is already gradually advancing towards a period when foreign countries have of necessity to buy more from it, than they can hope to sell in return? Shall commerce decrease or be arrested, in order to make our land the receptacle of nature's gifts all over the globe, if such a thing were attainable? We certainly do not object to a bed or garden of the "almond," "cork oak," "prune," "liquorice," "vanilla," "box wood," and a thousand such, as matters of taste or ornament here and there, but we deem it exceedingly idle to encourage such experiments *for economical ends*, on a large scale, so long as we have need to impress on the minds of our farmers the necessity of an improvement in the culture of the very first staples, which constitute the wealth of the country. If we dare take it for granted, that a cultivation of the "opium poppy," "palmated rhubarb," "asafetida," "malabar cinnamon," and similar medicinal plants, would, after all the experiments made in southern Europe and elsewhere, give no satisfaction to the scrutinizing pharmacologist, it must still sound amusing to find included in the list even the Iceland moss, common all over northern and middle Europe and cheap as dirt, and which in all probability grows unnoticed in equal abundance in many districts of our more northern States. Indeed having just taken up the dispensatory of the United States, we learn that the plant is found in the northern latitudes of the old and *new* continents, and on elevated mountains further south. It is also abundant on the mountains and in the sandy plains of New

England. What is said of this "Iceland moss" in respect to its cheapness, must be said of the equally recommended "orris root," "quassia," "rhatany," and others which are paraded in the "report." Why not introduce with the same show of reason, all at once, the whole batch of plants found in the *materia medica*? So far has the compiler of the "report" transgressed the limits of his proper province, that he does not shrink from giving the medical and technical properties, and corresponding applications of some of his pet plants, which properties any one desirous of learning, can be found more correctly and professionally discussed by calling for the Dispensatory at the first drug store in reach. It is new to us that the "quassia" is narcotic, because it kills flies! The *recipes* for making tooth-powder, port wine, tincture, quassia beer, or for cooking chesnuts à la France, would be better fitted for a six-penny "golden book" or "household treasure," than for being made part of the contents of the report of the National Agricultural Bureau!

That we import \$30,000 worth of castor-oil, does not prove, that the "*palma christi*" is not extensively cultivated in some of our States, where happily some enterprising fellow-citizens have grown rich by pressing the viscid liquid from the castor-beans. The import goes to show, what is founded in fact, that the people of the United States consume more castor-oil, than all the world and the rest of mankind together. To have this, our own experience approved by incontestable authority, we refer once more to the pharmacopœia of the United States, which says: "That the *ricinus* is perhaps in no country more largely cultivated than in the United States."

It is further a fallacious view, that our wheat lands "average twenty bushels to the acre," the yield, according to the last census, as well as to more recent information, being not quite *ten bushels per acre*. And, pray, what American farmer would be led to plant the "Persian walnut," because "the product of each tree will be about one bushel of nuts in twelve or fifteen years after planting?" As to the laudations bestowed on the oil, obtained from the kernel of the Persian walnut, we must respectfully suggest to substitute and use, if needs be, the oil of the indigenous "*Juglans*," which is abundantly found in the forests of the Canadas and of all the northern, eastern, and western States, and which oil enjoys similar properties with the one from the "*Juglans regia*."

In another place the "report" maintains, that if we were to cultivate the "opium poppy," and to raise a surplus, it could be sent to China in exchange for tea. An odd proposition, if it be taken into consideration, that, but for the prohibitory laws of China, that plant would there prosper as "hardy" as

in Hindoostan, Persia, or Arabia. The English East India Company has besides taken upon itself the disgraceful business of smuggling upon the poor children of the Celestial Empire that wicked drug in large quantities, and we would not advise our human and liberal people to rival John Bull in the execrable traffic.*

But there is hardly an item in that portion of the "report" to the introduction of which we could not take exception. If, as another instance, it is presumed, that we might save the cost for the imported Russian and Chinese rhubarb, "if its culture were successfully prosecuted here," we have but to answer, that no competent medical man substitutes, at this day, and after fifty years trial, the French, English, or German rhubarb for the Asiatic article. Above all others, the recommendation of the culture of the "asafoetida plant" is ludicrous and trifling; for, as a medicament, its use is exceedingly limited, and as to its spice or relish, it is certain that our people will not indulge in the taste of the Persians, but adhere their kindred, yet less offensive onion and garlick.

Experiments in planting the "Malabar cardamom" and similar spices, would prove, doubtless, unsuccessful. But if there were any reason to expect satisfactory results, we would recommend in their place the cultivation of the more extensively used and consequently more lucrative Java coffee, Ceylon cinnamon, mace and nutmeg, cloves, &c.; though we should regret to state, that the natural geographical range of all these vegetable tribes is exceedingly limited, and does not, therefore, encourage the hope of a successful experiment.

Now, in order to point out the foregoing mistakes in the Agricultural Report of the Patent Office, we had scarcely need to review more than a portion of the introductory pages.

Space does not at present admit of any further extension of these remarks, though we have advanced but a very short distance into the report. There is one subject, however, upon which something may with great propriety be said, considering the interest it has excited in this country.

The Agricultural branch of the Patent Office claims no little merit for the introduction of the sorghum or Chinese sugar cane, which it is said and thought will destroy the present monopoly in that most necessary article of consumption. At

* The Edinburgh Review for April, 1857, says, "We raise an Indian revenue of £8,000,000 upon the opium grown under Government monopoly. * * * We see the important part it plays in a trade which involves that of India where the population consumes £8,000,000 of British manufactures, and the whole circle cannot be held to represent a commerce of less than £30,000,000 annually. * * *. Trading in opium, while Chinese laws and public opinion in that country continue what they now are, is fatal to any improvement in our relations, commercial or political."—Edinr.

the same time, a statement has appeared, and is going the round of the public press to the following effect:

"CHINESE SUGAR CANE.—At the annual meeting of the Boston Natural History Society, on the 6th, Dr. A. A. Hayes read a paper on the Chinese sugar cane, in which he concludes that the sorghum cultivated in this country does not secrete cane sugar, or true sugar, its saccharine matter being purely glucose in a semi-fluid form. For sweetening properties nearly four pounds of this glucose would be required to equal one of true sugar; but as a raw material for the production of spirit, and as an addition to the forage crop, the plant may be found to have a high economical importance. Prof. John Bacon confirmed the results at which Dr. Hayes had arrived. He was unable to obtain any crystals of sugar cane in the sorghum."

Whether the opinion of Professors Bacon and Hayes be correct or not, it furnishes another instance to demonstrate the deficiency in the operations of the Agricultural Bureau. Before any new species or variety of culture plants is diffused over our rural districts, and the farmers invited to spend their time, labor, and money in experimenting, their value should be tested first by some competent experimenters. If it turns out that the Chinese sugar plant furnishes *grape* instead of *cane* sugar, the Bureau is guilty of a very serious mistake. How, for one moment, could any one overlook that most important question—what kind of sugar is it which the sorghum yields? The Chinese and other people may be content with the quality of the saccharine principle contained in that plant for their economical wants and tastes; or, more probably, may it serve them the same purposes that the sweet fruit juices, raisins, figs, plums, and others do in our households; but all this would not warrant the recommendation of the culture of the plant as a substitute for the sugar cane of our Southern States. We have no objection to let the sorghum pass for a very excellent fodder plant, and hope that further experience will prove that it is that without any deleterious effort on the soil's constituents. But it is more than we can digest if the packages containing the seeds are at once labeled—"good for fodder, green or dry, *and for making sugar*." So far we have only seen that the stalks yielded *syrup*, a fact which by no means warrants the production of a sugar equal to that obtained from the sugar cane.

We are, however, not at all astonished to see endorsed by the Bureau opinions like that from one of its correspondents, who, indeed, did not attempt to make sugar, but has no doubt that it can be made from such a syrup as the one obtained from the sorghum juice, and "more and better sugar, too, than the Louisiana cane does yield." In the report of 1854, the sorghum is introduced in the following terms: "The great object sought in France in the cultivation of this plant is the juice contained in its stalks, which furnishes three important

products, viz: sugar, which is identical with that of cane sugar, alcohol, and a fermented drink analogous to cider. The juice, when obtained with care, by depriving the stalk of its outer coating or woody fibre and bark, is nearly colorless, and contains merely sugar and water, producing from ten to sixteen per cent. of the former." Much of the correspondence displayed in the reports reflects no credit on the intelligence of either the author and the endorser; it sounds like clap-trap, and in some instances reminds one of the adage—"tickle me and I'll tickle you."

There is, however, no doubt but that the "sugar millet" is already a favorite with abolitionists, who fervently hope that it will deliver them from the necessity of using the slave-made sugar of Louisiana and Texas. We know the sentiments of some of the correspondents of the office on the sorgho. One, Mr. F. Alunch, from Warren county, Mo., was accustomed to leave his farm last summer and mount the stump in behalf of the woolly horse. He is in earnest with negro free-love, and although he did *not* make sugar from the sorgho, hints upon the propriety of inventing a suitable machine to crush the stalks, being probably unwilling to apply the instrument now in use at the South, because they sometimes crushed negroes!

The truth is the South has so long been accustomed to hear of great discoveries likely to put an end to her monopoly in the great agricultural staples, that she instinctively doubts when they are mentioned or presented from the usual sources. The upland rice, the flax cotton, and, in the event, perhaps, the Chinese sorghum will take their places in that same category.

Now that the importation of new cuttings of the sugar cane has so signally and disastrously failed, for whatever reason, the writer of this article will close for the present with an extract from an address submitted by him to the Southern members of Congress, and published before the expedition sailed:

"Is it advisable to have the experiment made with new cuttings on a 'liberal and extensive scale,' what is equivalent with a costly plan, without having previously ascertained whether that will or will not likely prove to be the remedy? Is it mere child's play to have an agent sent to 'Venezuela, Guiana, Brazil, East India, Mauritius, or Java,' in order to bring home new varieties of sugar cane, the planting of all of which may in the end not give the desired and expected satisfaction, because there was no necessity for them, they did not constitute the proper remedy to be applied? If either the degeneration of the plant, or the exhaustion of the soil, or mismanagement and want of rotations, or the scarcity of the application of manures, or any other is the cause of the unsatisfactory yield of the sugar cane in Louisiana, it strikes one very forcibly, that before all other contrivances for an amelioration, the remedy should be sought at home.

"How can it be done? Let us select some spots in the sugar region of the United States where the sugar cane seems healthy, or the crop is satisfactory; a similar course is adopted in districts where the contrary is the case. If we

can manage it to embrace in our research a dozen cane fields in various situations and of various qualities, so much the better. If not done before, we have to institute at the same time a series of climatological observations. Next we have to ascertain the physical and geological condition of the surface of the various cane districts, and then to enter upon a very careful chemical examination of the surface soil and sub-soil. Finally, we analyze likewise the ashes of the sugar cane varieties planted on different soils, and compare the results of the whole series of investigation. We shall, thereupon, learn to a certainty whether the conditions for satisfactory results from the soils of those various cane fields, to which the experiment extended, are uniform and equal, or they are not. If the latter is the case we will be enabled to supply the deficiency without much difficulty. The soil is brought up to the standard of that of a healthy and prosperous sugar region, and the same variety of cane planted again. Is the same discrepancy still showing itself, we are justified to ascribe the cause to other influences besides the deficiency in the composition of the soil, and the want or excess of moisture.

"Without pursuing such a systematic and well-understood course we remain most of the time in the dark, and losses are encountered and labor and capital thrown away without avail.

"Many diseases fostering upon culture plants, as the appearance of pernicious insects, the growth of parasitical vegetations, are very often but the result of the exhaustion and subsequent inadaptability of the soil, and disappear with the restoration of the latter to its former standard.

"We must never forget that as little as animals can feed or be healthy on an insalubrious air, on bad water, or insufficient and spoiled food, as little can plants be prevented from becoming diseased and degenerated whenever a remarkable deficiency or change in their principle nutriment, *the soil's constituents*, occurs."

N. B.—It was stated at the head of this article that guano was being distributed from the agricultural rooms of the Patent Office. This guano is the product of Baker's island, in the Pacific, and under the protection and encouragement of Government, was intended to be brought into competition with, or perhaps altogether supersede the Peruvian article. The State chemists of Maryland, having submitted to severe tests the samples received from the Patent Office, pronounce the article to be destitute of any practical value. Could not the office itself have ascertained this fact, making thus an appropriate use of its revenues, instead of holding out deceptive hopes so long to the public? The Maryland chemists say:

"It is evident from the analysis that the American guano from Baker's island is, as to composition and general character, identical with the common Mexican guano of the West Indies. It represents a Mexican guano of excellent quality; inasmuch as its total amount of phosphoric acid (39.11 per cent.) is equal to 85.37 per cent. of bone-phosphate of lime, a percentage which is seldom reached by Mexican guano, and surpassed only by Columbian.

"The almost total absence of ammonia in this guano (like in Mexican) makes it unfit for comparison with the Peruvian guano."

SOUTHERN EUROPEAN STEAMERS—THE BRISTOL MEETING.

Circumstances at the last moment prevented our attendance upon the Bristol Convention, to which we had been invited through the courtesies of the parties directly active in its promotion.

The meeting, however, took place, and some twelve or fourteen great railroad lines were represented. Dr. Mallory was elected President, and F. B. Deane, Esq., reported the resolutions. The Hon. Ballard Preston, late Secretary of the Navy, was appointed Commissioner to visit Europe under the 6th, 7th, and 8th resolutions. We give the series entire.

1st. *Resolved*, That Virginia possesses the associated and individual wealth, capital, and resources that enable her to fulfil, without oppression, re-action, or unreasonable burdens, any and all the obligations that rest upon her, and accomplish and perfect all her great system of public policy. That it is alike the dictate of wisdom, honor, security, and patriotism, that the important and leading lines of intercommunication now in progress, and unfinished within her borders, should be steadily and liberally supported with all the means for their perfect and entire completion.

2d. *Resolved*, That no work of internal improvement designed for the transportation of heavy tonnage and produce from the interior to the seaboard, is or can be regarded as complete or finished until the means and facilities are afforded for direct trade from the Chesapeake and its waters to Europe.

3d. *Resolved*, That the natural and artificial lines of trade, which are now in use and operation among us, are engaged in the transportation of an amount of domestic commodities and productions, and of foreign articles of commerce and trade, already sufficient to maintain a line of first-class steamships, and that the associated public and individual wealth and power of Virginia can readily supply the means necessary for such a line.

4th. *Resolved*, That fairness and justice demand that the Federal Government shall extend like facilities and advantages in the transportation of the mails, by the proposed line, as it has heretofore extended to other lines of ocean steamers.

5th. *Resolved*, That the works of internal improvement now in progress will derive great benefits and facilities in their construction and rapid completion from the establishment of the proposed lines of steamships, which will add incalculably to the productions and trade, already requiring direct lines of communication with foreign markets.

6th. *Resolved*, That, in view of the objects above indicated, a commission be appointed to visit Europe for the purpose of disseminating correct information in that country as to the financial and industrial condition and resources of Virginia, and also to place prominently before the commercial men abroad the advantages which must follow a direct trade between them and us on the completion of that extended system of improvements now so nearly accomplished, and which, when consummated, will connect our seaports with the great commercial and producing countries, stretching from the Chesapeake and beyond the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, by the shortest route and cheapest line of intercommunication between the East and West.

7th. *Resolved*, That our Commissioner be directed more especially to confer with parties abroad in reference to the speedy establishment of a suitable line or lines of steamers between the waters of Virginia and Europe; that he be also requested to place himself in correspondence with the managers and proprietors of the "Great Eastern" Steamship Company, and report to the President of this Convention whether or not the vessels of that company are likely to promote the objects of this Convention.

8th. *Resolved*, That the Commissioner be authorized to say, in our behalf, that we are not merely sensible of the importance of this trade, but that we

are unalterably determined to establish and maintain it on a permanent basis; and he can assure those disposed to connect themselves with us, that such an enterprise will receive that support from the people of Virginia, and the other States here represented, which its importance, commercially, and politically, so imperatively demands.

9th. *Resolved*, That the expenses attending the commission should be borne by the railroad companies of the State, who feel interested in the subject, in proportion to the length of their several lines; and that those who feel authorized to do so now pledge themselves to that effect in behalf of their several companies; and that others differently situated be requested to take immediate action to that end.

10th. *Resolved*, That we invite the co-operation of such portions of our country and such other lines of improvement, together with the commercial communities in our State, who may have a common interest with us in establishing a line or lines of ocean steamers.

THE ABOLITIONISM OF LITTELL'S LIVING AGE—ELIHU BURRITT.

Some time since we warned our readers against the growing abolitionism of this once reliable journal, popular at the South as well as throughout the country. It has, at last, taken another great step, thrown off the flimsy mask, and insolently undertakes to lecture the South and Southern statesmen on their future duties. If this work has yet Southern subscribers, it should cease to have any to-day.

The number for June 20, 1857, in addition to an outrageous article, copied from the Quarterly Review, vilifying the South, embraces a paper, on page 754, addressed "to Southern Statesmen," which is partly editorial and partly made up from one of the anti-slavery pamphlets of the North. Thus does the journal travel entirely out of its appropriate sphere, in this matter, in order that the wretched instincts for mischief, and for intermeddling in other people's affairs, which is so characteristic usually of Northern ill-regulated minds, may be gratified.

The editor opens with a fulsome complement to his "*brethren*" of the laud of Washington, Pinckney, Lowndes, and Leigh," (heaven save the mark, from one who is plotting daily the ruin of these brethren, and aiding those who basely revile them,) and pleads that he once acted with them in their opposition to the Protective Tariff—a kind of merit it is difficult at once to comprehend, unless it be of that sort which the tailor enjoyed, who claimed the acquaintance in Europe of Mr. Randolph, upon the score that he had furnished him his wardrobe in Richmond.

Having gone thus far, we are introduced to the largest portion of a pamphlet, embodying an address delivered during six months in all the considerable towns, from Cape Cod to Salem, or wherever an itinerant, officious yankee might go to turn a penny, or prate about universal benevolence, whilst

he cheats a neighbor out of a cent. The address is always received with enthusiasm. This lecturer is one Elihu Burritt, well known to the country for an insatiable appetite for some kind of public notoriety, either in regard to cheap postage, peace societies, Maine liquor laws, anti-slavery, spiritualism, or heaven knows what. Originally, he was a blacksmith, but instead of sticking to the anvil, for which nature intended him, he began soon to affect some curiosity about languages, and by poring over grammars and dictionaries, succeeded after a time in acquiring, it is said, a smattering of, we forget, how many different dialects, consuming thus the time which any sane man in his condition would have given to rational and useful knowledge. From that day to this he has been dipping his hand into everything, and perhaps no where displays more conceit, ignorance, and impertinence, than in the address upon slavery. "Stick to your" grammars or your "pantomimes, vagabond!"

Let us look at the pamphlet a little:

"No measure short of the total extinction of slavery can establish a Union on this Continent worth saving; and that is an achievement beyond the power of any section, or sectional party, though it should enrol in its ranks every voter north of Mason and Dixon's Line."

And how is this extinction of slavery to be effected? By setting aside the public lands of the United States as a perpetual fund, added to annual appropriations by Congress, for the purpose of purchasing up the slaves at \$250 a piece, (exactly half their value by the way, on the yankee principle, of beating down,) and of liberating them. Now this public domain is the joint product of the blood and the money of the South and the North, and *all* the means, which Congress has at its control, comes *two-thirds from the South*, and one-third from the North. The South must then pay two-thirds of the \$250. Very good Cape Cod political economy again!

If the South enquires what is to be done with these 4,000,000 of liberated blacks, which the North by stringent laws ever persecutes and drives out of her limits, which were excluded from Kansas by the Free State Convention, and are also the subject of restrictions in Canada, the answer is, that *they must remain where they are*, outnumbering often the whites, idle, lazy, eating up, like locusts, the productions of the soil, and reducing the level of the civilization of the South to that of Liberia or St. Domingo. Says the lecturer:

"The Northern States will never tax themselves to compensate the slaveholders for freeing and then banishing them, by expensive and cruel transportation. We hope our Southern brethren will believe this. The time may come, and soon, when the North, in its intense desire to extinguish forever the system of slavery, and to lift from this great land the perilous incubus that weighs it down, may offer to share with the South the cost of emancipation; but it will

be on the condition that the emancipated slaves shall not be exiled by force, as if freedom were a crime to possess, and as if they must be punished for the gift. Not if they are ever bought out of slavery, from the national treasury, they must remain in the land of their birth, in which they have as much right to dwell as any other portion of its population, and to which their labor is indispensable and invaluable. Now, then, why not at once put them at least in the very condition in which it is proposed by some southern economists to introduce the Chinese! On what possible ground can you apprehend that it would be unsafe to give to the men and women, born on your plantations, that degree of freedom which you would accord to those idolatrous foreigners from Asia! Would you prefer Chinese labor because it would be *free*, and easily obtained on hire! Then *free* the human sinews you have bought, and which you hold as property, and you will have the best, most natural, faithful, and trusty laborers the world can yield you."

If the South, again, with moderation and good sense, points to the present condition of the British West Indies, where the views of charlatans, like Mr. Burritt, have been practically carried out, (upon what evil times have we fallen, that our Calhouns, McDuffies, Randolphas, Cheeves, Hunters, and Macons, are to be lectured by every retired clock-maker,) the answer is:

"We now come to notice briefly the common argument or impression, that the manumitted slaves will not work for the stimulus of wages, that they will sink down into drivelling indolence and barbarism, if released from the sting of the lash. The West Indies experiment is brought forward to sustain this conclusion. There the emancipated Africans cannot be hired to work; they will see the sugar plantations ruined for labor, before they will supply it with their own hands. We think it quite likely that this is true. We hope it is at least. We hope that the miserly pittance of a shilling a day, offered by the *ci-devant* slaveholders of Jamaica or Barbadoes, will never hire many freed men to labor for their former masters, either in those islands or in our Southern States. They never will do it, we are confident, after having been able to buy or rent two or three acres of land. We believe that the charge of incorrigible indolence brought against the *emancipados* of the West Indies to be a libel on the truth. It is the brutal verdict of the old dilapidated plantation. It is the item where-with the deficit is balanced in the inventory of hogsheads of sugar. Again, we express our hope that men freed from slavery will not work for a shilling a day, either in the West Indies or the United States. We do not believe that our Southern planters would have the face to ask even a slave to work for that price, and board himself."

We have, however, little space to devote to Mr. Burritt. It is hardly worth while to notice his farago of stuff about increasing the value of Southern property by the action itself, of striking its chief and most productive ingredient out of existence, and we may well leave him to weave his sophistries and talk *learned* nonsense to gaping crowds of yankee villages, who are infinitely more ready and dextrous, as all experience has shown, to steal a negro, either from Africa or his master, than to buy one, unless, indeed, Mr. Burritt's argument can satisfy them, that it will be buying with Southern money. We dismiss him and the subject with the remark, that it is not upon the miserable dollar and cent philosophy, so prominent in his argument, that the South bases herself in her relations to slavery. The question is with her a higher

one. It is her faith that God has decreed orders and degrees, and subordinations, and that the institution of slavery, as practised by her, is one of these, tending to the development of society and socialism, where it could not otherwise exist, and to the elevation, physical and moral, and the christianization of a race, which, when left to itself in Africa, in Hayti, in Jamaica, falls naturally and rapidly into barbarism. This is her high function; and in the Union or out of it she will exercise it, leaving Mr. Burritt and his friends to swap jack-knives, converse with invisible spirits, run off negroes, manufacture tooth-picks and clocks, or nutmegs, or string together figures, showing how yankee philanthropy may be gratified in purchasing negroes, and making their masters pay for them. But Mr. Burritt draws the picture himself of his Northern friends and brothers, and we give it from him:

"For fifty years, the most able and astute defenders of slavery have been Northern men residing in the South. They have filled many of its pulpits, and the editorial chairs of its public press. They have made their way to the helm of its commercial enterprise and literary institutions. They have become its leading merchants, speculators, and factors. They have supplied nearly all its school teachers; thus commanding the current of popular education. Having a character to establish as 'Northern men with Southern principles,' they have far outrun the native slave-holders themselves in zeal for slavery. They have elaborated the most subtle and wicked arguments to sustain it. Many of them have exhibited an ingenuity in distorting the Holy Scriptures to this end, which Southern born theologians have never been able to equal. The most heartless sophistries to make the teachings of Jesus Christ and his apostles sanction 'the peculiar institution' of the South, have been the inventions of men born in the highest latitudes of civil liberty in the North. Thousands of them have become slave-owners on their own account, and thousands more hirelings and relentless drivers of slaves for others. By correspondence and social intercourse, they have kept up among their relatives and friends, in the free States, a countless standing army of apologists for the system, of almost equal zeal and bitterness."

"Take it all in all, probably two-thirds of 'all the wealth that sinews bought and sold have produced on this continent, have accrued to the States north of Mason's and Dixon's Line, as the pecuniary result of their silent partnership in the system of human bondage."

"By popular sentiment, commercial partnership, religious communion, and legislative action, the free States have lived in guilty complicity with the system of slavery from the foundation of the Republic."

THE NATIONAL RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE.

This is a subject well deserving the close examination and study of every American citizen. The excesses of Government begin always with the taxing power, and when they are not restrained, corruptions of every sort are engendered, official plunder increases, and liberty in the end yields. In domestic affairs it is understood that a duplication of the household does at most duplicate the expenditure, though more generally the expenditure increases at a lower ratio. The family of four children has not doubled the expense of the family of two. This should be the case in a well administered, frugal, and republican gov-

ernment. The reverse, however, has happened with us—for the federal expenditure has increased from about 38 cents to the person in 1790, to \$2 50 in 1857. We are glad to learn that the present able Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Cobb, intends ascertaining, with some degree of minuteness, the sum which is paid by the American citizens in taxation of every sort, municipal, State, or federal. He will find the difficulties, however, almost insuperable. Mr. Livingston, Secretary of State in 1832, attempted the same thing, but without much success; and a similar effort made by the census takers of 1850 is equally unsatisfactory. Mr. L. computed \$2 55 to each individual. Our own calculations, based upon the census returns, was \$3 58 to each individual, or \$4 24 to each white person. We have no doubt the amount is much greater.

If it be true that Mr. Cobb intends also to recommend the repeal of the laws relating to the coasting trade, as it is reported, thus putting all sections of the Union upon an equal footing, throwing open their trade to the whole world, he will have signalized his administration by a distinguished service to the country.

To come back, however, to the subject before us. We propose presenting the details of revenue and expenditure during the last fiscal year, and believe that it will be of interest and value to our readers to be familiarized with them. The total receipts were \$73,918,141, of which \$64,022,863 were from the customs, and \$8,917,644 from the public lands. The details must be given in our next.

GREAT RAILROAD CELEBRATIONS.

During the last month two monster railroad celebrations were enjoyed by the good people of the Union. They brought together hundreds of thousands and gave rise to interchanges of kindness and affection between regions remote from each other, and in many respects antagonistic. It is delightful to turn aside sometimes from the rough and thorny ways of political strife into the beautiful garden retreats afforded by those occasions. Man's sternness and idiocracy is subdued, and all his nobler nature is brought prominently out.

Through the great kindness of Mr. W. Prescott Smith, of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, we received a pressing invitation to be present at the festivities of opening the *Ohio and Mississippi*, the *Marietta and Cincinnati*, and the *North-western Virginia* railroads. We accepted the invitation, but were prevented at the last moment by unavoidable circumstances from making one of the party. On all hands it seems our loss has been great, and may never be repaired again. Magnificent scenery, distinguished company, glorious oratory, and admirable feastings chased each other rapidly over the route. Chillicothe, Marietta, Cincinnati, and St. Louis, were the prominent points of the excursions, and free tickets were

extended to the guests on over forty railroads at the North and West. Was ever munificence greater than this? At the head of the list, and deserving of the lion's share of the honor, is the *Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company*.

But we have not time to chronicle any of the events of this great jubilee, which passed off without one single accident, though occupying so many days, and crowding together such a multitude of human lives.

The Hon. Ed. Bates received the guests at St. Louis. In Ohio, Gov. Chase met them, and spoke with eloquence and beauty seldom surpassed. We quote, as one may even learn from the *enemy*:

"All those who faithfully labor in the commencement of great undertakings, seeking to realize in material forms great ideas, build far more wisely than they know. The projectors of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad little imagined how much more vast than even their great conceptions were to be the results of the work they undertook. They contemplated a connection with the Ohio, and through the Ohio and its affiliated rivers, with the immense territories watered by them. But they did not dream that these rivers themselves, were to be half superseded by other railroads, continuing their own iron-track farther and farther towards the setting sun. They did not even contemplate, I believe, the construction of the Northwestern Virginia Railroad over which you have just come hither. Still less did they anticipate that, when that branch of their own road should be completed to the Ohio, this Cincinnati and Marietta Road would be here to receive its passengers and freight and convey them westward. He would have been counted insane who should have predicted it. The only hospitalities thought to be due to him, who might then have hoped to participate in such a celebration as this, would have been the hospitalities of the Lunatic Asylum.

"To-day, gentlemen, you will have an opportunity of seeing how sober such an anticipation would have been. To-night you will be welcomed at the ancient metropolis of Ohio. To-morrow you will be received by the Queen City of the great Central Valley—still justly entitled to that proud distinction though many ambitious aspirants are eager to pluck the crown from her brow. There a greater wonder awaits you. The Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, forming still another link of the Central American Railway, stretches away still westward; and the iron-horse, impatient of delay, is eager to bear you on, beyond the ancient limits of the Republic, where the memories of the Crusades, and of French Empire, and of French Civilization are perpetuated by the name of *St. Louis*.

"There you may pause; but the railroad, the locomotive, and the telegraph—iron, steam, and lightning—the three mighty Genii of modern civilization, still press onward, and—I venture to predict it—will know no lasting pause until the whole vast line of railway shall be complete from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Baltimore to San Francisco.

"Gentlemen, I must not detain you by reflections. It were idle, indeed, to attempt to express the feelings which these themes excite. God grant that we may have the wisdom to understand that this our wonderful heritage of liberty, prosperity, and extended empire came from Him, and can only be preserved by obedience to His laws. God grant that the Union of the States, which this great railroad brings into such intimate relations, and that larger Union which embraces all the States of the Confederacy, and which forms the best assurance and guaranty of the permanence and enlargement of our precious heritage of free institutions, may endure in all its glorious strength and beauty while the mountains, and the rivers, traversed by the road shall stand or flow."

Another monster celebration was that of the opening of the *Charleston and Memphis Railroad*, when was enacted at both

ends of the line the imposing ceremony of the marriage of the waters of the Atlantic and the Mississippi. We were not of the guests on this imposing occasion, having been *overlooked* when the invitations were being prepared, or crowded out by more important personages, but still watched the sayings and doings with deep interest, and much of that feeling of home which comes back to the heart of the Carolinian when she is concerned, wander whither he may. The rejoicings were high and continuous, and the rites of hospitality never before were so lavishly exercised. We rejoiced in all this, but regret it can occupy so little of our space at present. A single extract is all that can be given, and it shall be from the address of Win. P. Miles, our former College mate and friend, now Mayor of Charleston and member elect of Congress:

"The completion of the great chain of connection between the seaboard and the great valley of the West, is a matter of special gratulation to the whole Southern people. It binds them together more closely and compactly as a homogeneous people, having common interests, common institutions, and a common destiny. If ever there was a time when it behooved the South to be united, it is now. Let us, then, dismiss forever all petty bickerings and jealousies, and stand hand and heart together in the common cause of the South.

"It is suicidal madness for us, while our citadel is besieged, and the enemy battering at the very gates, to be wrangling about unimportant issues, and points of dignity and precedence among ourselves, or casting envious glances at each other's store. Let us remember that all that we have goes collectively to swell the common means of defence, and to increase our common power. Men of the South, let us cultivate fraternal concord among ourselves. The South, and the whole South, is our common country—the only country which the reckless fanaticism, and upsparring, and merciless, and ungenerous warfare of the North has left us. Let us give to it our whole heart and undivided energies. There was a time when the people of the South—ay, of my own little State—'fire-eating,' 'ultra,' 'impracticable,' as it is the fashion to call her—loved the whole Union with a steady and patriotic devotion. That time has passed. Our love has been unrequited and chilled. Our devotion has been alienated and transferred. How can we love those who abuse, and villify, and scoff at us! Who take us by the throat and strive to throttle us! I have no sympathy with Shylock in the play—though our Black Republican foes no doubt think that in insisting on 'the bond' of the Constitution, we blood-thirstily deal in pounds of flesh; still his reproaches might well be uttered by us, with a slight paraphrase, addressed to those at the North who entreat us to believe all things, to hope all things, to endure all things, for the sake of preserving 'this glorious Union.'

"Many a time and oft,
Even in the Capitol, you have rated me,
And ta'en my moneys by your grinding tariffs,
Still have I borne it with a patient shrug,
For sufferance is the badge of all the South.
You call me ruffian, robber, cut-throat, dog,
And spit upon my social polity—
And all for use of that which is mine own.

Shall I bend low, and in a bondsman's key,
With bated breath and whispering humbleness,
Say this:
Fair sirs, you spit on me in Autumn last:
You spurned me such a day: another time
You called me dog; and for these courtesies
I'll love you well and cling to you forever.

"Is it human nature to say this? No. We cannot conciliate the North. However much we might humble and degrade ourselves, we could not do it. Their settled purpose and eager desire, is to destroy us. In their blind fury they do not see that injury to us must ultimately recoil upon themselves. Passion is always unreasoning. Our only hope is in union among ourselves, and a settled determination, in firm and unbroken phalanx, to dispute each step and fight every inch of ground.

"But, fellow-citizens, I have too long trespassed upon your attention. I have thrown out, crudely and imperfectly, a few thoughts which seemed to me not inappropriate to the occasion. This is an assembly of Southern men met to commemorate the completion of another link of Southern union. The great sectional question of the day must, with every earnest mind, absorb and override all others. We cannot blink it or ignore it. We cannot cry 'peace, peace' when there is no peace. The war has actually begun. 'A little more folding of the hands to sleep' and 'the enemy will have bound us hand and foot.' Brethren of Tennessee, of Alabama, of Georgia, of the whole South, let us take counsel together—let us act together—for, rest assured, we must flourish or decline, stand or fall, live or die, together."

SOME NOTES ON MEXICO AND GENERAL JACKSON.

The passages introduced from Gayarre, in the May number of the Review, relating to General Jackson, and especially the one referring to the Mexican Mission, have brought out our early friend James Gadsden, late Minister of Mexico, and formerly of the military family of the General, who of the date 15th May, addresses us a most interesting note. We give it entire, and take this occasion of complimenting Col. Gadsden upon the probable early consummation, through the lately chartered New Orleans Company, of that great Southern railroad route to the Pacific, which was indicated and ably advocated by him very early in the day, long before it had emerged from the dim shadows of moonshine in the estimation of less far-seeing and practical men. To him belongs in this matter the rights and merits of the pioneer. We give the letter :

In "Sketches of the character of Jackson," in the May number of De Bow's Review, some remarks from the "General" in a letter to his "young ward" on declining the mission to Mexico, seems to have extorted the inquiry of the reviewer (as beyond his reminiscence) "What were the reasons assigned by the world for the General's refusal to go as envoy to that new-born Republic?"

There was not much interest, at that period, manifested by the community in relation to that appointment, and I am more than confident "that no selfish or cautious policy, which aimed *only at personal aggrandizement*, (so antagonistical to all of the General's antecedents,) was ever attributed to Jackson's non-acceptance of the mission."

As, however, our relations with Mexico are now becoming matters of public interest, if not of notoriety, and have to some extent been injuriously affected by our early indiscreet diplomacy in that Republic, and the declining of General Jackson of this first high foreign trust, tendered by Mr. Monroe, is history with me; it will not be considered

intrusive on my part, so to respond to your inquiry, as to satisfy the public, as well as the reviewer, on the interest evinced in the premises. "Edward" has been long and favorably known, and was a "ward" on whose advancement and prosperity General Jackson cherished, and deservedly, the deepest solicitude, as is most strongly manifested in the private communications to him at an early age, which have now seen the light through the photographs by the honorable Charles Gayarre, of General Jackson's characteristics. The letter to his young friend, beginning with, "I have declined the mission to Mexico," no doubt contains the motives, as privately expressed, for his recoiling from that additional high trust, in a *new vocation*, and at the very period, that "having filled the measure of his country's glory." He was seeking repose from the *obligations* of public station. He had in the preceding five years passed through many exciting responsibilities; in the campaign against the Seminoles of Florida; in the hanging and shooting of Abuthnot and Arubrister; in the violent occupation of *St. Marks*, and Pensacola; and in the subsequent administrations in the Executive chair of Florida, which involved an embarrassing issue with the Spanish Governor, after the surrender of the province, and previous to his departure for Cuba. Such, however, was the enduring confidence of the American people in the high integrity, determination of purpose, and unhesitating will of Andrew Jackson when the *public honor demanded reclamation*; that though there had been much of discontent and clamor, and severe animadversion on his proceedings in the cases adverted to, Mr. Monroe sensibly felt that he could not relinquish his hold on a public servant of such acknowledged fidelity and exalted patriotism, and particularly at the crisis, when Mexico and the South American States were emerging into separate political independencies, struggling to dissolve the ties of European domination, and coveting sovereign existence under the American or New World system of its own. In these State convulsions, one and all, attracted in a pre-eminent degree, the sympathies of the United States; but as an overcautious circumspection for neutral rights towards belligerents, was paramount in the then policy of American administrations—and seems to have been the inheritance of every succession—the obligation was felt to abstain from taking part in domestic quarrels, however strong, were the political affinities of the United States with the oppressed dependencies, as Spanish supremacy and power however waned. Mr. Poinsett was designated as commissioner to visit the Spanish American States, to examine into their condition, and to report on the political progress made to separate and independent existence—free from the restrictions of a harsh and unyielding European step-mother. This commissioner reached Mexico about the period, or a short time in advance of the triumph of Mexican nationality, in the plan of Iguala. The three guarantees, and the triumphal entrance of Iturbidié, as emperor into the capital of the Montezumas, availing of this demonstration favorable to the consummation of National Independence. Mr. Monroe promptly nominated General Jackson as first envoy to recognize this political incubation, and to establish relations with a young civilized Government, which had thus reached its inheritance. In his nomination General

Jackson was importuned to accept—for both Mr. Monroe and his able Secretary of State, Adams, had the sagacity to foreshadow the important influence of Jackson's antecedents on this young republic about claiming admission into the orbit of civilized States. The General was very repugnant to being again withdrawn from his favorite retirement at the Hermitage, unless on a call more imperative than that he recognized in the mission to Mexico. Accident made me a guest at the Hermitage at this crisis in American affairs, and concurring in the views and appeals made by Mr. Monroe, they were pressed with the effect to induce acquiescence on the part of General Jackson in another sacrifice of personal convenience for "his country's good." It was arranged, however, that I was to assume the same confidential relations in the civil family, as Secretary of Legation, I had long occupied in the military staff of the General.

We were patiently awaiting, therefore, at the Hermitage, our commissions and instructions for Mexico, which were *expected to be, in accordance with President Monroe's subsequent manifesto on our relations with the Western Continent*, when most unexpectedly a letter was received from Mr. Poinsett, communicating the consummation of Mexican nationality in the empire of Iturbidié, denouncing the triumph as a temporary usurpation of the *absolute* over the *true element* of government, and expressing a solicitude that Jackson would not so compromise his fame and high character, as a consistent republican of the Revolutionary school, as to consent to recognise, and to be accredited at the court of an ephemeral empire in the Mexican domain. True to his revolutionary associations and impulses, General Jackson, without meditation on the subject, promptly withdrew his acceptance as envoy, declining the responsible trust in an official letter, corresponding in tone to that which he subsequently addressed to "his young ward," and who, I am under the impression, he contemplated taking out with him as attaché, or private secretary.

General Jackson declining, Mr. Poinsett was substituted as envoy; and being less sensitive at the approach of new-born Imperialism on the soil of the Americas, promptly accepted. The dynasty of the Iturbidié soon retired to the tomb of the Capulets. The constitution of 24, essaying a federation assimilated to that of the United States, but more *spiced* with the *Red Republicanism* of the *French school* in most of its provisions, was enacted by a constituent assembly. Victoria, whose seclusion in the recesses of mountains, during the overshadowings of liberty in his country, may be read as among the romances political revolutions produce, was called to the Executive Chair, with as *short* an existence, however, as *President*, as *Iturbidié* had enjoyed as *Emperor*. Discord, distraction, confusion, worse confounded, have been the political inheritance of poor depleted Mexico ever since her first struggle for national existence. For a quarter of a century has the land of the Aztecs been pursuing liberty as a phantom—an *ignis fatuus* or delusive light in the wilderness bewilderment of ideas—periodically "hallowing before they have passed through the glooms of the political swamp in plans and organic laws"—declaring for liberty without knowing how and where to seek it, or without the intelligence

to confirm it when temporary triumphs have placed it within their grasp. Like gamblers at a game of brag, they divide on the spoils, and hold up the United States as the beacon light on the *policy* which appropriates the public plunder to the victors. They profess to walk in the paths of a neighboring example. Mexican gossip to this day holds the American commissioner and envoy responsible for the revolutions which have followed in succession through the false light of French illuminism and masonic mysteries, bewildering a long subjugated people, incapable of a too rapid comprehension of national liberty, or the process of achieving and confirming it.

The letter of General Jackson, which you say should be recorded "in letters of gold," is the more to be appreciated as not a speculative philosophy to guard against personal conflicts, but the inculcations of experience, which he administers to a young friend just entering on the varied responsibilities of life. Few men have encountered in life more personal collisions than Andrew Jackson. They are the dark spots on the patriot's character, the error of which he endeavored to atone for in the letter to his ward. Commencing with Dickinson, he passed through the phases of individual antagonisms with Benton, Armstrong, Ritchie, Crawford, Clay, and Scott, and closed with Calhoun, at a crisis in the history of our country most unfortunate—when two great intellects and disinterested patriots were in harmony on the great principles which originated, and the standing by of which were the only guarantees of the Union. Jackson and Calhoun were, however, estranged from each other by a political sect, whose text has ever been to divide personally, so as to conquer *place* and *power* politically. The stimulants to that separation, and its triumph over the political integrity and virtue of the Government, has now become history in the political antagonisms of parties that claims a record on its pages. Mr. Gayarte, it is hoped, will continue his photographs from such "shades and lights" as are accessible to his political spectrum. In these personal antagonisms the mantle of Elisha was torn from the shoulders of truth and principle to cover a "multitude of political sins," still enacting under the garment of the "Jackson Democracy." The new Administration, says Washington correspondents, claims the inheritance to which "wards and more legitimate heirs" have at last awakened. At no crisis in our family disagreements, when an alarm bell tolls daily the dissolution of the Union, can photographs of a distinguished line of patriots, now no more, be mere dormitory, when sects of politicians stimulate these personal and political quarrels to *compromise on the spoils*. Cast your eyes over the composition of the cabinets of successive Presidents since the organization of a Jackson dynasty. The General himself was forced to dissolve his first in order to form a "*unit*." Look at the appointments and rotation in place, and the difficulties which attend the adjustment of the claims of politicians and editors who took part in the canvass and conventions. As responsible as "humiliated, ignorant, and debased Mexico" has been held in the United States for her political dogmas and chieftain diplomacy on the public spoils, the short carnival, which succeeds an inaugural in Washington, transcend any public feast or festival of that character that has ever

been exhibited in the Catholic land of the Asteca. It would be difficult, however, to foreshadow the influences and melee of a fifteen million loan to Comonfort; it would quintuple the three million distribution by Santa Anna among the "money changers," who still hold their seats in the American temple.

CANADA.

It was a subject of complimentary and congratulatory remark in the last message of the President of the United States that the treaty providing for reciprocal free trade between this country and the British provinces had already begun to produce the most beneficial results.

The domestic exports to these provinces reached \$22,000,000 last year, exceeding the previous one by \$7,000,000 and the imports showed a like increase, reaching \$6,000,000 over the year before, and amounting to \$21,000,000.

We have obtained some minute statistics in regard to Canada which may, with propriety, be inserted and referred to in connection with those relating to the same subject condensed into the volumes of our Industrial Resources.

| IMPORTS. | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| FROM | 1854. | 1855. | 1856. |
| Great Britain..... | \$23,968,328 | \$13,308,460 | \$18,212,932 |
| North American colonies..... | 675,112 | 865,984 | 1,032,592 |
| West India..... | 2,672 | 14,132 | 17,612 |
| United States..... | 15,533,096 | 20,828,676 | 22,704,408 |
| Other foreign countries..... | 1,355,108 | 1,073,908 | 1,616,732 |
| Total imports..... | \$40,529,316 | \$36,086,160 | \$43,584,376 |
| Total amount of duties... | \$4,899,004 | \$3,525,780 | \$4,508,880 |

| EXPORTS. | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | 1854. | 1855. | 1856. |
| Total value of exports..... | \$19,041,056 | \$23,703,900 | \$28,595,036 |
| Total value of ships built at Quebec. | 2,208,248 | 1,216,544 | 1,213,156 |
| Estimated amount of exports (short) | | | |
| returned at inland ports..... | 1,769,080 | 3,265,013 | 2,238,900 |
| Grand total of exports..... | \$23,018,384 | \$28,185,456 | \$32,047,092 |

The amount of tonnage outward, reached 6,287,397, and inwards 6,199,329 tons, of which the American comprised nearly one-half, thus:

| | Tons. |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| Canadian steam..... | 6,287,397 |
| Canadian sail..... | 830,726 |
| American steam..... | 4,763,326 |
| American sail..... | 364,218 |
| | <u>12,245,667</u> |

CRIME AMONG NATIVES AND FOREIGNERS.

We are indebted to the Rev. R. Everest for a copy of two very laboriously prepared papers, read by him before the Statistical Society of London, on

1. *The proportion of foreigners to natives, and of foreign and native convicts in the several States of Europe and America,*

2. *The statistical details of the Republic of Lubec, compared with other European States.*

Mr. Everest travelled throughout the United States several years ago, and prepared an interesting account of its prison discipline and statistics. We formed his acquaintance at Washington.

The tables of the paper referred to upon convicts among natives and foreigners show that, what has been found to be the case in the United States, obtains in all other countries, to wit: a vastly greater amount of crime among the immigrants than among the native born. This is a powerful demonstration in favor of a fixed population, and furnishes a solemn warning against those migratory habits which are growing stronger and stronger among every portion of the people of our country.

It will be convenient only to extract a few statistics from Mr. Everest now, but his contributions will furnish material for another article.

Total Population—Number of Foreigners—Date of Census.

| | Census. | Total Population. | Foreigners. | Per cent. |
|---|---------|-------------------|-------------|-----------|
| United States—Free States..... | 1850 | 13,238,670 | 1,916,734 | 14.51 |
| Do. Slave States..... | .... | 6,222,418 | 316,670 | 5.08 |
| Do. 29 principal cities..... | .... | 1,949,421 | 693,897 | 35.59 |
| Lubeck (Hanseatc city)..... | 1851 | 42,685 | 10,787 | 25.27 |
| Hamburg Do. estimated nearly the same as Bremen. | | | | |
| Bremen Do. | 1855 | 60,087 | 10,117 | 16.79 |
| Basle, Switzerland, a frontier city | 1851 | 27,313 | 6,528 | 23.91 |
| Geneva Do. | Do. | 31,238 | 7,035 | 22.52 |
| Switzerland (the whole country) | Do. | 2,392,740 | 71,520 | 2.99 |
| Holland..... | 1849 | 3,056,879 | 70,855 | 2.32 |
| Belgium..... | 1846 | 4,837,196 | 76,479 | 1.76 |
| France..... | 1851 | 35,783,170 | 378,563 | 1.06 |
| Department of the Seine..... | Do. | 1,359,824 | 62,241 | 4.55 |
| Denmark..... | 1851 | 1,407,747 | 13,043 | 0.93 |
| Sardinia..... | 1848 | 4,918,855 | 26,465 | 0.54 |
| Great Britain and islands in } British seas..... } | 1851 | 20,959,477 | 56,665 | 0.27 |
| London District..... | Do. | 2,862,236 | 25,670 | 1.09 |

The proportion of foreigners in the British Islands is less than in any other returned portion of the world; and in the United States it is vastly the greatest. In the Hanse towns it exceeds that of any other part of Europe, though it is doubled

in the average of the large American cities. In our free States the proportion of foreigners is three times as large as in the slave-holding States.

The annexed table shows the relation of native to foreign convicts in many leading countries. It is very instructive:

| | Census. | Total Population. | Convicts. | To each 100,000. | Native Convicts to Foreign. |
|---|---------|----------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Natives of United States.... | 1850 | 17,737,505 | 13,000 | 73.3 | 1 : 8.63 |
| Foreigners..... | | 2,210,828 | 14,000 | 633.2 | |
| Natives of Lubeck and the free cities..... | 1851 | 82,264 | 1855 { 16 | 49.6 | 1 : 2.09 |
| Foreigners..... | | 10,421 | 1855 { 16 | 153.5 | |
| Natives of Bremen..... | 1855 | 49,970 | 244 | 488.0 | 1 : 5.62 |
| Foreigners..... | | 10,117 | 277 | 2740.0 | |
| Natives of Holland..... | 1850 | 2,986,024 | 3,757 | 12.6 | 1 : 3.48 |
| Foreigners..... | | 70,855 | 811 | 43.9 | |
| Natives of Belgium..... | 1846 | 4,260,717 | 1849 { 4,095 | 9.6 | 1 : 2.29 |
| Foreigners..... | | 76,479 | 1849 { 168 | 22.0 | |
| Frenchmen resident in De- partment of the Seine... | 1851 | 1,359,824 | Arrested annually. 20,119 | 148.0 | 1 : 1.75 |
| Foreigners, do..... | | 62,241 | 1,615 | 259.5 | |

OPINION OF JUDGE ANDERSON,* OF THE SUPREME COURT OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE MATTER OF ROBT. PERKINS, CARTER PERKINS, AND SANDY JONES,
TAKEN AS SLAVES UNDER THE LAW OF THE STATE FOR RECLAMATION,
AND BROUGHT UP UNDER A WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS BEFORE THE
SUPREME COURT.

We regret that we have not room to spread before our readers the whole of this very able opinion. It is equally remarkable for comprehensiveness, conciseness, and lucid order, and for its thorough demonstration that negro slaves are property recognized under the Constitution, and entitled as property to the same protection as any other property whatever. He shows clearly that the Constitution of the United States instantly converts all acquired territory into slave territory: that is, Southerners acquire thereby the very same right to carry and to hold their slaves in such territory as Northerners do to carry and to hold their mules, horses, and merchandise. Our Union would not last a month under any other doctrine, for the South would not submit to exclusion or inequality of right in the common property of the nation.

This opinion was cited and relied on as authority by the Hon. Reverdy Johnson, in the argument of the Dred Scott case. The papers, for weeks past, have been so filled with the

* Formerly United States Senator from Tennessee.

opinions of Judges in that case, and the public is so satiated with the argument, that it lessens our regret at being only able to find room for a short extract from Judge Anderson's able opinion:

"Mr. Buchanan, while Secretary of State, in his letter to Mr. Voorhes of October 7th, 1848, (Mr Voorhes being an official of the Government,) said: 'The Constitution of the United States, the safeguard of our civil rights, was extended over California on the 30th of May, 1848, the day on which the late Treaty with Mexico was consummated.'

"This proposition will not, I presume, be controverted. The Constitution is the supreme law of the land, and all laws and treaties must be in pursuance thereof. The terms used in the second section of the 6th Article as to Treaties are, that they must be made by the authority of the United States, and this can only be exercised conformably to that instrument.

"We come into this Territory, therefore, under the full protection of the Constitution of the Union, and no Government of whatever character, nor laws nor treaties, could have a legal and binding authority which would be in any way contrary thereto.

"But the true construction of the policy of our Government will carry us a step further, and all that may be said as to the accession of the authority of the Constitution at the moment of the ratification of the Treaty, applies with equal force, to any conquest of priority so far as it regards citizens of the United States.

"The conquered people would retain certain rights, but not so as to affect either the political, religious, or municipal rights of the conquered, contrary to the Constitution.

"It was urged by counsel as a sound argument against the law prescribing rules for the reclamation of slaves, that as Mexico had abolished slavery, those who were brought here were free under the Mexican law of emancipation. This is a mistake. The law of Mexico could only apply to this civil condition of the conquered. It could not prescribe a rule of conduct for the conquerors in regard to slavery.

"It could only have force subject to the higher law of the Constitution of the United States. Thus, the prohibition by the laws of Mexico of all other religious worship but that of the Catholic system, could not affect the conquerors, because that right was secured by the Constitution. So the right of every citizen of the United States to emigrate to this territory, and bring his property with him, was perfect, equal, and sacred. The property here brought into question is that of slaves. The Constitution of the United States was in full force here. Slaves were as much recognized by that as property as any other objects whatever. There were no laws restraining the emigration of slaves. California had ceased to be Mexican territory, and was under the political institutions of the United States, whose Government alone had the power to give executory effect to any law which should act upon American emigrants. It did disregard the Mexican law of emancipation, as it had a perfect right to do, and was so constitutionally bound, because to have given to it effect, would have been to nullify a political immunity secured to the people of the Slave States, by the original basis of compromise, to which all had agreed. The Mexican law was repelled by the political nature of the Institution of Slavery, and therefore became absolute.

"California even, as a sovereign State, cannot by law, declare the slaves who were here at the time of her adoption into the Union, free, except as a forfeiture, under the penal sanction of an act, which might require their removal within a reasonable time after capture. A for tiori, that which a sovereign State could not do, a territorial government could not, if it had so attempted, it is not sovereign.

"When the United States acquired the territory of California, it became the common property of all the people of all the States, and the right of emigration with every species of property belonging to the citizens, was inherent with its use and possession."

SOUTHERN LITERARY DISCOURAGEMENT—OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

A few extracts from letters received at the office, have occasionally been published by us and will continue at intervals to be published. Alas, nothing seems capable of arousing the South to a moderate support of its literature. It is so much more convenient to say "stop my Review" or "paper," than to enclose the payment for another year. What a tax must five dollars be upon our large property-holders and slave-holders! "Oh we admire your work, it is doing good, it is rendering our property more and more secure, and you are entitled to public and lasting gratitude and honor." (It would, perhaps, be quite as acceptable and convenient, all things considered, to be thought *entitled* to five dollars, and promptly to *receive* it.) Long as the Review has been published, if it relied upon voluntary additions to its lists, and discarded this miserable system of drumming, it would perish in about two or three years. It must have perished years ago.

The Southern Quarterly Review in its pathetic appeals for the merest crumbs of subsistence, published a circular lately, which was at once incorporated in the New York Herald, with some editorial comments. We quote them, because they contain so many melancholy truths. Alas, that they, who seem to hate, are justified by the facts in reading us such humiliating lectures:

"The *Southern Quarterly Review* is, or has been, fully equal to the *North American*, which is published in New England. It has contained articles by some of the ablest men in the South, and has uniformly been characterized by generosity of spirit, candor, and fairness.

"Yet it seems, that this periodical, in spite of the most energetic endeavors on the part of its publishers, is absolutely dying for want not so much of subscribers, but of subscribers who will pay what they owe. The fact illustrates, in a marked degree, the singular temper of Southern people. They have the means to cultivate literature, and the leisure; the form of society established in the South is eminently favorable to the development and cultivation of the amenities of letters; and men of great mind and singularly literary aptitude are quite plentiful in the Southern cities. Yet, when a periodical is established for the purpose of giving a vent to the Southern literary genius, it is allowed to die out for want of paying subscribers. The Southern people talk a great deal about printing their own books and ridding themselves of their dependence on the North for their reading matter; but they will need, before they can do any of these things, to learn to pay for the works they have. Had the public of the North refused to subscribe for the periodicals they had, or had they evaded payment of their subscriptions, there could never have been among us the flourishing literature we see."

But all of this will effect no good and change no man's purpose in favor of the Review and other Southern Journals. We know it from experience. It is comfortable, at least, to have some friends and to receive their kind words of encouragement. We extract:

1. *From a planter at Brazoria, Texas:* I will thank you to send me your account, and I will pay it with pleasure; and must here add, that any man south of Mason and Dixon's line who can pay you, and does not pay, is as bad as a Black Republican.

2. *A writer from Macon, Georgia, says:* The Review should be read by every man in the Union. You have, in editing this valuable Magazine, merited, and I hope you will receive, as well the support, as the lasting gratitude of the the South. Such a contribution to Southern and general literature to the

science of Agriculture, to the political interest of the South, and to the commercial interest of our whole country is invaluable to the people. I read your Review with pleasure, pride, and profit.

You are doing a great work. You are bravely and skillfully, and with patriotism, proving our just claims to be honored and feared by our foes, as well as to be supported by our friends. You are stimulating the Southern mind to think, the Southern heart to feel, the Southern arm to strike for an enviable, and not inglorious destiny. The South is the guardian of constitutional liberty in the Union. You are boldly urging the South to perpetuate that liberty and the prosperity of the nation. The great fundamental principles of the Constitution which have their origin in *jure gentium*, no less than in the inalienable rights of man can be preserved at this day only by the Southern States of the Confederacy. We owe it to our ancestry, to ourselves, to the present generation, and to posterity. We owe it to God and man, to preserve those principles in, or if need be, out of the Union.

2. *A planter in Wilcox county, Alabama, says:* So long as it may be your pleasure to publish the Review, I hope to be numbered in the list of your subscribers, if for no other reason because it is eminently Southern throughout in tone and sentiment. I consider that your work has done great and lasting good in disseminating *correct* notions on the subject of slavery even at the South. It is no longer defended on the plea of necessity while admitting it to be an evil, but on the only tenable ground that the institution is natural, right, and proper in itself wherever the two races are brought in contact; so regarding it, I should feel that I was a traitor to my section, not to extend to your Review a cordial and hearty support.

4. *A letter from Blakely, Georgia, says:* I am much pleased with the Review, have made some, and will make further efforts to extend its circulation. You ought to have on your subscription roll the names of at least ten thousand Georgians, and certainly would, were they apprized of the value of your copious Monthly.

5. *A planter at Alexandria, Louisiana, says:* I have not been a subscriber to your Review since its commencement, but bought the work bound up to the time of my becoming a subscriber, and have been a careful and attentive reader; and I can assure you there is no work that I would miss more than the Industrial Resources. I am captivated with your course, and think that the exceptions, who take umbrage, will be found to be, among your subscribers, few and "rare birds." I have never in my life been a solicitor of patronage to any work, but promise you, if it lies in my power, ere long, to send a list of subscribers to the Review: It is truly an able Southern work, and ought to be in every Southerner's house.

6. *A planter, of Alabama, says:* Enclosed find \$10; credit on subscription account for your valuable paper. In fact, and force of reason, it is worth all the papers of the kind I have seen. Would that it was in the hands of every citizen voter in the Union; its effects would be most powerful. I look to it as the salvo of the country. May its circulation continue to increase.

7. *A citizen of Apalachicola, Florida, says:* I am pleased with your Review, and particularly with its support of sound Southern principles. I take no paper or periodical north of Mason and Dixon's line, except the lady's book, (Godey's,) and have not for several years; and I should like to see such a course more generally adopted in the South.

8. *A planter in Williamson county, Tennessee, says:* I am highly pleased with your Review, and wish that it was in the hands of every Southern Planter, as you show by facts, figures, and sound reasoning, that slavery is a blessing in the Southern States; that the cotton, tobacco, sugar, and grain, of the South, are the wheels which roll the car of commerce around the civilized world.

9. *A writer from San Antonio, Texas, says:* Please regard me as a perpetual subscriber for your Review, for I believe it more than any or all other publications calculated to avert the great and impending evils to the South.

EDITORIAL—BOOK NOTICES, ETC.

Whilst referring to the early discussions in Congress upon the subject of slavery, we might have included some extracts from the acts of the Continental Congress, going to show the ignorance or perfidy of those who are now pretending that negroes were not recognized as property by the men who framed the present Federal Constitution. Resolutions adopted March, 1779:

"Resolved, That it be recommended to the States of South Carolina and Georgia, if they shall think the same expedient, to take measures immediately for raising three thousand able-bodied negroes.

"Resolved, That Congress will make provision for paying the proprietors of such negroes as shall be enlisted for the services of the United States, during the war, *a full compensation for the property*, at a sale not exceeding one thousand dollars for each active able-bodied negro man of standard size not exceeding thirty-five years of age, who shall be so enlisted and pass muster."

The Southern Monitor, a new paper published at Philadelphia to the prospectus of which, we called attention in our last, gives an extract from the treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain, signed 3d September, 1783, to the following effect:

"His Britannic Majesty, shall, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any *negroes or other property* of the American inhabitants, withdraw his armies, garrisons, and fleets from the said United States, and from every post, place, and harbor, within the same, &c.

Col. Jefferson Davis after some years of distinguished service in the Executive Department of the Republic, returned the other day to his home and neighbors, and was received with great enthusiasm and rejoicing. We are glad to find this eminent statesman, still true to the good old cause. What he said at the dinner that was tendered him at Jackson, will sound like clarion notes sailing upon the South, as of yore:

"He [Col. Davis] was no alarmist; he had a contempt for panics and a scorn of panic-makers; but he would tell them that in 1860, the monster

crisis was to be met. Then shall American patriotism pass the ordeal of fire. He hoped for the best; but a sense of danger imposed upon him the duty of warning them to prepare for the worst. The time had been when the puling newspapers of the opposition would have denounced him as a traitor for uttering this sentiment. It was a time when patriotism was construed to be submission to degradation and wrong, for the sake of a Union whose soul was perishing away, and which was being periled only by such submission. He thanked Heaven that time was passed. It was not the Revolutionary time: O, no, submission was an unuttered word in that day of bold resolve and high achievement. It was a period intermediate between now and then—a 'dark age' in our political history. But he need not adjure them to preparation. They were preparing.

"That iron interlink, now in progress with Charleston on the Atlantic, was such preparation. The Southern railroad was originally a conception of John C. Calhoun. He sought this commercial and social intimacy between Mississippi and South Carolina. And—who would think it!—it was stigmatized at the time as a project of treason! How flagitious, then, according to the quaint judgment of that day, must be Mississippi's perfidy; for she has made the treason practical—the locomotive traitor is partially on its way! It would bring the South in intimate communion with herself; it would develop her resources within the South—and that was her great need."

One after another the links of Union between the North and South are severed. The Methodists were the first to split their great organization upon the rock of slavery. Then came the Baptists, and the first act of public service performed by the editor of the Review, was, as a delegate from Charleston, to the Augusta Convention, in aiding and counselling the division of this church. Other things have followed. Now come the Presbyterians. Its General Assembly have uttered open and official denunciations of slavery. The Southern churches are in arms, and a call is issued for a Convention at Washington City, on the 27th August, 1857, for the purpose of organizing a new, or in other

words, as it will prove, *Southern General Assembly*. An extract from the call which is published:

"It, (the General Assembly,) has avowed that the relation of master and servant—which necessarily involves the idea of property in the services of the latter—is a sin in the sight of God, and an offence in the sense in which the term is used in the constitution of the church. This declaration has been made, although confessedly there is not the most remote allusion to slave-holding in our standards, and also with the knowledge of the fact that when our Constitution was adopted, twelve out of the thirteen States were slave-holding States, and many of those who composed the Assembly of 1789, if not slave-holders themselves, were the representatives of Presbyteries in which were churches whose members were slave-holders. We regard this action of the General Assembly as a palpable violation of the spirit and letter of the constitution of the church. The principle involved in it, if carried into practice, would convert the highest judiciary of the church into an ecclesiastical despotism as tyrannical as that which has distinguished the church of Rome. It makes the Assembly not only the interpreter of law in an irregular way, but also the supreme legislature of the church—a position which has been always repudiated by the Presbyterian church."

In turning over our portfolio to-day there comes up a copy of the letter which we directed from our editorial sanctum, on the eve of the late Presidential election, to a party at the South whose antecedents on the subject of slavery were altogether of the sort, which better fitted him for the latitude of Boston commons than of Louisiana. Here and there, such persons may be found even among Southern slave-holders. This one forwarded us an article, and asked for its publication, which maintained doctrines we believed to be subversive of Southern rights, as well as honor. The request was refused as follows:

"MY DEAR SIR: Notwithstanding my high personal regard for you, I am constrained to return your paper upon the 'true policy of the South.' With its sentiments, I, of course, differ in every particular; and it would be difficult to convince me, with the actual knowl-

edge which I possess upon the subject, that they are the sentiments of any class or party at the South. Although, in ordinary times, I might not hesitate to allow an individual expression of opinion, the antipodes of my own upon this subject, in the pages of the Review, to permit it at this time, would be to bring myself within the pale of the just reprehension of every good man and yourself upon sound second thoughts, I hope, among the number. My own conscience would be the first to accuse. Now that the enemy are thundering at our gates, threatening, as they openly do, intestine war and social dissolution, it is too late, sir, for good men to parley words as to the manner of his getting there, or the individual responsibility for it. There will be time enough for these things when we have repelled his insolent assaults, and vindicated our hereditary rights and reputation.

"I regret to find you falling into an error very common at the North in referring to 'the representatives of 350,000 slave-holders,' when, in fact, they and their families together constitute at least two millions of persons interested in slavery in the direct relation of ownership, to say nothing of the other millions, whose relation, though indirect, is scarcely less intimate. The rights of even one person, however, should be as sacredly maintained and guarded as those of a million, or a score of millions.

"Your friend and fellow-citizen, &c."

We are indebted to Judge Dunlop for a copy of his very laborious and enlightened opinion, given in the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, in a case involving the power of re-appointing to office a party whose appointment is rejected by the confirming body, as of the Senate, or the Aldermen of Washington. Judge Dunlop reviews, learnedly the opinions of all of the Attorney Generals, and pronounces, as we believe, in consonance with the Constitution and sound public opinion, against such re-appointment. The opinion is worthy of the study of the citizen or statesman. We quote:

"It is thus seen that all these high legal functionaries of the Government, who have asserted the power of the President to fill vacancies existing, after a session of the Senate has intervened since the vacancies originated,

have done so in cases and only in cases where the Senate failed to act on the nominations duly made to that body, and adjourned, leaving the offices vacant. Mr. Wirt, it is true, asserts the same power in the case of a rejection in the closing hours of the Senate, and rising inadvertently before another nomination could be made, but even he does not say that the rejected nominee is competent to fill the vacant place under the President's power to make another temporary appointment."

Excellent gentlemen in England have formed what they call early closing associations, and addressed themselves to the traders and shop-keepers of the realm, imploring them as men not to tax to the extremity of vital power, by late hours of business, their clerks and other employees. From Mr. John Lilwall, secretary, we receive one of these addresses, and are moved by its highly benevolent suggestions. It should be brought home to merchants and dealers as well in New Orleans, Charleston, and New York, as in London or Liverpool. We give an extract:

"Have you ever dispassionately thought the matter over, as one of serious moment, and on which you sincerely desired to come to a right conclusion? I would rather believe that in the bustle of life the subject has hitherto escaped your close and careful consideration. In such a case, clearly the wisest course would be to consult the experience of those estimable, shrewd business men who have tried the new system. Their testimony (a considerable portion of which has been printed, and may be had,) most satisfactorily answers this objection. Nor should there have been any difficulty in foreseeing such result, for, by confining young men, year after year, from an early hour in the morning till a late one at night, not only are they excluded from the elevating influences of the reading and lecture rooms, and of the family circle, but a morbid condition both of body and mind is induced, causing a yearning for those stimulating drinks which are ever obtainable, and for those other demoralizing enjoyments, the sources of which notoriously increase as the hour becomes later night after night. Whereas, by liberating young men, say at seven o'clock in the evening, they will then be in a condition admitting of healthful mental ex-

ercise, and innocent, social, and physical recreation, and when the doors of places favorable thereto are, moreover, open to receive them."

Thanks to T. P. Ravenel for a copy of the *Meteorological Journal* kept by himself for the *Black Oak Agricultural Society*, of South Carolina. It is very interesting to planters.

Still another book of poetry; to wit: "*The World's Own*," by Julia Ward Howe, author of "Passion Flowers" and "Words for the Hour." Boston, Ticknor and Fields, 1857; a drama in 5 acts, the scene of which is laid in the mountains of Piedmont, near the Italian frontier, in the early part of the last century.

Dynevor Terrace, or the Clue of life, is the offering of D. Appleton & Co., and is published in 2 vols. It is by the author of the *Heir of Redclyffe*, which was so highly appreciated, and received encomiums like the following from the leading literary press:

"With a tolerable acquaintance with fictitious heroes, (not to speak of real ones,) from Sir Charles Grandison down to the nursery idol Carlton, we have little hesitation in pronouncing Sir Guy Morville, of Redclyffe, Baronet, the most admirable one we ever met with, in story or out. The glorious, joyous boy, the brilliant, ardent child of genius and of fortune, crowned with the beauty of his early holiness, and overshadowed with the darkness of his hereditary gloom, and the soft and touching sadness of his early death—what a caution is there! What a vision!"

Hansford—A tale of Bacon's Rebellion—by St. George Tucker, of Virginia. Richmond: Geo. M. West, 1857. Our sincere thanks to the author for a copy of this volume, which we hail as a contribution from the South. It illustrates that period of the Colonial history of Virginia, which ante-dates and prepared the way for the American Revolution. The characters are historical, and that of Hansford is given almost literally. The rebellion of Nathaniel Bacon furnishes rich material of romance. In the fate of the hero a melancholly interest attaches. Though vice may triumph for a season, and virtue fail to meet its appropriate reward, let it be remembered that the satisfaction or the curse go hand in hand with either. The story is deeply interesting,

and well told. The style and manner are elevated and polished.

Commercial Relations of the United States with Foreign Countries.—This is another valuable work issued from the State Department, compiled from the reports of Consuls and Consular agents, and from the reports of foreign Governments, for the year 1856. It is needless to say that the volume will be valuable to the statesman, in furnishing the material necessary to correct legislation, and that it is good employment for our Consuls to be required to make such reports as are here combined and made public under the direction of Mr. Flagg.

The British Poets:

Poems of Chatterton, 2 vols.

Poems of Marvel, 1 vol.

In our last we noticed four volumes of Ballads belonging to the series of British Poets, under publication by Little, Brown & Co. The works of Chatterton embrace some interesting notices of his life, a history of the Rowley controversy, and a selection of his letters, and notes critical and explanatory. Eighty vols. of the poets have already appeared. Those of Burns, Byron, Chaucer, Crabbe, Montgomery, Scott, and Southey, are soon to come.

We offer our thanks to A. S. Barnes & Co., of N. York, for two very handsome volumes entitled *Speeches of Henry Clay*. They constitute a portion of the work, edited by Calvin Colton, to appear in six volumes, entitled "Life Correspondence and Speeches of Henry Clay." They shall be noticed as they appear.

Dr. Colton spent the winter of 1844, and 1845 in daily communication with Mr. Clay, at Lexington, to collect materials for the work from Mr. Clay's papers, and from his own lips. Although Mr. Clay did not pretend to dictate to the author, as to the method of the work, he was kind enough to read the proof-sheet, to see that it contained no errors. Besides having access to Mr. Clay's papers in the winter of 1844-'45, and obtaining his own views of his "LIFE AND TIMES," by personal communication with himself for that purpose, Mr. Clay, on the author's departure from Lexington, in the spring of 1845, gave him facilities for collecting his own letters, in different quarters, as it was never his custom to preserve copies of them. In 1853, the author

spent some weeks at Ashland, on invitation of Thomas H. and James B. Clay, to re-examine Mr. Clay's papers and correspondence, the whole of which passed through his hands, with a view to a publication of Mr. Clay's Private Correspondence, a volume of which was given to the public in November, 1855. Solicitations from quarters worthy of great respect, led the author to the conclusion, that the last seven years of Mr. Clay's life demanded an elaborate work of at least one volume, and at the request of the publishers of the other three volumes, he undertook the task.

Men and Times of the Revolution, or Memories of Elkanah Watson, is the title of a small volume lately issued by Dana & Co., of New York. Mr. Watson corresponded largely with the public men of the Revolution, and his reminiscences and incidents of that period are well preserved. His Journals of travel in Europe and America, about the same time, have a high degree of interest. They have the merit uncommon with tourists of the present day, of not abusing Southern society and habits, and negro slavery, and not pandering to the popular appetite for such material. The illustrations, executed in wood, are numerous. No other similar memorial of these times can be found.

The Illustrated School History of the United States and the adjacent parts of America, by G. P. Quackenbos, published by D. Appleton & Co., is one of the most satisfactory works of the kind yet issued by the Northern press. On examination we find no individious comparisons between the North and South, such as were pointed out by us in Willson's work, and the institution of slavery is referred to fairly and without comment. On these accounts we recommend the work to Southern schools.

The Report of the Decision of the Supreme Court, in the famous matter of *Dred Scott*, is a pamphlet of some two hundred pages, published for Benjamin C. Howard, Reporter of the Supreme Court, by D. Appleton & Co., and will undoubtedly be in extensive demand.

The same house also send us the *Life and Public services of Dr. Lewis F. Linn*. This gentleman, it will be remembered, was for many years a member of the United States Senate from Missouri. No man was ever more identified with the Great West, nor took a livelier interest in its behalf. The

most interesting political reminiscences crowd the volume, particularly such as relate to the Cilley duel, the Jackson fine, the Oregon question, &c. In fact every one curious in public affairs should read the book.

A very original and curious work treating of the relations of Geology, Geography, and Hydrography, under the title of *A Key to the Geology of the Globe*, has been placed in our hands by the author, Richard Owen, M. D., Professor of Geology and Chemistry in the University of Nashville. This gentleman is a son of Robert Owen, the philanthropist of New Harmony, and brother of the distinguished geologist Owen, and also of the American Minister to Naples. He has resided twenty-eight years in the United States, partly employed in manufacturing pursuits, and for some time a Captain of infantry in the Mexican war. In the work before us he maintains, with great research and curious illustration, the theory, that the phenomena of the earth's crust were the result of forces, as fixed and determinable as those which regulate organic bodies. Several charts and maps accompany the text. To the curious in science this volume will furnish quite a treat, (Professor Owen may refer again to Webster for the word, though we consider him as of no authority,) and we recommend them to order a copy at once. Of the positions taken, space and time at present do not admit of an opinion. There are chapters on Physical Geology, Anatomical, Botanical, Zoological, Ethnological, Pathological, Therapeutical, and Ethical Geology. Under the Ethnological head the author maintains the unity of the human races, and thus controverts the doctrines of Nott, Gliddon, &c., referred to by us in another place. The volume is published by W. T. Berry & Co., Nashville, Tennessee.

Thanks to Peterson & Childs, Philadelphia, for a copy, in three very splendid volumes, of the *First and Second American Arctic Expeditions*. No American work has ever been issued, whether in type, paper, wood-cuts, maps, or engravings, in a style superior to this, and we are sure that no work of the present century abounds in more touching and thrilling narrative of adventures which seem altogether beyond the resources or enduring powers of man, elevating him in the scale of being, as the Greeks would have it, to a

position just beneath the level of the Gods themselves. What toils, what privations, what heroic struggles in these contests of man with all-powerful and unsympathizing nature, which, with *icy hammer*, is striking him down at every step. Immortal honors to the memory of the fated Kane. His place should be first in history—the truest, the bravest, the most self-sacrificing and determined explorer of the age. Our readers may expect soon an article on these volumes. They are now being attentively read for the purpose.

J. B. Lippincott & Co. send us a copy of *White Oak Farm*, or the Olive Branch, a novel suited to the times, and sustaining those views of slavery which are taken at the South with the qualification, which is proper enough, that they who plead for the institution, on Bible grounds, must be sure, also, to place it on the law of Christ, which finds its fulfilment in love. In other words, the slave is our fellow-creature; it is a pity our yankee brothers will not admit as much practically for the free negroes, who are always at their doors.

Charlotte Brontë is just now a name which is attracting the extraordinary interest of the literary public on both sides of the water. The author of *Jane Eyre*, *Shirley*, *Villette*, is not a name soon to be lost—what is mortal of it may die—alas, too soon has that melancholy contingency come, but the spirit and genius of the woman will live long after her. We commend to our readers the memoirs of Charlotte Brontë, in two volumes, by her friend, Mrs. Gaskell, the author of *Mary Barton*. They are published by Appleton, New York.

The Cotton Planter's Manual is a neat little volume, made up by J. A. Turner, and published by C. M. Saxton, New York, interesting to the whole South, in that it compiles the most useful statistics about cotton, regarding the culture, history, commerce, and consumption, and adds valuable data in relation to the cotton gin.

Leonard, Scott & Co., New York, send as regularly their valuable republications of the *English Reviews*, at much less than half the cost in England. They are works of learning and sound scholarship, and if they occasionally abuse our institutions, it is easier to put up with it than from those who pretend to be our "brothers."

We are rejoiced to perceive by the papers that a thorough re-organization is about to take place in the *South Carolina College* at Columbia. The trustees unanimously voted the following:

"That it is expedient to make essential modifications in the educational system of South Carolina College, that the curriculum of studies be so expanded as to require many more professors or schools.

"That the selection of the schools be optional on the part of the applicants for College."

By a vote of fifteen to eight, President and Faculty were requested to resign, with the view of re-organizing. We are rejoiced to perceive in this re-organization, that the shame will not again fall upon us, of selecting over our own learned and estimable scholars a stranger, and that, too, a Northern man for the head of the College. Where are Mr. Grayson, Wm. Gilmore Simms, Dr. Dickson, and the hundred others that may in a moment be named? Believe it, there is something good in Nazareth if we will seek for it.

Apropos of Southern matters. We are receiving a few additional *advertisements from the South*, and would that the number were greater. Burger & Boyle, Richmond, Virginia, have an extensive steam saw factory, where circular and every other variety of saws can be obtained or ordered at Northern prices. Hunter, Keller & Co., of the same city, are the proprietors of large works, producing water and gas pipes, boiler flues, appliances for heating public or private buildings. See their advertisement and give them your countenance.

A friend in Virginia is desirous of selling his *farm*. It is on the Alexandria and Washington railroad, not more than three or four miles from either city. It contains one hundred and fifty acres, of which one hundred and ten are in cultivation. The dwelling contains ten rooms, and the cellars, out-houses, barns, stables, etc., are of the best kind. Prospect from house beautiful, land fertile, nearly one-third being bottom, good spring-water, and good fishing; a good water-fall for milling purposes. Terms very accommodating. Address Editor of this Review.

Articles reviewing the "constitutional admission of States," upon the Southern Pacific Railroad, upon the right of Government toleration, and

upon Texas and her Resources, are too late for the present number.

If our readers are not getting tired of the *slave trade* we will add a word. The great powers of Europe seem to be abandoning their theories on this subject. In Spain it is publicly admitted that Cuba has sustained great injuries by the slave-trade treaties of 1817 and 1835, and the French Secretary of the Navy is on the eve of sending 1,800 Africans from the coast to Guadaloupe and Martinique. The London Times, and this caps the climax, said the other day, "not only the British colonies, but even those American States which have, to their credit, abolished slavery altogether, will find it advantageous to bring over Africans, under some system of apprenticeship or contract." Look out for a general re-opening of the slave trade.

The SOUTHERN CONVENTION will meet at Knoxville, Tennessee, on the *second Monday (10th) of August next*. An address will in a short time be published, setting forth the topics for discussion, etc. The friends of the Convention will, in advance, make preparations to secure the largest and most influential attendance.

N. D. Coleman, esq., intelligent and indefatigable President of the *Vicksburg, Shreveport, and Texas railroad*, has addressed us a note, dated June 5, 1867, in which he argues with much strength in favor of the route which he represents, over all competition for the Southern Pacific railroad. The best use we can make of the note will be to insert it entire, believing its material to be of interest to the whole Southwest.

Early in the day, perhaps earlier than any one else (to speak after the fashion of Mr. Benton) the Editor of the Review fixed upon Shreveport as the point to be selected for the exodus of any railroad intended to connect the Southern Mississippi valley with Texas, California, and the Pacific. Acting under this conviction, he visited that town during the summer of 1851, narrowly escaping death by cholera at Alexandria, as his kind friend and physician, Dr. Davidson will testify, called a meeting of the citizens, briefly addressed it, and, succeeded in having certain resolutions passed. There was no enthusiasm however, no faith. The subject was one which no one had thought of, and no one seemed to care anything about. It was even said that

railroads would entirely take away trade, of which, by her wagons, Shreveport enjoyed the monopoly. The tinkling bells of the sturdy teams which lumbered over her plank road was music enough to the ear of every townsman. The resolutions, we said, were carried, but very faintly we thought, and rather out of courtesy than conviction.

For this the editor was denounced in New Orleans as attempting to instigate a rival movement to the great Opelousas road, then attracting such wide attention. That road was a valuable and important one, but what we were wanting most in New Orleans was not a road to the Attakapas, useful as that undoubtedly is, but a road into Texas, which would bring us produce not otherwise to be obtained. Had, therefore, two millions of dollars been expended to the west of Shreveport, by this time the Red river, and of course New Orleans, would have been in direct railroad communication with the Trinity. In time a branch road would have connected with the Mississippi somewhere in the vicinity of Baton Rouge, and with the Jackson and Orleans road, as other roads would have connected with Vicksburg or Memphis. This was our view at the time.

By referring to the Review for 1851 all of this will be found fully explained.

The seed, however, that was planted at that Shreveport demonstration was not lost. In a little while it germinated, and we believe that to it may be traced all that has followed in the history of the Vicksburg and Shreveport road. Indeed some of the earliest movers in the great enterprise were generous and candid enough to award us this honor. After such seeming egotism we return to Mr. Coleman's letter:

"My object is simply to correct what I deem to be an error in the minds of many persons of the North and elsewhere, remote from Red river, in reference to the Eastern terminus of the Southern Pacific Railroad. I intend not to say where it will be, if made, but where it ought to be. Fulton is located at the great bend of Red river, above the *Raft*. You know that the raft is an obstruction to navigation that cannot be permanently removed, and if the terminus of so great an enterprise as the Pacific Railroad be on Red river at all, it should be below the raft. Shreveport is a more flourishing town than Fulton, and is located at the

foot of the raft. Shreveport, moreover, is the point at which the *Vicksburg, Shreveport, and Texas Railroad* crosses Red river. It is very obvious, to my mind, that the Pacific road should have its eastern terminus on the *Mississippi river*, where there is perpetual navigation for steamers of the largest class, and where the passenger may continue his journey eastward by railroad, or take the steamers northward or southward as he may feel inclined, or as business demands.

"Long before the Southern Pacific road shall be finished from Marshall two hundred miles west, the *Vicksburg, Shreveport, and Texas Railroad* will be finished to the *Texas line*, half-way between Shreveport and Marshall, and the *Southern Railroad* extended to the Alabama line in a due East direction towards Montgomery.

"Both of these works are rapidly progressing under efficient Directories, and it may be reasonably estimated that both will be finished within two years—three at furthest.

"I am aware that in projecting the Pacific Railroad, many persons and the General Government seemed to think, that the highest points of navigation on any of our rivers, should be the eastern terminus, to connect with the Pacific Ocean. This I think is an error. The proper points of connection by railroad, are the Mississippi, itself, and the Pacific. Now, as we have perpetual navigation at Vicksburg, and as Vicksburg is on the 32d parallel and on the direct line from Charleston and Savannah, via Montgomery, Ala., Jackson, Miss., the capitals of those States, Shreveport, below the Red river raft, Marshall, El Paso, etc., to the Pacific at San Diego, which is also on the 32d parallel, it does seem to me, that no other route can come into competition with the Vicksburg route. It is far from my intention or desire to disparage other routes of great works of internal improvements, but upon a fair comparison of ours with others, I think the route of 32d parallel, all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific, is entitled to the highest consideration of the American Government and people. The various connections of this great line, completed or in progress, bearing North of East, in the States of Mississippi and Alabama, will give to this route as many attractions for the Northeastern States as for the Southern States."

HYGEIA HOTEL, OLD POINT COMFORT, VIRGINIA.

The following letter from Mr. Segar, with the numerous testimonials in regard to Old Point Comfort, will interest our readers. We are in hopes to see this favorite old watering place crowded the present summer with the wealth, intelligence, and beauty of the South:

This most delightful Summer Resort—the "bright particular" locality of all the sunny South—is now the sole property of the undersigned, and will be opened on the 1st of June next, and each successive June following. I engage to make it to the seekers for health, recreation, gaiety, and good living, supremely attractive.

For health, no mountain retreat can be safer, *at any season of the year*. It is as exempt from disease in August, and September, and October, as in April, May, or June. Indeed, the first three are infinitely the most pleasant of the season. The weather is milder, the sea breeze balmy, and the luxuries of the salt water, are to be had of finer quality, and in greater profusion. There is no more inviting spot on the whole Atlantic Seaboard. It is strictly true of it, what the Poet hath said:

"Oh! if there be an Elysium on earth, it is this, it is this!"

That visitors may safely seek its attractions at *all* seasons of the year, I submit the following letters of Drs. Jarvis, Archer, Bemple, Shield, Hope, Mallory, Simkins, and Vaughan, and of James S. French, Esq., who, for nearly ten years, was the proprietor of the establishment. My own experience and observation for more than thirty years past, are to the same effect.

Old Point Comfort, April 26, 1857.

JOB. SEGAR, Proprietor.

PORT MONROE, Virginia, February 11, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR: I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday asking my opinion as to the "character of Old Point Comfort for health, and particularly as to its exemption from diseases of a bilious character."

A residence of three years at old Point Comfort as the Surgeon of this Post, enables me to bear full testimony to its well known salubrity, and the reputation it has heretofore enjoyed in its exemption from the ordinary forms of disease, especially those of a malarial or febrile nature, usually prevailing during the spring or autumnal months in other sections of the country and neighborhood.

The records of the military hospital for years past further confirm my own experience, not only in this fortunate exemption from that class of disease ordinarily arising from malaria, but in the less frequency as well as diminished severity of those epidemics that have, from time to time, prevailed in almost every portion of our country.

I remain yours, very respectfully,

JOB. SEGAR, Esq., Roseland, Va.

N. S. JARVIS, M. D., Surgeon U. S. A.

RICHMOND, August 7, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: Your favor requesting my opinion as to the general healthiness of Old Point Comfort, is received, and I hasten to reply.

I resided at Old Point, as Post Surgeon and as Physician, upwards of twenty years, and I have no hesitation in saying, that there are few, if any localities in the United States, more healthy at all seasons of the year.

I know of no place more exempt from bilious diseases, and I have never known a case of intermittent fever to originate there.

In fine, I consider visitors from any climate as safe from disease, at Old Point Comfort, during the autumn months, as they would be in the mountains; or any where at the North.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN SEGAR, Esq., Old Point Comfort.

R. ARCHER.

HAMPTON, August 18, 1856.

DEAR SIR: It gives me pleasure to comply with your request to state my opinion of the salubrity of Old Point Comfort, during the summer and autumn.

Having practiced medicine for the last ten years among the residents and visitors, and having been frequently employed to attend the Garrison, I am entirely satisfied that the place is entirely exempt from bilious fevers of all kinds—the very few such cases which have fallen under my treatment, having been clearly traceable to exposure at some notorious miasmatic locality.

Visitors at Old Point are as perfectly safe, at any season, from intermittent and remittent fever, as they would be in any mountainous region. Patients suffering in such regions from bronchial affections, particularly asthma, are uniformly benefitted by a visit to Old Point.

I can also state that several army surgeons have informed me that the sick reports show less sickness at Fort Monroe than any military post in the Union.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN SEGAR, Esq., Hygeia Hotel, Old Point Comfort.

G. WM. BEMPLE, M. D.

HAMPTON, August 23, 1856.

DEAR SIR: Yours of yesterday's date, asking my opinion of the health of Old Point Comfort, is before me.

I have been practicing medicine in Hampton and Old Point for 15 years, and consider it as healthy a place as any that I know on the face of the earth. I do not remember having seen here a case of remittent or intermittent fever that was not contracted elsewhere.

JOHN SEGAR, Esq., Hygeia Hotel.

Very respectfully,

S. R. SHIELD.

HAMPTON, August 23, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: In reply to your queries contained in your note of the 7th inst., it gives me pleasure to state that, in my opinion, Old Point Comfort is as healthy a locality as any on the Atlantic coast.

Persons from any part of our country may remain there through the entire year with perfect safety. The endemic diseases of all this region, I may add, have become very much modified of late, as any one at all familiar with the causes which produce them, might, upon the slightest observation, perceive. An ordinary case of bilious fever seldom requires more than two or three days' treatment.

I have not, during a practice of more than five years in this vicinity, seen a case of intermittent or bilious fever which originated at Old Point.

Yours truly,
JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., *Roseland*.

JESSE P. HOPE.

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., *Hygeia Hotel*.

NORFOLK, VA., August 25, 1856.

DEAR SIR: In regard to the health of Old Point, I have only to remark, that having been familiar with the place ever since my boyhood, I speak confidently when I declare it to be among the healthiest spots on the Continent of America. Bilious and ague fever are unknown there, while in all our epidemics it has escaped unharmed. I would sooner take my chance at Old Point to avoid those diseases in summer and fall than the mountains, or even at the White Sulphur. For eight years I resided in the vicinity of Old Point, and for the remainder of my life in Norfolk, thus affording me ample opportunity of ascertaining the fact in question. Since 1819, when the extensive public works were commenced, Old Point has contained quite a large population, made up of the military and persons connected with the Engineer Department, to say nothing of other citizens and visitors. These have enjoyed, at all seasons, an unexampled share of excellent health.

The United States Government has, on several occasions, sent troops to Old Point from other stations to recruit their health, and with the desired effect. What induced this was, doubtless, the favorable reports of the Army Surgeons as to the sanitary character of the place. We cannot account for tastes, nor can we control fashion; but it has always been a matter of surprise to me that visitors should leave the Point just at the time when it is most pleasant. The latter part of August and the whole of September are among the healthiest and most agreeable periods to remain at Old Point; for the air is bracing and yet mild during the day, and at night you sleep comfortably under a blanket. Hog fish and oysters are of much finer flavor than in July, and the fishing far better than in the extreme heat of the summer. No one within the broad limits of the Old Dominion can have failed to appreciate the beauty of our Indian Summer (so called.) This, while it endures some few weeks in other localities, lasts the whole fall at the Point, commencing about the 30th of August. I can give no stronger proof of the earnestness and sincerity of my convictions on this head, than by declaring that if the authorities would grant me permission to erect a cottage on the beach, I would gladly avail myself of the privilege with a view to residing there all summer and fall with my family. But I will not enlarge on this topic. There is, and there can be, no dispute on the subject, since all who know the place will endorse every word I have uttered. The health of Old Point, and its exemption from the fall diseases of our climate, are facts too well established to admit of cavil or doubt; indeed, to quote the words of a conspicuous politician, it is a "*fixed fact*."

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

F. MALLOEY, M. D.

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq.

NORFOLK, August 24, 1856.

DEAR SIR: Having spent my school-boy days in the immediate vicinity to Old Point, and somewhat familiar for many years with the hygeaic condition of the people—residents and guests, who annually assembled there, I am enabled to answer your inquiry with entire confidence in the correctness of my own conclusions. This experience has satisfied me that no locality in our latitude can be more healthy. Unconnected with the "main," save by a narrow strip of beach land, which is only partially covered with a stunted vegetation, its sources every where washed by the salt ocean wave, and without a single sunken spot where vegetable humus can gather, it seems to me utterly impossible that malaria can be generated there, or that noxious airs can reach it from my portion of the adjacent country. Come from whatever point of the compass the winds may, *they are sea breezes* still, and could scarcely waft a poisonous exhalation from the *distant* shores abroad.

In my estimation, fevers of a bilious, remittent or intermittent type might as soon be expected to originate on the highest peak of the Blue Ridge, as on the clean, barren sand plane on which the Hygeia Hotel is built.

Yours, truly,

J. J. SIMKINS.

HAMPTON, VA., March 30, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR: I have received your letter requesting my opinion of the general healthiness of Old Point Comfort, and particularly as to its exemption from bilious diseases.

In reply to your inquiry, it gives me pleasure to state, that I know of no place in Virginia which Old Point Comfort will not, in that respect, favorably compare; and I do not remember ever to have seen a case of *bilious fever* which originated at that place.

Yours, respectfully,

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., *Roseland*.

WM. E. VAUGHAN, M. D.

ALEXANDRIA, August 25, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: In reply to yours of 20th instant, I can only say, that the healthiest spot I have ever known is Old Point Comfort; and this I say after a residence there of eight or nine years. A very mistaken notion prevails as to its health in August and the fall months, and there are persons who deem it unsafe to remain there at such times. My own experience teaches me that, for comfort and health, Old Point is far more desirable in August and the fall months than earlier. Fish and oysters are in greater perfection, and no climate can be purer, or more delightful, or healthier. At any season of the year, Spring, Summer, Autumn, or Winter, I would as soon take my chance for health there as at the White Sulphur Springs, or any watering place in America.

Yours, very truly,

JAMES S. FRENCH.

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., *Roseland, Elio. City Co., Va.*

DE BOW'S REVIEW.

AUGUST, 1857.

TEXAS.

Scarcely perceived beyond her limits, noiselessly, yet rapidly and surely, has been going on the increase of this infant State of the Southwest, in population, in wealth, in enterprise, until the certainty now is, that when another national census shall be had, her place will be fixed in the rank of the first class States.

On receiving lately the historical volumes of Mr. Yoakum, it occurred to us for the first time, that we were remiss in our duties to Texas, and that they might form the basis of a paper on the State that could not be otherwise than of interest to our readers. Such a paper must be postponed, however, for the present, on account of the receipt of a later publication which for some days has been receiving our attention, upon which we have been making notes, and are therefore the better prepared to speak.

Mr. Frederick Law Olmsted, after signaling himself by two very wordy volumes, abounding in bitterness and prejudices of every sort, and misrepresentations upon the "*Seaboard Slave States*," finding how profitable such literature is in a pecuniary point of view, and what a run is being made upon it throughout the entire limits of abolitiondom, vouchsafes us now another volume entitled a "*Journey through Texas, or a Saddle-trip on the Southwestern Frontier*." Here, again, the opportunity is too tempting to be resisted to revile and abuse the men and the society whose open hospitality he undoubtedly enjoyed, and whom we have no doubt, like every other of his tribe travelling at the South, he found it convenient at the time to flatter and approve. We have now grown accustomed to this, and it is not at all surprising that here and there it is producing *its effect* in some violent exhibition

of feeling like that displayed by our worthy old friend Dr. Brewer, of Montgomery county, Maryland, who persistently refuses, on all occasions, to allow a Yankee even to cross his fields; or like that of John Randolph, who said in the House, "Mr. Speaker, I would not allow one of my servants to buy as much as a toot-horn from one of these people." Mr. Olmsted kept his abolitionism to himself, and treasured up his slanders in his own bosom until cleverly out of the South, having an eye to the emoluments of book-making rather than to the honors of martyrdom. How rich a boon to the North, is this Southern slavery! Said Mr. McDuffie, on one occasion, "I call God to witness that Mr. ——— (somebody of Connecticut, a large manufacturer, perhaps Mr. Simmons) reaps more of the profits of my cotton-fields than I do myself."

Aside, however, from the bias and prejudices of the work on the subject of slavery, it embraces much that is valuable in the description of country which may be taken to be reliable, as neither the hills nor the vallies, the rivers nor the prairies, are the work of slaveholders hands, and can be held to accountability for his grievous sins and offences. After a while, however, these too will come in for their just share of abuse and villification, for it will be ascertained that they are but the handiwork of a "slaveholder's God," and, therefore, in every respect, contrast meagerly and contemptuously with Holyoke and the Green Mountains, the Valley of the Connecticut, and the boundless Prairies of Iowa!

On page xii Mr. Olmsted says:

"I have made circumstantial inquiry of several persons who have resided both in Iowa and in Texas, and have ascertained, most distinctly, that the rapidity with which the discomforts of the frontier are overcome, the facility with which the most valuable conveniences, and the most important luxuries, moral, mental, and animal, of old communities, are re-obtained, is astonishingly greater in the former than the latter."

Nor can this man be so infatuated where slavery is concerned, that he must needs forfeit the claims he had otherwise earned to an ordinary share of intelligence. Admitting what is said to be true, though heaven knows the Northwest is no paradise, and exhibits but a rude and undeveloped civilization, can Texas, which had at the last census less than one person to the square mile, be compared with Iowa, which had nearly four? It is exactly the same as to compare Indiana, in these respects, with Massachusetts! Texas, too, forms a part of the Southwest, which has but seven, whilst Iowa belongs to the Northwest with sixteen to the square mile. The former, again, adjoins the Southern States with but fifteen, and the latter, the middle States, with fifty-seven persons to the square mile. Therefore, the discomforts of frontier life should be at least four or five times greater in Texas than in Iowa!

On page xiii he believes if slavery had not existed, the population of Texas would have been ten times greater than it is now, and adds:

"I think that its export of cotton would have been greater than it now is; that its demand from, and contribution to, commerce would have been ten times what it now is; that it would possess ten times the length of railroad; ten times as many churches; ten times as many schools, and a hundred times as many school-children as it now has."

But why stop this "*thinking*" and "*believing*" here? The process is so easy and so entirely independent of all the checks and restraints of mere logic, that one may go on *ad libitum*. Think that Texas would have a hundred, or a thousand, or ten thousand times as many schools, or that her hills would have been valleys, and her valleys hills, her white men negroes, and *vice versa*! We, too, may *think*—think, if slaves had cultivated Iowa, her real estate would have been as valuable in 1852 as the real estate of Arkansas—(but that would be to think something reasonable)—think that the moon is made of green cheese, and that it would give no light if the "man in the moon" were to come out of it. *Think* on Mr. Olmsted, a penny, but not a grot more, for your thoughts.

We extract again:

"I hold myself justified in asserting that the natural elements of wealth in the soil of Texas will have been more exhausted in ten years, and with them the rewards offered by Providence to labor will have been more lessened than, without slavery, would have been the case in two hundred."

In other words, slave institutions destroy the vital powers of the soil as much in one as free ever do in twenty years. Thus the soil of Alabama, Arkansas, and Mississippi, have been so completely and effectually used up that they ought now to be not a whit better than those of Massachusetts! Now these States depend entirely upon their soil for support, and must have been more and more impoverished every year. In the face of this, Mr. Olmsted, you will find that their population, and their crops, have increased at the following rates, and the average share of wealth in similar proportion:

| | Population. | | Cotton Bales. | |
|------------------|-------------|---------|---------------|---------|
| | 1830 | 1850 | 1830 | 1850 |
| Alabama. . . | 309,527 | 771,623 | 240,000 | 564,000 |
| Arkansas. . . | 30,388 | 209,897 | 12,000 | 65,000 |
| Mississippi. . . | 136,621 | 606,626 | 420,000 | 484,000 |

But are not the capacities of Northern soils becoming also exhausted? Is not New England being depopulated for Iowa and Wisconsin, and are not all of these States in a degree for Kansas and Minnesota? In the ten years preceding 1850 the Southern States increased as fast, within a small fraction, as New England, and the Southwestern followed nearly upon the

Northwestern. Therefore, if used up soils, and declining means of subsistence, are driving away the people, both sections stand very nearly, if not entirely, on a par. How idle this comparison. Who can say what slave labor would do in Iowa, or free labor in Louisiana, any more than what would have followed had the earth been a cube and not a globe? There are no facts for a comparison. Outside the tropics the negro will not and cannot labor—inside of them, the white man perishes if he attempts it. White field-labor does exist in parts of the South it is true, but so is cotton grown in Boston green-houses, and, therefore, Massachusetts may reasonably expect to meet thence the wants of her manufacturers! The question is between *free negro labor and slave negro labor*, between Hayti and Jamaica now and 1790, or between these States and Cuba. If slave labor wantonly destroys the soil, free labor never disturbs it at all. The slave negro delves—the free negro lives and wallows on spontaneity. There is no middle ground.

Mr. Olmsted, a little further on, quotes some very fallacious statistics from Putnam's Magazine, showing the greater immigration to the "free territories" from the slave States than from the free, remarking upon them that "there is great significance in the emigration driven even now from the slave States (contrary to the normal condition, which is southward and outward) into the colder free States," etc. Now we will refer the writer to an authority which he will regard, it is to be hoped, with equal favor—to wit, *the Census*. He has but to refer to table cxvii, p. 115, compendium 1850, and find that the "free States" contributed to the Northwest and Territories about one million persons to seven and a half remaining at home, and the "slave States" half a million to three and a half millions remaining at home, and that whilst only 232,112 natives of "slave States" were resident in "free States," 764,450 natives of "free States" had left their *happy* and prosperous home to share the destinies of the blighted slaveholder. A comparison of some of the leading Northern and Southern States will be made, though later information represent the work of Northern emigration to be so rapid as to threaten depopulation of villages, towns, and counties:

| | Born in Mass. | Con. | N. H. | Vt. | N. Y. | Penn. | Va. | N. C. | S. C. | Geo. |
|----------------|---------------|--------|-------|--------|---------|---------|--------|--------|-------|-------|
| Ohio..... | 18,768 | 22,855 | 4,621 | 14,320 | 83,979 | 200,634 | 53,762 | 4,307 | 1,463 | 447 |
| Illinois..... | 9,230 | 6,899 | 4,238 | 11,961 | 67,180 | 87,079 | 24,697 | 13,851 | 4,162 | 1,341 |
| Indiana..... | 2,678 | 2,485 | 836 | 8,188 | 24,810 | 44,245 | 41,819 | 33,175 | 4,069 | 761 |
| Iowa..... | 1,251 | 1,090 | 550 | 1,645 | 8,134 | 14,744 | 7,861 | 2,569 | 676 | 119 |
| Michigan..... | 8,167 | 6,751 | 2,744 | 11,118 | 138,756 | 9,452 | 1,504 | 312 | 81 | 68 |
| Wisconsin..... | 6,255 | 4,125 | 2,520 | 10,157 | 63,595 | 9,571 | 1,611 | 322 | 107 | 495 |
| Minnesota..... | 92 | 48 | 47 | 100 | 488 | 227 | 59 | 6 | 4 | 4 |

But to come to our author's travellings. He is at Alexandria, Louisiana, and all preliminary arrangements are made

for the "saddle trip." His companion leaves in advance with the "combined plunder." (Was ever yankeeism broader than this? What a "sight" of things must have made up that plunder? Wasn't there a "muss"? "I want to know"—"du tell"!) However, he reached a Red River plantation, and a meal is promptly served up, "a plate of cold salt fat pork, a cup of what to both eye and tongue seemed lard, but what she (*i. e.* the lady of the house) termed butter—a plate of very stale, dry, flaky corn-bread, a jug of molasses, and a pitcher of milk." For this the charge is one dollar, being stated, when asked, by the woman, "as if the words had been *bullied* out of her," etc. Whether fifty cents was an unreasonable price for a dinner, though ever so bad, (for there were two in the party,) may be left to the author's petted Iowa friends to settle. We admit that in New England it might be had for less, seeing that pennies loom up there into the dignity of pounds, though we shrewdly think that the woman suspecting the nativity of the parties, added the *molasses* as an extra in the bill of fare, and be it remarked that nothing is said against the quality of that article. Good woman, a little codfish, fried in cream, some apple butter, and a pot of Maple, would have made your entertainment princely, and dwarfed the dollar into a dime. Considering, however, that the traveller was an M. D., and "suggested to the woman the propriety of sending for a doctor" to her sick child, (rather officiously to be sure,) it may be admitted that the charge was high—very high—and that she should be called upon to refund *whenever he may be travelling in that quarter again.*

Meditating sadly on the fate of the poor child "ten miles, probably, from a Louisiana school, and with hound pups and negroes for playmates," (who, but a yankee abolitionist, would class the two together thus, and express such repugnance to the association of the white child with his "poor black brother,") the author finds occasion for a foul calumny. "The State Superintendent lately recommended that two out of three of the directors of common schools in Louisiana should be required to know how to read and write, and mentioned that in one parish, instead of the signature, the mark of twelve different directors was affixed to a teacher's certificate." We challenge the proof. Give us at least the year and the page of the report. It is but another *pia fraus* of abolitiondom. Louisiana, to be sure, has labored under great disadvantages. With a sparse and heterogeneous population, and for nearly a hundred years a French or Spanish colony, educational advances might not be rapidly expected. Still, the liberal expenditures of the State in the cause

of education, shame, at this very moment, many of her boasting New England contemporaries. With a total population about equal to Maine, and with a density only two-thirds as great, Louisiana expended on schools, colleges, etc., in 1850, nearly twice the amount expended by that State. With a free population equal to Connecticut, and with only one-fourth of her density, the educational income of Louisiana, in 1850, was again not far from double, whilst it exceeded that of Wisconsin, with a like free population, five-fold! If Mr. Olmsted wishes to estimate the effects of density of population upon education, he will soon take away her cause of boasting from New England, since we maintain that the same relation very nearly subsists between her most favored and least favored counties, in this respect, that subsists between Massachusetts and Louisiana. For example, illiterate in Louisiana, in 1850, 8.30 per cent., 1 in 12; in Massachusetts, 2.79, 1 in 36. Illiterate in Cumberland county, Maine, 1 in about 80; in Aroostoe county, Maine, 1 in about 15.

MASSACHUSETTS.

| | Population. | Illiterate. | |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Barnstable..... | 35,276 | 59 | or 1 in 580 |
| Berkshire..... | 49,599 | 949 | or 1 in 52 |
| Bristol..... | 76,192 | 2,718 | or 1 in 28 |

But we have not time to dwell further. In Charleston district, S. C., the illiterate whites are but 1 in 141 of the white population.

Somewhat further on the parties rest for the night. "For this the charge was \$1 25" to each person, including breakfast and horse-feed. At the end of every page or two our tourist repeats these growlings over the enormous exactions. It is the refrain from one cover of the book to the other. What a series of martyrdoms. Could such a journey, by any possibility, be made "to pay"? Perhaps, friend traveller, you had heard of the lavish hospitality of the South, and imagined that people there moved out upon the high-road for the sole purpose of sharing the goodly society which gentlemen, like yourself, could furnish—believing every arrival to be an act of especial providence! When you offered to pay the woman on Red River, and "feared she was offended by your offering her money for her hospitality," you paid the highest compliment to the South, for heaven knows you would have had no such apprehension on the banks of the Connecticut. There was a time when this roadside hospitality was free. Can you wonder that things have changed in reflecting that you are one of a class who have been overrunning the South, reliant upon its hospitalities, yet only awaiting the occasion

to assail its society and institutions, and endanger its repose. A charge of five dollars per night would have been cheap under the circumstances.

The route continues "every shanty sells spirits and takes in travellers, every plantation has its sign offering provender for sale, generally curiously worded or *spelled*, as 'corn heare.' 'On the Leesburg turnpike,' says the Richmond Enquirer of a late date, and we are reminded of it by the quotation, is a sign, '*fead for stalk*,' the proprietor and painter is a Yankee, and one of the best of those who have lately emigrated to that part of Virginia."

The saddle-bags are now in Texas, and have reached San Augustine: "as to the people, a resident told us there was but one man in the town that was not in the constant habit of getting drunk." The informant, it is to be supposed, was that "one man," or perhaps he was a negro, for at every opportunity our saddled knight enjoys a quiet discourse behind the house with one of these. We inform him, however, that whilst the last Census reported no *manufacture* of ardent spirits in Texas, (see p. 182, Census,) it showed about 50,000 gallons manufactured in Louisiana, 130,000 in Connecticut, 220,000 in Maine, and 4,000,000 gallons in Massachusetts! The old story of the slave-trade over which now such pious horror.

Charged with the "plunder" or *lumber*, his chesnut mare at the slightest pressure is "flying *mad* out of sight," etc. (p. 73.)

In comparison one might excuse "corn heare."

"At San Augustine, the morning previous, the children of the house were running about, wishing the lodgers a merry Christmas for a dime. One of them came to me a second time, but seeing her mistake."

Poor child, it was a "*mistake*" to think of getting *two* dimes out of the Connecticut "plunder."* "Done gone, for gone is an ordinary expression here"—"I have sawed"—"I have saw." Good, but what think we of "du tell," "conjoined plunder," "curiously spelled," "flying mad," "I wantter know."

Here is a specimen of slavery. Our Abolitionist will find hundreds and thousands of his Northern friends who are not half so particular about the price or quality of their Whiskey.

Two negroes converse:

"Wher' you gwine to-morrow?"

"To _____."

"Ken you get whisky ther?"

"Yea."

"Good rye-whisky!"

"Yea."

* On page 45 the climax of praise awarded to the nag which had carried him safely through two thousand miles, was, that he "finally sold for as much as we gave for him."

"What do they ask for it?"

"A dollar and a half a gallon. I don't want no whisky dat costs less 'n a dollar and a half a gallon. I'd rather hev it then your common rot-gut fur a dime. I don't want to buy no whisky fur less 'n a dollar and a half a gallon."

Speaking of the Trinity river the author considers it the best navigable river of Texas. At high-water it is navigable 300 miles from its mouth to the three forks. None of the Texas rivers can be considered permanently navigable, hence the great and growing importance of railroads in that State. The Brazos is wider more rapid and dangerous, and in good seasons, boats reach one to two hundred miles from its mouth. The Colorado is navigable to Austin 200 miles, but only occasionally, and in small boats; the transportation being usually by mules and oxen. Cotton is wagoned everywhere. The editor of the Review recollects to have seen some at Shreveport which had been hauled two hundred miles over bad roads.

"These bottom lands bordering the Trinity are among the richest of rich Texas. They are not considered equal, in degree of fatness, to some parts of the Brazos, Colorado, and Guadalupe bottoms, but are thought to have compensation in reliability for steady cropping. The open coast-prairie grazing districts extend to within a short distance of where we crossed. Above are some fine planting counties, and high up, in the region of the Forks of the Trinity, are lands equally suitable to cotton, wheat, and corn, which were universally described to us as, for Southern settlers, the most promising part of the State."

A small cabin is reached near Centreville. Our travellers want supplies, "the man who measured out the corn and gave short measure too," &c. What a keen scent is this upon imposition! Could the man too have been from the land of steady habits? but no, "dog will not eat dog," (pardon the vulgarity,) and besides, what follows renders it impossible:

"Instead of a small slice of venison, the man cut off a whole haunch and threw it into our corn-sack. For this the charge was only twenty-five cents. The pone was twenty-five cents and the corn one dollar per bushel."

Considering General Houston's anti-Nebraskaism and the general dissatisfaction he has given at the South on account of Northern affiliations, the following must be considered the unkindest cut of all:

"Sam Houston and his eccentricities' formed a very interesting topic of conversation. Nearly every person present had seen the worthy Senator in some ridiculous and not very honorable position, and there was much laughter at his expense. As he seemed to be held in very little respect, we inquired if he were not popular in Texas. He had many warm old friends, they said, and always made himself popular with new acquaintances, but the greater part of the old fighting Texans hated and despised him."

To show the range of wages and prices, we extract:

"There had been a 'hiring' of negroes at the County House the week before. Eight or ten were hired out at from \$175 to \$250 per annum—the hirer contracting to feed them well and to provide two substantial suits of clothing and shoes.

"The price of beef at Caldwell was two cents per pound; pork, five cents; corn-fed ditto, six cents."

As an instance of extreme cold, this was the winter of 1855-6, the thermometer was found by Mr. Olmsted to remain at 25° during the 6th and 7th of January and to fall to 21° on the 8th.

Bastrop is a village of considerable size on the left bank of the Colorado at the edge of an isolated batch of fine timber, from which much of the pine wood used in Western Texas is taken. The water of the Colorado is clear, and its width here is four or five hundred rods. Navigation sometimes can be had, though generally, the cotton is rafted or floated down. Along the edge of the overflowed bottom are large and well cultivated plantations. Prairies and wooded bottoms alternate very pleasantly. Much of the soil is heavy black, known as "bog wallow parara" and the roads of course are very bad.

Austin is upon the left bank of the Colorado. It is an epitome of Washington. Population about 3,000.

"The Capitol—a really imposing building of soft cream limestone, nearly completed at the time of our visit, and already occupied—stands prominent upon a hill, towards which nearly all the town rises. From it a broad avenue stretches to the river, lined by the principal buildings and stores. These are of various materials and styles, from quarried stone to the logs of the first settlers. Off the avenue, are scattered cottages and one or two pretty dwellings. They are altogether smaller in number and meaner in appearance than a stranger would anticipate. The capital was fixed, in fact, upon a thinly-settled frontier, at a point the speculative, rather than the actual, centre of the State. There is one little church, with a pretty German turret, another of stone is in process of erection, and a Governor's mansion is to be built."

What is said against the hotels of Austin we are willing to believe. God knows that no libel could by possibility be pronounced upon the inns of our country towns. They seem to be execrable with rarest exception everywhere. In most cases they should be reported by the police commissioners where such exist. Even at the wealthy and refined capital of North Carolina—but we pause. It is the duty of every journalist to protest, and we unite our voice cordially with the author. Let him, however, as we have done, test by saddle-bag journeying the towns and villages of New England before becoming invidious. Speaking of the Legislature of Texas:

"I have seen several similar bodies at the North; the Federal Congress; and the Parliament of Great Britain, in both its branches, on occasions of great moment; but none of them commanded my involuntary respect for their simple manly dignity and trustworthiness for the duties that engaged them, more than the General Assembly of Texas. There was honest eloquence displayed at every opportunity for its use, and business was carried on with great rapidity, but with complete parliamentary regularity, and all desirable gentlemanly decorum. One gentleman, in a state of intoxication, attempted to address the house, (but that happens elsewhere,) and he was quietly persuaded to retire."

Adverting to the propensity for swearing, alas, too common at the South, "we repeatedly heard," he says, "men curse

white women and children without the least provocation." It would seem then that *provocation* or *black* women would make a difference! The truth is, if what is said is true, the company must have been low indeed, into which he fell, for, all the world over, the gallantry and deference paid to the sex at the South is acknowledged. Here the women never unsex themselves, but having the acknowledged empire, they rule supreme without the necessity of resort to bloomerism or to those monster gatherings which are known at the North as "Women's Rights Conventions." Read the records of the Northern courts, explore the lanes and avenues of its towns and cities, and learn if you will, Mr. Olmsted, if the sins which your brothers visit daily upon the frail and thoughtless and confiding of the other sex, do not make the cursing of which you complain, in the comparison, a saintly virtue.

Our traveller's light upon the home of a Northern fellow-citizen, who informs them that negroes fare very badly at the South, when they fall into the hands of Northern people. Meet comment upon the long faced, hypocritical, puritanical profession which characterize so large a portion of them.

"This woman entirely sustained the assertion that Northern people, when they come to the South, have less feeling for the negroes than Southerners themselves usually have. We asked her (she lived in a village) whether she hired or owned her servants. They owned them all, she said. When they first came to Texas they hired servants, but it was very troublesome; they would take no interest in anything; and she couldn't get along with them. Then very often their owners, on some pretext (ill-treatment, perhaps) would take them away. Then they bought negroes. It was very expensive: a good negro girl cost seven or eight hundred dollars, and that, we must know, was a great deal of money to be laid out in a thing that might lie right down the next day and die. They were not much better either than the hired servants."

Crossing the Colorado we are in Western Texas. The prairies grow more and more magnificent. Live oaks, alone, or in picturesque groups, spread near and far upon the clean sward, which rolled in long waves. These live oak prairies extend through the greater part of Western Texas, nearly to San Antonio, where the dwarf mesquit succeeds. The oaks are generally short and stunted, and with but thin foliage. Spanish moss hangs grandly and gloomily from its branches.

Inquiring at Austin, from Governor Pease and others, in relation to the German residents of Texas, the traveller is informed:

"As to slavery, as fast as they acquired property, they followed the customs of the country and purchased slaves, like other white people, even Northern men, who invariably conquered their prejudices when they came here to settle and found their practical inconvenience. However, no one could give us any precise information about the Germans, and we had not the least idea that they were so numerous, and had so important a position in Western Texas, until we reached them, a day or two after this."

Should another edition of the work be published, we enjoin upon the writer to omit the disgusting note on page 134, if he does not wish to have the refinement and delicacy, which ought to be the result of the superior civilization in which he was reared, contrast very sadly with that of the uncouth, tobacco-chewing, and ever-swearing frontiersman.

Here is a fine description of the mesquit grass :

"A great change occurred here in the prairie grass—we had reached the *mesquit grass*, of which we had heard much throughout Eastern Texas. The grass of the Eastern prairies is coarse and sedgy, like that of rank, moist, outlying spots in New England. Where not burned, it lay, killed by the frost, in a thick matted bed upon the ground. Our animals showed no disposition to eat it. This mesquit they eat eagerly as soon as we came upon it, as if it were an old acquaintance. It is a fine, short grass, growing with great vigor and beauty over the Western prairies. It is usually found in very thick tufts and patches, interspersed with other grasses, but in the San Antonio river district covers the whole surface. It is extremely nutritious and palatable to cattle, horses, and sheep, and has the very great advantage of preserving its sweetness to a certain degree, through the winter. The usual frosts, perhaps owing to the closeness of its growth, do not kill it to the ground, the lower parts of its leaves and stem retaining a slight verdure, unless burned over, until new leaves shoot out in spring. It is this which gives the prairies of Western Texas their great superiority, as a pasture ground, over those of the central and eastern parts of the State, and mark it as forever a pastoral country, whatever, in other respects, be its future."

Some inquiries are made in regard to the German farmers, it being an important matter to show that somebody can, and does live at the South, without resort to slave labor :

"How many of them owned negroes, that he knew! He couldn't tell. Were there a hundred! Oh, no. Were there ten! No, not more than five. And I supposed he knew some hundreds of them! Yes, he knew more than a thousand, he thought, that did not own slaves."

Yes, and we know *more than a thousand* of those who are not Germans who do not own slaves, and Mr. Olmsted need not go far in his own happy land to find ten thousand who neither own slaves *nor anything else*.

Here we are upon the German farms, in the vicinity of Guadalupe, and our traveller is thrown into ecstasies by the sight of "free labor cotton." To be sure it is in mere patches, little oases like Boston green-houses, and the "cotton" is "*all* picked, and none left to waste :

"A few miles further on, we passed several much more comfortable houses, boarded over, and a good deal like the smaller class of farm-houses in New England, but some of them having exterior plaster-work, or brick, laid up between the timbers, instead of boards nailed over them. About these were larger inclosures, from which extensive crops of corn had been taken; and it caused us a sensation to see a number of parallelograms of COTTON—FREE-LABOR COTTON. These were not often of more than an acre in extent. Most of them looked as if they had been judiciously cultivated, and had yielded a fine crop, differing, however, from that we had noticed on the plantations the day before, in this circumstance—the picking had been entirely completed, and that with care and exactness, so that none of the cotton, which the labor of cultivation had produced, had been left to waste. The cotton-stalks stood rather more closely, and

were of less extraordinary size, but much more even and regular in their growth than on the plantations."

A specimen of his free-soil, free-thinking, favorite Germans follows, given in his own language:

"He was no friend to priests, whether Catholic or Protestant—he never went to church."

Here is a description of New Braunfels, which is regarded as another Germany:

"The main street of the town, which we soon entered upon, was very wide, three times as wide, in effect, as Broadway, in New York. The houses, with which it was thickly lined on each side for a mile, were small, low cottages, of no pretensions to elegance, yet generally looking neat and comfortable. Many were furnished with verandahs and gardens, and the greater part were either stuccoed or painted. There were many workshops of mechanics and small stores, with signs oftener in English than in German; and bare-headed women, and men in caps and short jackets, with pendent pipes, were everywhere seen at work."

"I never in my life, except, perhaps, in awakening from a dream, met with such a sudden and complete transfer of associations. Instead of loose boarded or hewn log walls, with crevices stuffed with rags or daubed with mortar, which we have been accustomed to see during the last month, on staving in a door, where we have found any to open; instead, even, of four bare, cheerless sides of whitewashed plaster, which we have found twice or thrice only in a more aristocratic American residence, we were—in short, we were in Germany."

We extract the full and interesting description of San Antonio:

"The singular composite character of the town is palpable at the entrance. For five minutes the houses were evidently German, of fresh square-cut blocks of creamy-white limestone, mostly of a single story and humble proportions, but neat, and thoroughly roofed and finished. Some were furnished with the luxuries of little bow-windows, balconies, or galleries.

"From these we enter the square of the Alamo. This is all Mexican. Windowless cabins of stakes, plastered with mud and roofed with river-grass, or 'tula,' or low, windowless, but better thatched, houses of adobes, (gray, unburnt bricks,) with groups of brown idlers lounging at their doors.

"The principal part of the town lies within a sweep of the river upon the other side. We descend to the bridge, which is close down upon the water, as the river, owing to its peculiar source, never varies in height or temperature. We irresistibly stop to examine it, we are so struck with its beauty. It is of a rich blue and pure as crystal, flowing rapidly but noiselessly over pebbles and between reedy banks. One could lean for hours over the bridge rail.

"From the bridge we enter Commerce street, the narrow principal thoroughfare, and here are American houses, and the triple nationalities break out into the most amusing display, till we reach the main plaza. The sauntering Mexicans prevail on the pavements, but the bearded Germans and the sallow Yankees furnish their proportion. The signs are German by all odds, and perhaps the houses, trim-built, with pink window-blinds. The American dwellings stand back, with galleries and jalousies and a garden picket-fence against the walk, or rise, next door, in three-story brick to respectable city fronts. The Mexican buildings are stronger than those we saw before, but still of all sorts, and now put to all sorts of new uses. They are all low, of adobe or stone, washed blue and yellow, with flat roofs close down upon their single story. Windows have been knocked in their blank walls, letting the sun into their dismal vaults, and most of them are stored with dry goods and groceries, which overflow around the door. Around the plaza are American hotels, and new glass-fronted stores, alternating with sturdy battlemented Spanish walls, and confronted by the dirty, grim, old stuccoed stone cathedral, whose cracked bell

is now clunking for vespers, in a tone that bids us no welcome, as more of the intruding race who have caused all this progress, on which its traditions, like its imperturbable dome, frown down.

"We have no city, except, perhaps, New Orleans, that can vie, in point of the picturesque interest that attaches to odd and antiquated foreignness, with San Antonio. Its jumble of races, costumes, languages, and buildings; its religious ruins, holding to an antiquity, for us, indistinct enough to breed an unaccustomed solemnity; its remote, isolated, outposted situation, and the vague conviction that it is the first of a new class of conquered cities into whose decaying streets our rattling life is to be infused, combine with the heroic touches in its history to enliven and satisfy your traveller's curiosity."

Most of the growth of this town dates from the Mexican war, when large amounts were expended here by the Government. Goods are wagoned to it from Matagorda Bay by Ox teams, a distance of 150 miles. San Antonio was founded in 1730, by Spaniards, from the Canary Islands. Many of the Mexicans left it after the Texan revolution. In 1850 the population was 3,500. It is now estimated at 10,000 or 11,000, of whom about a third are Germans, a third Mexicans, and the rest Americans. The Mexicans are generally wagoners.

"Their tools are of the rudest sort. The old Mexican wheel of hewn blocks of wood is still constantly in use, though supplanted, to some extent, by Yankee wheels, sent in pairs from New York. The carts are always hewn of heavy wood, and are covered with white cotton, stretched over hoops. In these they live, on the road, as independently as in their own houses. The cattle are yoked by the horns, with raw hide thongs, of which they make a great use.

"They consort freely with the negroes, making no distinction from pride of race. A few, of old Spanish blood, have purchased negro servants, but most of them regard slavery with abhorrence."

The whole number of Mexicans in the State is estimated at 25,000, of whom there are at San Antonio, 4,000; in Bexar County, 2,000; at El Paso, with Presidio, 8,500; on the Lower Rio Grande, 3,000. The census of 1850 gave only about 8,000.

Have our readers ever experienced what is known on the Gulf of Mexico, and in Texas, as a Norther?

"At nine o'clock, the thermometer stood at thirty-three degrees, and, at seven next morning, at twenty-one degrees. A thermometer hanging in Neu-Braunfels showed a fall of sixty degrees in seven hours.

"These northers upon the open prairies are exceedingly trying. The fierce wind that accompanies such a sudden change gives them triple effect, especially as they often interrupt warm, relaxing weather. Teamsters, herdsmen, and travellers, caught out far from habitations, not unfrequently perish, and very great suffering is caused to animals. Cattle instinctively make for the nearest shelter of trees; but, on the open prairies of the coast, they fall by thousands before a freezing rain, which is sometimes added.

"The northers continue from one to three days, growing milder at the close, and occur once or twice a week during the winter months. But a tight house and a blazing fire make one quite independent of them, and such we found in the German inn."

There is at New Braunfels an agricultural society, a mechanics' institute, a harmonic society, a society for political debate, and a Turners' society. Here Sunday was observed more thoroughly as a day of rest, and the stores, "*except one*

kept by a *New Englander*, was closed during the day. In the evening there were amusements, and among them a ball." How shocking the latter would have been if announced among Southern slaveholders instead of among German Turners.

The following relates to a sheep ranch:

"We had the pleasure of spending an evening at Neu-Braunsfels with Mr. G. W. Kendall, of the *New Orleans Picayune*, who has a sheep-ranch five or six miles north of the town. Upon it he has a good stock of mares, some cattle, and a large flock of sheep, under charge of an imported Scotch shepherd. Owing to some mismanagement, in cold weather, his first experiences were not very favorable. Now the farm was in a fair way to be extremely profitable. He uses no negroes, but hires all extra labor done by Germans from the town."

We have here a description of country around San Antonio:

"Five or six miles from San Antonio, the prairies rise, in gentle slopes into hills, which become steeper and nearer one another as you travel further. In thirty miles, the valleys have become very narrow, and the hills and mountains rugged with projecting strata of limestone. These strata are very peculiar, and are said to be characteristic of the inland region all the way to Missouri. They are of the thickness of building stones, and lying horizontally, they give the hills the appearance of artificial structures, so that a conical hill leaves very much the impression of a crumbling, overgrown pyramid. The soil is black, but has been washed from the square edges. Wherever it exists, grass grows, even over the summits of the mountains, if they be not bare rocks. In the smaller valleys, particularly, the following day, we found ourselves in real Sonora scenery. The stunted live oaks were rarely to be seen, besides grass, there were only large cacti, yuccas, and agaves, scattered over the arid rocky elevations."

The following statistics of the comparative production of a sheep farm and a cotton plantation may be of some value, though we have no doubt that abolition prejudices against slave labor, and all that is connected with it, colors the picture:

SHEEP ON A LARGE SCALE.

| | |
|---|---------|
| Land—1,000 acres, at \$2..... | \$2,000 |
| House and furniture..... | 4,000 |
| Fencing and ploughing, by contract..... | 2,000 |
| Tools, horses, wagons..... | 1,500 |
| 24,125 Northern sheep, at \$4..... | 96,500 |
| Improved bucks..... | 14,000 |

Capital outlay..... \$120,000

ANNUAL PRODUCTION.

| | |
|--|----------------|
| 40,000 lbs. wool, at 25 cents..... | \$10,000 |
| 18,000 lambs, (25 per cent lost,) at \$4..... | 72,000 |
| | <hr/> \$82,000 |
| Deduct wages, 100 Mexican shepherds, at \$180..... | \$18,000 |
| " 10 head " 500..... | 5,000 |
| " 1 bailliff..... 1,400..... | 1,400 |
| " 14 farm hands..... 200..... | 2,800 |
| " 1 farm foreman..... 500..... | 500 |
| Deduct interest on \$115,000, at 8 per cent..... | 9,200 |
| | <hr/> 36,000 |
| Clear returns..... | \$45,100 |

COTTON ON A LARGE SCALE.

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Land—2,000 acres, bottom, at \$8 50..... | \$17,000 |
| 50 prime field hands, at \$1,000..... | 50,000 |
| 50 half hands, at..... 600..... | 30,000 |
| 50 quarter hands, at... 300..... | 15,000 |
| House and furniture..... | 4,000 |
| Quarters and overseers' houses..... | 2,000 |
| Mules and tools..... | 2,000 |
| Capital outlay..... | \$120,000 |
| ANNUAL PRODUCTION. | |
| At 4 bales per hand, of 450 lbs. 158,400 lbs., at 8 cents..... | \$12,672 |
| Increase of slaves, at 5 per cent., \$4,750..... | 4,750 |
| | \$17,422 |
| Deduct annual expenses..... | \$1,000 |
| “ interest on \$120,000, at 8 per cent..... | 9,600 |
| | 10,600 |
| Clear returns..... | \$6,822 |

Seguin is described as the prettiest town in Texas, and the Guadalupe is pictured thus:

“The bottom lands of the Guadalupe here are usually from two to four miles wide. They are said to be less subject to overflow than those of any other large river in Texas. They are covered with timber, which is mainly heavy and very valuable, especially so here where timber of any kind is difficult to be procured. The principal sorts are white-oak, pecan, walnut, hickory, box-alder, mulberry, cotton-wood, and cypress.

“Exterior to the timber, on each side, is generally a portion of flat bottom-prairie. It has a rich, black, clay soil, difficult to work, but producing heavy crops. Beyond this bottom-prairie, the surface rises abruptly to uplands, which present a good deal of variety in soil and scenery. The largest part is rolling prairie, with some chapparal and groves of live-oaks near the terrace. Further back are sandy elevated tracks, the soil of which is comparatively poor and covered by a thin growth of post-oaks.

“The banks of the river, on both sides, are considered to be well settled. The houses of the residents are, perhaps, a mile apart on the more valuable parts. On the east side are some families who came here before the Revolution. Most of the settlers are extensive herdsmen and small planters. The plantations have a small front on the river, and extend back sometimes several miles over the upland prairie, no part of which is inclosed. Only the best of the bottom land is cultivated, and of that, probably, much less than a hundredth part.”

Here follows an account of Lavacca:

“Lavacca seemed to recede as we drew near it. We saw the masts of vessels two hours before we reached the town. We found a very indifferent hotel, but luckily, a capital stable, where we saw our jaded horses rubbed thoroughly dry and well fed. The town stands on the edge of the bay, the surface of which is some fifteen feet below the prairie. The streets were now completely flooded. It lacks churches, school-houses, a public square, shade-trees, and Venetian blinds, but, in other respects, reminds one completely of a small New England seaport or fishing village. There were four New York schooners at the end of long, slightly-built jetties, and three or four smaller bay craft. There is no rise and fall of tide of consequence, but the depth of water is changed by the prevailing winds. There are said to be seven feet of water in the channel; the depth, however, varies with the residence of your informant, and is only to be correctly ascertained from the Coast Pilot.”

Indianola is next referred to :

"The beach on which the town is built is some three hundred yards in width, and extends about a mile in length, having but two parallel streets, front and back. It has a more busy and prosperous appearance than Lavacca, and is much larger, but is said to have less heavy business, and less capital. The rivalry is extreme and amusing. At Lavacca we heard of Indianola as 'a little village down the bay (they call it Indianola) where our vessels sometimes land goods on their way up.' Each consider the other to be sickly. Indianola has the advantage of the best water, and of the New Orleans steamers, which land at Powderhorn, a sort of hotel suburb, four miles below, by a hard beach-road, where nine to ten feet of water can be carried. Lavacca has the advantage of twelve miles' distance in land-carriage, which, in the present state of transportation, is an important consideration, though the distance from hard roads across the low level prairie is about the same. Schooners, of ordinary coasting draught, come without difficulty to the wharves of Indianola, and with greater difficulty, and with some liability to detention from grounding, to Lavacca, through a channel kept open by a steam dredge.

"Ships from Europe lie several miles below Indianola, outside a bar, as at Mobile, and must employ lighterage to either town. There are two towns, of a speculative character, laid out further down the bay, La Salle and Saluria, the former on the main, the latter upon Matagorda Island, and the proposed terminus of the San Antonio and Gulf Railroad. The mutual jealousy among the speculators in these several towns is immense. It is only certain, at present, that some one great town must grow up upon Matagorda Bay, which will be forever the great sea-gate of Western Texas."

Victor Considerant and his community are admitted to a passing notice :

"At the head of the Sabinal are a number of non-slaveholding farmers, from Northern States, engaged in sheep and cattle-raising, settled together upon a rich and sheltered tract of pasture. To the same place, if I am correctly informed, VICTOR CONSIDERANT has brought the remnant of his communist colony. His first position was a very ill-chosen one, upon Trinity river, in Dallas county, amid a population of planters, who looked with extreme coldness and jealousy upon such an incursion as that of a thousand French 'agrarians,' all foreigners, and, for force, free-labor men. The experiment appears to have been a brief one. The colony, which arrived in the winter of 1854-5, was already, at the end of one season, shattered and dispersed. A few remained upon the domain of the association, with some separate organization; a few were faithful to Considerant, and have followed him to this new and more hopeful position, while the great body scattered, to try their own fortunes, over the State. The more intimate reasons and circumstances of the failure are not yet public."

The Indian tribes of Texas are passing into rapid decay. In 1853 the total number of Indians in the State was estimated at 20,000. Mr. Olmsted thinks that in 1856 the number did not exceed 12,000. Some 1,500 Indians till the reservation on the clear fork of the Brazos, and make good crops; 3,000 semi-civilized Creeks, Delawares, and Cherokees are in Eastern Texas; in the north 1,000 Washita and Wacos. There are 3,000 Camanches, 1,000 Lipans, &c., and 4,000 of all other stragglers.

Here follows a description of the old Texas Rangers, so famous in the chronicles of the State :

"Any one, having obtained from the Government a commission to form a ranging-company, advertised a rendezvous, where all wishing to join should be

on hand at a specified time, when they were inspected by the enlisting officer. The men furnished their own horses, (American or large mustangs,) saddles, pistols, and knives—the State providing only rifles. The pay was \$25 per month. The recruiting officer was only provisionally captain, the corps, when organized for service, choosing its own leaders. Rations of hard bread and pork, or, sometimes, fresh beef, flour, rice, sugar, and coffee, were served out once in four days, with a bushel of corn and hay for the horse. If sent on a separate scout where rations could not be taken, they were drawn and sold on their return, the party subsisting upon game.

"They carried no tents, and seldom employed baggage wagons. Where they were to make a long camp, they usually built log huts, otherwise, lay, rolled in their blankets, wherever they pleased, within the lines of their sentinels."

Referring to the frequent runnings away of slaves on the Texas frontier into Mexico, thus greatly affecting the value of that property on the line, the author delivers himself of some fine sentimentality :

"Brave negro! say I. He faces all that is terrible to man for the chance of liberty, from hunger and thirst to every nasty form of four-footed and two-footed devil. I fear I should myself suffer the last servile indignities before setting foot in such a net of concentrated torture. I pity the man whose sympathies would not warm to a dog under these odds. How can they be held back from the slave who is driven to assert his claim to manhood!"

Said one of the author's favorite German friends, a settler :

"That German must be a Judas who would do ought to hinder a man who was fleeing toward liberty!" was the reply of my informant."

The following account is given of Houston :

"Houston, at the head of the navigation of Buffalo Bayou, has had for many years the advantage of being the point of transshipment of a great part of the merchandise that enters or leaves the State. It shows many agreeable signs of the wealth accumulated, in home-like, retired residences, its large and good hotel, its well supplied shops, and its shaded streets. The principal thoroughfare, opening from the steamboat landing, is the busiest we saw in Texas. Near the bayou are extensive cotton sheds, and huge exposed piles of bales. The bayou itself is hardly larger than an ordinary canal, and steamboats would be unable to turn, were it not for a deep creek opposite the levee, up which they can push their stems. There are several neat churches, a theatre (within the walls of a steam saw-mill,) and a most remarkable number of showy bar rooms and gambling saloons.

"A curious feature of the town is the appearance of small cisterns of tar, in which long handled dippers are floating, at the edge of the sidewalk, at the front of each store. This is for the use of the swarming wagoners.

"Houston (pronounced Hewston) has the reputation of being an unhealthy residence. The country around it is low and flat, and generally covered by pines. It is settled by small farmers, many of whom are Germans, owning a few cattle, and drawing a meagre subsistence from the thin soil. A large number of unfortunate emigrants, who arrive with exhausted purses, remain in the town at labor, or purchase a little patch or cabin in the vicinity. The greater part of the small tradesmen and mechanics of the town are German."

The area of Texas is 237,504 square miles, and not 274,362 miles, as stated by Mr. Olmsted. That area is equal to double the extent of New York and Virginia combined. The several sections of the State are well marked. The Northeast has been attracting the greatest immigration, being accessible to

the Mississippi, and having lands adapted to wheat as well as cotton. Small proprietors are the most numerous. The eastern counties are wooded; in the central, prairies alternate with forests; but, on the west, prairie lands prevail, and of course wood is very scarce. Still a sufficiency may be generally had. The Red River soils are peculiarly rich and red. The prairies are stocked with wire grass, described to be very nutritious, though not equal to the mesquit. Wheat comes to great perfection, and samples weighing seventy-two pounds to the bushel have been shown, the average being sixty-two. The field adapted to this crop is boundless. The population of the northeastern section of Texas reaches already 135,000 to 150,000. The increase of slaves, in five years, has been from 15,000 to 25,000, chiefly in Smith, Cass, Upshur, Harrison, and Titus counties. In the extreme portion of this section the lands are not adapted to agriculture, and scarcely to cattle raising. The water is bad, the country desolate and broken, and the droughts extreme. Capt. Marcy, who explored the region, speaks of fertile bottoms on the Little Wichita and the upper Red River, but lying within the Indian territory.

Eastern Texas is considered to be less fertile, except in farming spots, than other parts of the State, and is apparently stationary. About one-third of the population are slaves.

Central Texas comprises the oldest American settlements, and some of the richest bottom lands in the State. The coast prairies extend sixty or eighty miles inland, and are made fertile by being traversed by small streams. The prairie soil is lighter than the black soils of the west, and is easily exhausted; but the lowlands are unsurpassed. The sugar lands of the State are estimated at more than seven millions of acres, and the best are quite equal to any in Louisiana, without requiring the expense of keeping up which is necessary there. Brazoria and Matagorda produce sugar largely, and abound in this quality of soil. Central Texas furnishes the heaviest amounts of cotton, and Colorado and Washington counties take the lead.

Western Texas consists of a settled and an unsettled district, the former lying between the Colorado and the Nueces. The country is beautiful, and endowed by nature with every rich and inviting quality. Beyond the flat coast prairies, which extend forty miles inland, the lands gently swell to the base of the Guadalupe range. The advantages of pasturage are unrivalled. Grasses abound in winter or summer, the streams are clear, and the soil is enriched by black calcareous loam. As a set off, however, it may be remarked, that timber is

scarce, and Indians sometimes troublesome. The north winds from the plains above are trying. Mexicans occupy a large portion of western Texas, and a stream of Germans has also been pouring in, the number now being estimated at 35,000. They are described by Mr. Olmsted as doing well, but as theoretically opposed to slavery, though practically caring nothing about it, and, in general, having no disposition to interfere where it is concerned. However, he seems to rejoice in the idea of constituting from them a cordon of free States to sting the South in her own limits. The event will show his grievous disappointment. We make a single extract:

"In social and political relations, the Germans do not occupy the position to which their force and character should entitle them. They mingle little with the Americans, except for the necessary buying and selling. The manners and ideals of the Texans and of the Germans are hopelessly divergent, and the two races have made little acquaintance, observing one another apart with unfeigned curiosity, often tempered with mutual contempt. The Americans have the prestige of pre-occupation, of accustomed dominance over Mexicans and slaves, of language, capital, political power, and vociferous assumption. The Germans, quiet and engrossed in their own business, by nature law-abiding and patient, submit to be governed with little murmuring."

The part of western Texas, which adjoins Mexico, is reputed almost a desert. The rain so seldom falls that ordinary vegetation perishes for lack of moisture. It is, however, said, that great changes have taken place of late, owing to the settlement of contiguous country. New springs are continually breaking out where none existed before. The volume of water in all of the Texas rivers is steadily increasing, and there is an increased growth of grass and trees upon the plains. All of this will be very fortunate for the State if it may be permanently relied upon.

Northwestern Texas closes Mr. Olmsted's labors, and will close ours. We give one more extract, together with some statistical tables from the book, and will, in our next, take up the political and civil history of the State, passing very carefully through the volumes of Mr. Yoakum:

"Northwestern Texas has for its chief feature the Llano Estacado, or Staked Plain, an immense desolate, barren table-land, stretching from the Canadian to the Pecos. It is a perfectly level desert, more than two thousand feet above the sea, destitute of water, bearing no tree, and, during a great part of the year, only dried grass, supporting no permanent animal life, and probably destined to be of little service to man. Its surface is unbroken by a hill or any projection, but here and there yawn cañons, or horrid chasms, on the brink of which a traveller finds himself without the slightest warning, looking down a dizzy abyss, a thousand feet in depth, and a thousand feet across."

Assessed Values of Property for Taxation in Texas.

| Years. | LAND. | | | NEGROES. | | |
|---------|---------------------|------------|-------------|---------------|------------|--------------------|
| | No. Acres assessed. | Value. \$ | Value Acre. | No. assessed. | Value. \$ | Value of each, \$. |
| 1846... | 31,967,480 | 17,776,101 | 55½ | 31,099 | 10,142,198 | 324 |
| 1847... | 30,440,210 | 17,326,994 | 57 | 39,251 | 12,174,593 | 310 |
| 1848... | 32,160,184 | 20,777,412 | 64½ | 40,610 | 13,398,490 | 323 |
| 1849... | 32,890,887 | 20,874,641 | 65 | 43,534 | 14,658,837 | 337 |
| 1850... | 32,640,400 | 21,807,670 | 66½ | 49,197 | 17,776,500 | 361 |
| 1851... | 37,731,774 | 31,415,604 | 83½ | 59,959 | 26,246,668 | 404 |
| 1852... | 37,838,792 | 33,116,772 | 87½ | 68,795 | 28,628,990 | 416 |
| 1853... | 39,175,858 | 39,256,612 | 1.00 | 78,713 | 35,946,473 | 456 |
| 1854... | 44,580,946 | 49,961,177 | 1.12 | 90,612 | 46,501,840 | 513 |
| 1855... | 45,893,869 | 58,671,126 | 1.28 | 105,603 | 53,373,924 | 505 |

| Years. | HORSES AND CATTLE. | | | OTHER PROPERTY. |
|-----------|--------------------|------------|---------------------|--|
| | Number assessed. | Value. \$ | Value per head, \$. | Money at interest, goods in stores, etc. |
| 1846..... | 411,100 | 2,929,378 | 7.12 | 3,543,501 |
| 1847..... | 448,971 | 3,392,784 | 7.12 | 4,668,134 |
| 1848..... | 581,251 | 4,174,475 | 7.16 | 5,461,606 |
| 1849..... | 631,649 | 4,419,015 | 7.00 | 5,847,516 |
| 1850..... | 750,352 | 5,222,270 | 7.00 | 6,675,175 |
| 1851..... | 901,794 | 6,638,115 | 7.35 | 8,639,797 |
| 1852..... | 1,020,832 | 7,977,999 | 7.82 | 11,030,423 |
| 1853..... | 1,164,463 | 10,217,499 | 8.78 | 13,734,530 |
| 1854..... | 1,377,472 | 13,465,505 | 9.08 | 17,052,795 |
| 1855..... | 1,615,609 | 16,936,423 | 10.48 | 20,539,978 |

Production of Cotton and Sugar—Imports and Exports, etc.

COTTON.

| | | |
|----------------------------------|------|---------|
| 1837..... | (g.) | 50,000 |
| 1846, cotton shipped, bales..... | | 27,000 |
| 1849-50..... | " | 31,000 |
| 1850-51..... | " | 46,000 |
| 1851-52..... | " | 64,000 |
| 1852-53..... | " | 85,000 |
| 1853-54..... | " | 107,906 |
| 1854-55..... | " | 80,737 |
| 1855-56..... | " | 116,078 |

SUGAR.—1850.

| COUNTIES PRODUCING SUGAR. | Sugar, hhds. of 1,000 lbs. | Molasses, gallons. |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| Austin..... | 60 | 4,195 |
| Brazoria..... | 4,811 | 314,164 |
| Fort Bend..... | 100 | 420 |
| Houston..... | 82 | 340 |
| Liberty..... | 115 | 4,820 |
| Matagorda..... | 1,394 | 73,000 |
| Rusk..... | 101 | 1,090 |
| Victoria..... | 120 | 6,700 |
| Wharton..... | 317 | 11,490 |

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-------|---------|
| | | 7,100 | 416,219 |
| Sugar crop of 1852-3..... | 11,023 hhds. of 1,000 lbs. | | |
| " " 1854-5..... | 9,875 " | | |
| " " 1855-6, (to Sept.)..... | 7,513 " | | |

SALT—ITS USES AND MANUFACTURE—SALT MEATS.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE DEFECTS OF COMMON SALT IN GENERAL USE IN THE UNITED STATES FOR CURING PROVISIONS, AND ON THE SUBJECT OF CARELESS PACKING AND MANAGEMENT OF MEATS, ETC., WITH SOME HINTS AS TO A REMEDY, BY WM. C. DENNIS, OF KEY WEST, FLORIDA.

In many of the pursuits of life, and in the yearly and daily routine of providing necessities for sustaining life, temporary convenience and long-continued habit are apt to set aside the teachings both of experience and science. There is not a packer of meats in the United States, nor scarcely a house-keeper, but who knows that Liverpool and other boiled salts are wholly unfit to cure meat in barrels, and are unreliable and unsafe to cure bacon, hams, &c.; and science, for more than seventy years, has taught that the heterogeneous compound of which boiled salt is necessarily composed, is really septic when applied to meat, butter, &c., in small quantity, while pure chloride of soda (common salt) is one of the most powerful and agreeable anti-septics with which the chemist is acquainted; yet, because Liverpool and other boiled salts are cheap, convenient, and of good appearance, our people continue the use of these pernicious articles in spite of the warnings and admonitions of their own taste and smell, and of the warnings of the man of science, who assures them that the health of themselves and families is thereby endangered. Even if we do not take into account the danger to health, the practice, according to the old adage, is, "a penny wise and a pound foolish." England, who finds such good profit in sending her boiled salt here, takes good care not to use any of it herself for curing provisions. In salting meats for her army and navy, not even the carelessly made solar salt of Spain and Portugal is allowed to be used—none but the best French "bay salt" is considered fit for the purpose; and her people generally are much of the same opinion, they saying that the Spanish and Portuguese salt has "a disagreeable sharpness and *ferocity*" about it that destroys the good flavor of provisions cured with it. The same opinion exists in Scotland and Ireland. In Holland not even the best bay salt is considered fit for curing provisions until it is recrystallized. For this purpose they take two or more kinds of solar salt, one of which must be French bay salt, these they dissolve in sea-water, brought in lighters, from Dort; and after this combined pickle is clarified in various ways, it is carefully crystallized in large shallow iron or *lead* pans, of a circular shape, by very low artificial heat, the process being carried on slowly, that the chemical affinities may have full time to act. Salt

thus twice crystalized must be nearly pure, and all writers on the subject ascribe the superior quality of Dutch herring to the salt with which they are cured. In fact, no country in Europe use boiled salt for curing provisions; and even in Poland, which has the most extensive and purest salt mines in the world, in former times certainly imported French salt to cure provisions, and what is more singular, as a manure for her wheat lands; and I believe this importation is at the present time more extensive than ever.

During the late war in the Crimea, I was struck by the frequent statements extracted from the English and French papers, that the American beef and pork sent there was more juicy, and naturally more nutritious, than like meats from Europe, but that in all cases it was partially tainted. This may have been in part owing to the lack of skill and care in packing, but the chief cause was the inferior salt used.

It needs no arguments to prove, that in foreign markets the enhanced price of sound meat would pay an hundred fold the trifling extra cost of procuring pure salt to cure it; yet, it is in curing provisions for the home trade, and, home consumption, that the greatest evils exist from the use of bad salt and careless management. Some estimate can be formed of the money loss to the country by meat and other provisions becoming tainted and utterly worthless, but none can be formed of such loss from the injury to health and the shortning of life by the use of half-tainted food; yet it seems certain that the amount of this last loss is immeasurably greater than all others from the cause in question. Let a person attend the different auctions in Mobile, Charleston, Savannah, and other cities at the South, and he will become aware of the immense amount of meat (principally bacon and hams) in the home trade that becomes tainted, or in the language of the auctioneer, "*touched a little.*" In Mobile I have often seen as many as ten to fifteen casks (10,000 to 15,000 lbs.) sold at auction, at one time and place, of this character of meat, the prices at which it sold ranging from $\frac{1}{4}$ down as low as $\frac{1}{16}$ of the value that it would have possessed had good salt been used in curing, and care and skill observed in packing and managing it. At a rough estimate, which is certainly below the mark, the loss to the country on this kind of meat in the home trade alone must be \$1,000,000 per annum; and this large sum forms but a small part of the loss from the same cause that yearly takes place in the millions of meat-tubs and smoke-houses that contain the domestic supplies of the whole country, but more especially at the South, at Southwest, and at the West, where Liverpool, Kanawha, New York, and other boiled salts are chiefly used. Heaven alone knows the suffering, loss of health, and short-

ening of life caused by the consumption of so much half-rotten food in the country. It may seem to some that the above is an exaggerated view of the evils proceeding from the use of bad salt, but before this article is closed I think that it will appear that it is far otherwise.

Before proceeding further with the subject, it will be well to examine briefly some of the processes of making salt, and to see what expense and trouble some countries have thought it economical to go to in their endeavor to manufacture a pure and safe article within their own borders.

The ocean and other salt seas are the great reservoirs of brine from whence this most necessary article is principally made, but much is also made from salt springs that appear on the surface, or are bored for, the last being most common, and extensive mines of common salt exist in many countries, but generally is so mixed with impurities that it has to be dissolved and recrystallized before it is fit for use. The salt mines in Poland are exceptions to this, and perhaps there are a few other mines containing salt sufficiently pure for many purposes.

The Liverpool salt is made from the impure article that is found in the mines of Cheshire, which is transported in vast quantities down the River Mersey, and is dissolved in seawater on the left bank at extensive manufactories opposite to Liverpool. This impure pickle is drawn from the tanks, in which it is dissolved, into large shallow pans, and by a rapid process of boiling it is crystalized—drawn from the pans—the salt placed in drabs or baskets to drain, ready for another charge within the 24 hours, except on Sundays; the charge in the pans is allowed 48 hours to crystalize and be drawn. The salt made thus is called “Sunday salt,” and is considered rather better than that which is made in 24 hours. Another kind of salt is made at these and other similar works in England and Scotland called “cat salt,” and is sometimes used there for domestic purposes. It is made from the drainings of the conical baskets, into which the salt is put after being drawn from the pans; these baskets being arranged over perpendicular stakes on which the salt crystalizes, and is broken from them when the “cat” has acquired a proper size, and after a little drying is fit for use. In the course of this article it will appear why this salt is better than any other kind produced by the method of boiling, yet it has the fault, that Dr. Brownrigg thinks a radical one, from the dissipation of a portion of the chloric acid in the pickle by the long continued heat, as this acid is somewhat volatile. Even the smatterer in chemistry can understand why a crystal of common salt is not strong nor perfectly formed when a portion of its proper constituent is removed from the pickle from which it is con-

solidated. At the close of this branch of the subject I will recur to what the Doctor has said on this matter.

The salt made in Western New York, in Virginia, and at the other salt-works, in what may be called the Salt Basin of the Kanawha, is manufactured much after the same manner as the above, except in these last cases the brine has to be reduced to the point of saturation by boiling, which in the case of the Liverpool salt the brine is brought to that point with the salt from the mines. Thus it appears that the American boiled salts are more injured in the process of manufacture than the English, as in case of the first, the pickle has to remain much longer at boiling heat to bring the pickle to the point of saturation, with a consequent greater loss from it of "spirits of salt," (chloric acid.) From this it would seem that in making salt by the process of boiling alone, the weaker the original brine from which it is made, the weaker the salt will be, and the greater the injury it will sustain from that process.

As to the strength of the brine from the springs of Western New York, I think it is measured with an instrument arranged by calling distilled water 0, and the same kind of water saturated with common salt 100. With a salometer thus arranged the brine at the strongest of these springs or wells indicate generally from 74 down to 60 at different seasons of the year. The official statements of the strength of the brine at the different works in New York, show that for a number of years that at Syracuse remained almost unvariably at 72 and 73, while at Salina and Liverpool it varied from 76 to 60, and in August, 1855, it was as low as 46 at the first named place. From the Report of the Superintendent for 1856, it will be seen that wells supplying brine no stronger than from 44 to 50 are not considered worth working.

I have no means of knowing the strength of the brine in the Salt Basin of the Kanawha, but think it generally stronger than that of New York. A gentleman in speaking of the brine from a small detached basin in Washington county, Virginia, says that it is fully saturated with common salt; this, however, I think a mistake.

I will observe, by way of parenthesis, that the ordinary instruments furnish but a poor test of the amount of chlorine of soda that there may be in any given brine, as they do not indicate what kind of salt increases its specific gravity above rain-water, and all of the instruments used for the purpose of testing the strength of common salt brines, with which I am acquainted, alone measure their specific gravity. Rain-water saturated with common salt has a specific gravity of 1.206, while the waters of the Dead Sea is said, by one authority, to have an average specific gravity of 1.211; and yet these

waters are by no means saturated with common salt, especially after a long freshet in the River Jordan. I use Beaumé's hydrometer, which is also used to measure the specific gravity of syrups, &c. It is arranged on the plan of calling distilled water 0, and anhydrous sulphuric acid 100. With this instrument the water of the Gulf Stream generally indicates $4\frac{1}{2}$, but varies from 4 to 5; and when it is evaporated to the point of saturation with common salt it shows a specific gravity of 25; but when this salt shall have been crystalized out of the pickle, and needles of muriate of magnesia, (epsom salts,) begin to form, which indicates that it is in a state of saturation with that salt, it has a specific gravity of 30, showing itself heavier than when in the form of a pickle saturated with common salt; a saturated pickle of one salt being heavier than that of the other, as is shown by the weight of the water of the Dead Sea, which has a little more muriate of magnesia in it than of chloride of soda. Nor does the fact that a brine will dissolve but little, if any, more common salt, prove that it is saturated with that salt alone; for a brine may be fully saturated with muriate of magnesia, or sulphate of soda, or any like salt, and yet dissolve a little common salt, but by no means as much as rain or distilled water would. But to return to the subject.

Besides the injury of long continued boiling, the New York and Kanawha salts are further injured under the pretence of purifying it, as from proof soon to be brought forward, lime and other pernicious ingredients are put in the pickle to improve the appearance of the salt and to increase its weight, but cannot improve its quality and on the other hand must injure it.

At the New York salt works there is some salt made, in part, or wholly, by solar evaporation, by exposing the brine in long lines of narrow and shallow wooden tanks which have roofs or covers that can be rolled off or on at pleasure, as the weather may require. I am informed, that the pickle in these tanks is managed somewhat after the French method, (which will be described a little further on,) consequently, the salt made in them, must be good and pure. It seems that this is the case as it bears a higher price in market than the boiled salt, but this solar salt is less than $\frac{1}{2}$ of the whole made there annually. I have seen a statement that this plan is also adopted to a limited extent at some of the works in the Kanawha salt basin; but I have seen no account of the amount of solar salt made in this region yearly.

Some years ago there was a process patented for purifying the brine, and making salt by the aid of steam; and in October, 1854 there was a second patent, I think, issued of a like kind.

I believe that one or both of these processes were put in operation in western New York, but I have no knowledge of the quality of the salt made by them, or of the degree of success they arrived at in other respects.

During the Revolution, salt was made along the seaboard of the United States, by boiling sea-water, and after its close quite an extensive system of salt making grew up around Cape Cod and New Bedford, at which works, after the plan was perfected, a large quantity of as pure salt as any ever made was manufactured, but from the fineness of the grains it was not well fitted for salting pork in barrels. The plan adopted was the original of the one above named as being in use at the New York salt works for making solar salt. Each of the lines of the narrow shallow pans, with their moveable roofs, were more than 1,000 feet long, one end of which line was higher in level, than the other, with a regular gradation, the whole length. Sea-water was pumped into the highest end, and as it strengthened by the evaporation of the sun, it was let from one level to another till it arrived at a certain point in the line, beyond which it was not permitted to go, until up to saturation with common salt, when the pickle will have deposited out all of its impurities, except those more soluble than that salt, such as the muriate of lime, and the muriate of magnesia; the pickle of which always drain off entirely from perfectly formed crystals of common salt. The remainder of the line of pans from this point, was used alone for crystalizing the salt in, no pickle being allowed to come into this part of the line before it was evaporated fully up to saturation. The salt taken from these pans was remarkably heavy and strong. For salting beef and fish, and for preparing bacon and hams for the smoke-house, no salt could be better; but after the last war with England, when foreign salt could be bought for less than 50 cents per bushel, these works were suffered to go to decay, and now few, if any of them are in operation.

We will now examine, briefly, some of the principal processes for making salt by solar evaporation on a large scale. As the French methods are said to produce the best salt we will begin with them. In that country salt is made on the Mediterranean, all along the coast and on the Atlantic side, principally, around the mouth of the river Loire, and the low coast in its vicinity. In this region, where the tides rise so high, extensive reservoirs are kept at high tide by means of swing gates which open as the tide comes in, and close as it recedes, that are placed in a dam across some arm of the sea. Each of these reservoirs frequently supply numerous salt works. In France, salt making is a government monopoly, and the works themselves

being national property, they are divided off into lots of from 30 to 500 acres, to suit the ability of the different persons who rent them. These works are so situated as to be commanded by the level of a principal reservoir, and whether they be large or small, the sea-water flows slowly from it into a series of smaller reservoirs, and long winding passages, till it comes to the crystalizing pans between which there are also long narrow passages, each of the works being arranged with these smaller reservoirs and pans, wherein the salt crystalizes in such a manner that the incoming water drives the strengthened pickle before it from reservoir to reservoir, through the passages named, till it has evaporated to the point of saturation, and deposited out all of its impurities when it is permitted to crystalize in a pan prepared for the purpose, from which it is raked and placed in piles to drain, and thence removed to store-houses for use. As above stated, the crystalizing pans are to be arranged so that the pickle can be driven from one to another through the passages, so that a part of the series can be used for strengthening the brine when the weather is not good, beside the rapidity of the crystalization is greatly increased when the saturated pickle is in motion. The distance that the pickle flows from the main reservoir to the last pan, is frequently more than ten miles in the largest works, and seldom less than three miles in the smallest. This plan not only purifies the pickle, and produces a salt free from the defects of other kinds of solar salt; but it hastens the process of making to such an extent, as to render it of the first importance in so variable a climate as ours. The plan enables the salt maker to concentrate the evaporation of his whole works on just so many of the last or lowest pans in the series, as he may find the most advantageous, or the state of the weather requires in order that, at least a part of a crop may be made, even in the worst seasons. To illustrate how this is effected, we will suppose 12 pans so situated that pickle will flow from the 1st through the whole series to the 12th. We will now fill the 12 pans with sea-water 6 inches deep; in 24 hours we will say that there is $\frac{1}{4}$ inch evaporated from each of them, but on the second morning instead of putting this $\frac{1}{4}$ inch into the pans separately, let the whole twelve quarters of an inch, (3 inches,) be put gradually into pan number 1; if the pans be long and narrow, this new sea-water does not mix to any considerable extent with that strengthened by one day's evaporation, but pushes forward $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches of it into pan No. 2, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches into pan No. 3, and so on, till we come to pan No. 12; but one-quarter inch will be forced into it, but with pickle, stronger by the evaporation of one day than that put into pan No. 1. On the third morning go through with the same process, and

all of the pans except Nos. 1 and 2 are replenished by pickle, that is stronger by two days evaporation, than that put into pan No. 1. In good weather pursue this plan for twenty-two days, and pan No. 12 will be up to the point of saturation, while the other pans are of different degrees of strength, till we come to pan No. 1, the pickle in it will be found but little stronger than sea-water. In about six days more a layer of salt will be found in pan No. 12, ready to rake, and at the end of thirty-five to forty days from the commencement, more than half of this series of 12 pans will have deposited a like layer of salt, while in practice it is said to require full ninety days, in the Bahama Islands, and in Spain and Portugal to get a raking of salt in the pans after the first sea-water is let into them, at works where the daily evaporation is supplied to them, in the shape of unstrengthened sea-water, or at most, very weak pickle, and on the ninety-first day the whole salt made at such works, may be lost by the coming of a heavy rain while in the other case the raking does not come on all at once, but at the end of ninety days quite a large crop will be made and saved, and this, too, with much fewer hands than are required to rake the salt in the other case, as the raking comes on all at once, and it is necessary to put as many men at this work as can be procured in order to save as much salt as possible before rains come and destroy it. The above illustration is not intended to be perfectly accurate, only to make the system plain, yet it is no theory unsupported by experience. The writer of this, has frequently performed much more than the above indicates. In the spring months of the present season there was a fall of rain here of about five inches, which is about the average, but the air was otherwise unusually cool and damp, and nearly one inch of rain fell on the Island on the 5th of May, yet on the 13th of that month some twenty-five to thirty hands commenced raking salt and have continued to this time, (the 20th June,) and have secured some 40 to 45,000 bushels of salt, which has been effected alone, by concentrating the evaporation that takes place over the whole 400 acres of the present works, on some 6 to 8 acres, of carefully prepared crystalizing pans, which were alone raked. This was effected by the above method, aided by great care in keeping the whole surface of the works covered with a very shallow charge, while the weather was calm, and deepening it a little when the wind blew, that a ripple might form and the evaporation thereby increase. The pickle was kept in slow motion constantly in its course of some fifteen miles before it was pumped into the crystalizing pans, which are on a higher level than the reservoirs, and a person unacquainted with the matter would be astonished to see the amount of impurities

deposited out of sea-water in this course. Even before the 13th of May a number of days raking of salt was formed at intervals, between the showers, although they then happened as often as once in each week. I give this plan somewhat in detail as it may be of practical utility.

At many of the French salt works other plans are adopted to hasten the evaporation, such as pumping the weak pickle into tanks 20 to 30 feet high, and then letting it down in showers through fagots placed in frames of that height, and which are frequently 50 feet by 100 and more feet on the ground. Weak pickle is also thrown into the air with machines like fire-engines, and falls in showers on brush piled high. Many of these plans for increasing evaporation are in use on the Mediterranean side, where from lack of tides the sea-water necessarily has to be pumped up into main reservoirs sufficiently high to command the level of the general works.

In many parts of France salt is made by collecting the mud during the dry hot season from places where the sea occasionally flows over it, and placing it on thick layers of straw in an elevated position, after which sea-water is pumped on to it, which leaches through the mud and straw, and finally descends through a system of fagots, as above stated, to increase the evaporation. This pickle is much stronger than sea-water when it first leaves the mud and straw, according to the extent the mud has been impregnated with salt water and evaporated.

In the south of Germany much good salt is made, both from sea water and from brine springs, by bringing these brines up to saturation in works, after the French plan, aided by the system of fagots, by throwing the weak pickle into the air and letting it fall in showers on high piles of brush, and other analogous methods, to increase evaporation. This purified and saturated pickle is gathered into large wooden tanks, or those dug in the ground and lined with clay, and secured from rains, to be crystalized at convenient periods. This is generally done very slowly and carefully, by artificial heat, in large shallow iron or lead pans. They also use another process which must produce a superior kind of salt. By this plan, after the saturated pickle is heated, it is pumped into small tanks that are arranged around the top of a frame 20 to 30 feet high, and of suitable size, on the ground, from which ropes are suspended perpendicularly about six inches apart, on to which the pickle from the tanks is caused to flow in small streams, where it rapidly crystalizes. In twenty-four hours the ropes become so loaded with salt that it has to be knocked off and stored away for use. One would think this a wasteful process, but Dr. Ure says that with care it is not so, and my own experience verifies the truth of the statement; and he further says, that

as much can be effected by this plan in twenty-four hours, as can be by the other in three days. And this process of crystalizing the salt on ropes must turn out a purer article than even by their slow, careful plan of effecting this in the pans, for the obvious reason that all impurities and brines of other salts are immediately drained off from the ropes when rejected by the forming crystal of chlorine of soda, (common salt,) and has no chance to adhere to its surface, or to fill a casual interstice, as is apt to be the case in other plans of crystalization.

In Spain, Portugal, and the islands belonging to them the process for making salt partakes largely of the character of the people. Perhaps the large amount of Moorish, (Mohammedan,) blood in their veins cause them to think that it is sacrilege to interfere with the operations of nature. The French have no such scruples, and at times in matters of this kind they carry their aids to nature to the very limits of practical utility. If religious scruples will not account for the difference between the Spanish and Portuguese on the one side and the French on the other, as it relates to the matter in hand, the proverbial Iberian indolence and restless Gallic industry will.

In the regions under consideration sea-water is let directly into the pans from whence salt is raked without attempting to deposit out the impurities from the pickle, or to hasten the period of raking by concentrating the evaporation of the whole works on a few of the last pans, in a series as above described, the superior dryness of the climate rendering this not absolutely necessary. In consequence of this the common salt crystalizes in a half floating mass of impurities, filth, and a brine strongly impregnated with iodine and bromine, which last substances give "a disagreeable sharpness and ferocity" to the salt so much complained of in England, of which further mention will be made. Even the rather favorite salt of St. Ubes is manufactured with much the same carelessness. At the works in that vicinity the pans are kept full of sea-water during the rainy season to prevent the bottoms from becoming fresh, and I am informed that but little trouble is taken to clean the pans at the beginning of the dry season from the vast slimy deposit of the previous five or six months, the most of which, from the difficulty of cleaning it out, remains in the pans as an addition to the filth and impurities that are deposited out of the sea-water during the salt-making season proper. Salt crystalized in such a bed of filth must drain and dry for a year or more before it is fit for use, and even then it does not lose its "sharpness" of taste.

At Turk's Island and others of the Bahamas there is some excellent salt made at works where the French plan is carried

out in part or the whole, but at many, (probably a majority,) of the works on these islands the same careless slovenliness prevail as among the Spanish and Portuguese. In this connection I will observe that a few days ago a gentleman brought me a specimen of salt from Salt Key Bank, an uninhabited islet that contains a natural salt pond, from which, it seems, the Spaniards from the Island of Cuba are permitted to take salt when it forms there. This specimen was very prettily crystalized in the form of a cake $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, but on the under side of it there was a scale of sulphate of lime to which the crystals of salt adhered about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, and as white as the salt itself. Lime in this form when laying in contact with meat for a long period must decompose it. Such must always be the state of solar salt when no care is taken to deposit out the lime, &c.

At Curaçoa, and other places in that vicinity, they make salt of good appearance that enters into general commerce, but I am not informed of the method of manufacture.

The above gives the principal methods of manufacturing and preparing common salt for use, but during the long period that the ports of France were closed to Great Britain, in consequence of the wars growing out of the French Revolution, the first named country employed many of its best and most scientific and practical men to investigate the subject and to devise a remedy against the evil of their badly made domestic salt. These men appear to have labored faithfully in this duty, but while they prove conclusively that good salt cannot be made by the system of boiling then and now in use in that country, they failed to suggest any remedy that will be likely to come into general use there or elsewhere. This is shown by the following extract from an English writer in Rees' New Cyclopædia, written after the close of the wars named above. He says: "The English and Dutch have often striven hard, in times of war, to do without the French salt; and to that end have endeavored to take salt from the Spaniards and Portuguese; but there is a disagreeable sharpness and ferocity natural to this salt which renders it very unfit for salting of flesh, fish, &c. To remove this they boil it with sea-water and a little French salt, which they procure by means of neutral nations, which not only softens it, but increases its quantity by one-third. But it should seem their refining does not succeed to their wish by the eagerness with which they return to the salt of Bretagne, &c., as soon as any treaty has opened the commerce."

But if the practically learned men of England have failed to point out useful means to improve their home-made salt, that can be cheaply applied, as the above extract, and many

more like it that could be quoted, prove, yet it will be profitable for us to examine what their opinions were and what suggestion they made in the premises.

Dr. Brownrigg, in his "Art of making Common Salt," proceeds on the principle:

1st. "That in the common processes for making white salt the salt is deprived of a considerable part of its acid spirit, by the violent boiling used in its preparation, whence it is rendered less fit for preserving flesh, fish, and other provisions than it would be if prepared with a more gentle heat."

2d. "That most kinds of white salt are rendered impure by the mixture of various heterogeneous substances, which render it less proper for preserving provisions than it would be if separated from them."

He calls all boiled salts "white salt," from the peculiar color that is so taking in Liverpool, New York, and other salts prepared by boiling. In his work on salt-making, above named, he advises that salt in England should be prepared for use by crystalizing it twice by two very careful but tedious processes, with slow artificial heat, but as the plan is not likely to be used in this country I will say no more about it than that he advises the use of muriatic acid, (hydro-chloric acid,) and other acids in the pickle just before it is crystalized, to supply the loss from boiling and to neutralize any free alkali there may be in it. And to so much trouble and expense did he think it profitable for his countrymen to be at in order to have a good and pure common salt for general use, he advised them to dissolve the salt for his second crystalization in pure rain-water. In speaking of the fossil salt of Cheshire, (from which Liverpool salt is prepared,) and some other salt made from brine springs, in the vicinity of those mines of salt, he says: "It has something of a sulphurous principle mixed with it, as may be concluded from its fetid sulphurous smell. This sulphurous principle gives to the brine an intestine putrifying motion, and makes it quickly corrupt the flesh of all animals steeped therein." And in numerous places he asserts that, from lack of purity and *strength*, British "white salt" is by no means, and in no case, so proper as solar salt for salting provisions; yet, when he wrote, many of the salt works for making boiled salt had then adopted, while the war lasted with France, improvements of a similar nature to those recommended by himself, but not quite so *slowly* and carefully conducted as he advised.

About the same time Mr. Lowndes wrote a treatise on salt-making, entitled "Lowndes' Brine Salt improved." He, too, like Dr. Brownrigg, depended principally on the *slowness* of

the process for improving the salt. The only real improvement over that of the Doctor's that I see in his plan is, that he advises that the pickle shall be partially strengthened and allowed to stand until it shall have deposited out its impurities. Dr. Watkins advised that the pickle should be brought nearly up to saturation by solar heat, aiding evaporation by throwing the weak brine on to large surfaces of canvas, exposed to the wind and sun. Mr. Hoffman wrote a treatise, also, on the subject, with numerous other persons. Dr. Henry was employed by the commissioners of supplies for the army and navy to investigate the cause of the inferiority of their home-made salt. He ascribed its inferiority to its lightness, and the consequent inferiority of the firmness and solidity of its crystals, compared to solar salt. In this he was most right, but it is singular that so learned and talented a man should not have discovered the same fact that Dr. Brownrigg did, that the crystals of common salt can neither be so solid, heavy, or strong as nature intended them to be, as must always be the case when a part of the necessary ingredients for perfect crystallization is removed by the heat of boiling, as shown by him in his essay on the subject. Nor can there be any doubt, as Dr. Henry suggests, that if the materials used for making salt in England were formed into a large grained salt with solid crystals, weighing 75 to 80 lbs. to the measured bushel, it would be a good and safe salt for curing provisions, but this can only be done by the slow process prescribed by the fiat of nature. As it is, a measured bushel of Liverpool salt weighs from 50 to 56 lbs.

About this period Sir John Pringle wrote a very valuable "Essay toward the History of Putrefaction," aided in the experimental part by Dr. Macbride and M. Gardane. In this essay it is shown that the salt in common use applied to flesh in small quantity greatly accelerates putrefaction, while if a large portion of the same salt be applied it acts as an anti-septic; but Sir John expressed his belief at near the close of his experiments, that this septic quality in salt, in common use, was owing to some heterogeneous substance blended with the article, and that pure crystals of muriate of soda (chlorate of soda) were anti-septic in all quantities in which it might be applied to flesh, fish, &c.

Much more was done at the close of the last century and beginning of this to inquire into the defects, and to improve the quality of the home-manufactured salt in England; and had the war with France continued until this time, many of the processes then recommended would have been perfected, and likewise continued. But as soon as the war closed, and the English could get their favorite salt from France, all of

the tedious and expensive processes that were adopted during the war were thrown aside, and the process of rapid boiling alone retained for the purpose of making salt for the arts and for manure. The English salt-maker had no hope to retain the home market, as far as salt for provisions were concerned, in the face of the fact that the reliable bay salt had always continued to be imported in sufficient quantities for that purpose, when the ports were open, with a discriminating import duty against foreign salt of 3s. 4d. (about 82 cents) per bushel of 65 lbs. Soon, however, it was found, by giving their vile boiled salt a cream snowy appearance by leaving the lime in it, or by adding more to it, their colonies and the United States would buy it. From a small beginning this trade has grown to an enormous magnitude, and instead of improving the quality of this salt as the trade in it increases, they make it worse and worse every succeeding year. As long as they can give it the peculiar glittering appearance so much admired, it will sell for our market, and the next great object of the maker is to reduce the cost of manufacture, so that large quantities may be sold at a low rate to the innumerable vessels engaged in the American cotton trade as ballast. To thus reduce the cost of the article, they increase the rapidity of the process of making; and we can infer, from what has been written, that this cannot be done without further injury to the salt. In fact, so light has this salt become, and so much does it effloresce, that by the time it is imported and handled over ready to sell to the consumer, the sacks, with nominally four bushels in them, weigh but very little more than sacks of solar salt containing but two measured bushels, and persons who have used both kinds aver that a sack of the latter will go further than one of the former, beside being effectual for the purpose for which it is intended, which the Liverpool salt is not. Nor is the fact, that Liverpool salt is ineffectual, one of recent discovery in this country, or the knowledge of it confined to a few. I do not now remember a single individual who was acquainted with both kinds of salt, and had had an occasion to use them, but that he expressed himself strongly in favor of solar salt over Liverpool, or any other boiled salt. In the vicinity of Tallahassee and Tampa Bay, the people have been in a habit, for a number of years, of using solar salt, (made in Key West,) and now they will use no other, if they can get it, without reference to any difference in price that there may happen to be between that and Liverpool salt for the time being. Last autumn, by accident, the supply of solar salt fell short in St. Marks and Tallahassee—a gentleman in that vicinity wrote me on the 3d of May last, inquiring why his order for salt had not been filled at the proper time, stating

that for a planter, he had made for years a good deal of meat, and had had good success in curing it with the solar salt made here, but that last fall he was compelled to use Liverpool salt, and had lost much of his meat by its becoming tainted. I saw a letter that the same gentleman had written to his agents here previously of like tenor. Hundreds of such statements might easily be collected, but it would unnecessarily make this article too long. I must beg, however, to quote in full, a note of warning uttered by the celebrated Dr. Mitchell, of New York, at about the time the trade in Liverpool salt began to assume importance; but the Doctor could not then have dreamt of the magnitude it was destined to grow to in the course of half a century. In a letter to Dr. Caldwell, dated 1803, he writes:

“In the course of trade between America and Great Britain, it has become the misfortune of the United States to be visited with frequent cargoes of salt from Liverpool. This article is prepared on the western coast of England, where coal for fuel can be bought for a low price, by boiling ocean-water or briny spring-water, saturated with the rock salt of Northwich, in large and shallow pans of iron. The native mineral salt of Cheshire is carried coastwise to Lancashire for the purpose. The salt which remains, after the water has been evaporated by force of fire, is called *pan salt*, and is a medley of saline substances. It is very different in its qualities from the pure muriate of soda, for whereas that is the most agreeable of antiseptics, and ranks among the strongest, this mixture of impurity and trash is remarkable for possessing the reverse of those valuable properties. Indeed, this *artificial* salt is exceedingly unlike the salt formed by the evaporation and crystalization which sea-water *naturally* undergoes in the warmer latitudes. There is a remarkable difference between that vile and heterogeneous mass sold in the American ports, under the name of *blown salt*, or *Liverpool salt*, and the efficacious and excellent article brought from the Canaries, Cape de Verds, and Bahama Islands.

“The frequent and intimate connexion between the American ports of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, &c., and the city of Liverpool, has rendered it very convenient in the course of commerce and navigation, to throw in salt at the latter place for ballast, or part of a cargo to the American market. The cheapness of fuel from the neighboring coal mines in Lancashire enable the salt boilers to sell their manufacture cheap; and hence, it happens, that ships about to come to America, either empty or with a light freight, find it worth their while, as they must have ballast, to buy salt for the purpose, instead of stones, sand, iron, or the like. If the salt clears itself, after

paying prime cost and duties, it will answer as well as other ballast. If it does more than this, it is preferable.

"From this concurrence of events, it has happened that the seaports of the United States have been largely supplied with British home-made salt from Liverpool; almost two-fifths* of all the foreign salt consumed in the United States, comes from this part of England; and a material more pernicious in its consequences could hardly be introduced among our people. The importation still continues, and the time is come to apprise and warn them of the evil. It is highly to be wished that never a bushel more of that mischievous commodity should be consumed in America. The trade in it ought to be broken up. If the consumers of salt were aware of the bad quality of that from Liverpool, there would be little probability of their continuing to use it or of purchasing a bushel more.

"Liverpool salt is very imposing to the eye. It is in a fine powdery form, of a tempting color, and possesses all the exterior qualities which allures purchasers, and invite a ready sale. The manufacturers possess in an uncommon degree, the art of preparing their ware most handsomely for market.

"It has accordingly been bought with avidity by the American merchants and traders, and transported to many interior parts of the United States. The snowy whiteness of the material itself, its ready solubility in water, and the mildness of the pickle which it forms, has brought Liverpool salt into general use for preserving the beef, pork, and butter of the Middle and Southern States.

"The loss of property and of life consequent upon the employment of this kind of salt is prodigious. Experience, year after year, has proved it to be incapable of preserving our beef from corruption. Often has this important article of food been found to be tainted, the very autumn in which it has been packed in barrels. More frequently, has the beef stunk abominably in the magazines and warehouses of New York and other cities, on the return of warm weather the ensuing spring. And a more common and lamentable case is, that, in the progress of summers heat, aided by a Southern latitude, the beef, when exported to the West Indies or elsewhere, degenerates with a still more rapid process of putrefaction.

"The inspectors who repack our beef, the merchants who own it, and the masters of vessels who carry it abroad, are all witnesses of these facts.

"But the waste and destruction of property are not the worst consequences of trusting the preservation of beef to

* In 1851, it was seven-tenths of the whole consumed; the whole importation into the United States, being 10,158,376 bushels; from England 7,080,979 bushels. If we add the home boiled salt, the proportion is greater.

Liverpool salt. The exhalations from such masses of animal flesh, as they undergo corruption and turn to rottenness, are remarkably noxious. They poison the surrounding air by their deleterious presence. They have sickened and destroyed, repeatedly, in New York, the inhabitants who were unfortunate enough to be in the neighborhood of such nuisances, and enveloped in their unwholesome atmosphere. Pestilence and desolation have prevailed in the vicinity of these putrefying remains of oxen, bulls, and cows.

"The misery endured by cities is also incidental to ships. Within the sides, and under the hatches of a vessel, septic vapors are copiously engendered and most highly concentrated. Existing there in their greatest virulence, they excite fevers of the most fatal forms that afflict the human race. And thus, from the nature of their cargoes, can it be understood wherefore vessels that carry beef, &c. to the West Indies are commonly sickly; and, by the time they get back, are in an odious and intolerable state of uncleanness. Too pestilential from the venom engendered within them, to be admitted to port, they are proper subjects of *alkaline purification*, by which alone can they be rendered sweet, safe, and wholesome.

"Thus, besides the sacrifice of property, we find that the employment of Liverpool salt, in pickling beef, leaves it liable to corrupt; and the consequences of this corruption and pestilential exhalations, stirring up yellow fevers and other malignant distempers in the neighborhoods of cities and vessels where the bodies of these herds of slaughtered neat cattle happen to be deposited. Indeed, the mischief accruing to house-keeping, to city police, and to navigation, from this source, almost exceeds enumeration.

"There is another evil, however, which ought to be mentioned; that is, the disorders of the stomach and intestines, induced by eating semi-septic beef and pork. It is well known to each master of a house, as well as to every master of a ship, that sometimes their salted provisions become tainted or partially spoiled. The expediency or the necessity of the case obliges the family or crew to subsist upon this unsound and unhealthy food. Dysenteries, fluxes, scurvies, and similar ailments, are the natural incidents to this kind of diet. Sometimes, among the customers of a country store-keeper, the extent of the sales of his British salt can be traced in the region around, by the offensive and disgusting condition of their meat-tubs, and the prevalence of bloody fluxes, and other intestinal disorders, in those who draw their sustenance thence.

"And yet people go on to buy and consume it as if the preservation of their meat and of their health was a matter of

no moment whatever. Surely the consumers of salt ought to be on their guard against such impositions.

“They ought not to purchase, or in anywise to use, Liverpool salt. Then the country traders would not carry it from the sea-ports; nor then would the merchants import it, or receive it on consignment from the land of its manufacture; a land whose inhabitants, being too wise to use it themselves for putting up beef and pork for long keeping or exportation, or to employ it in the provisions either of their navy or army, send it away as fast as they can export it, to be consumed by the people of the United States. It is not made to preserve meat, but to sell.

“The loss of property, health, and life, which results from the vitiated and corrupt state of our beef, whether consumed at home, or exported to foreign parts, is likewise consequent upon the use of Liverpool salt, or other British *boiled* salt, to pickle our pork. But pork, from its nature is less prone to corrupt and emit venomous gasses than beef is, and is brought in smaller quantity to market, there is proportionably less damage sustained from its putrefaction, and less injury by its exhalation. But pork as well as beef suffers all that it can suffer in deterioration from the weak and adulterated material wherewith it is salted. And thus the vessels in the West India trade grow foul and sickly; their crews contract yellow fevers from the causes existing within themselves; and then the blame is cast upon foreign dominions.

“The butter of the New York market has also been rendered worse, if not absolutely spoiled, by the same kind of salt. Beguiled by its fine and showy exterior the citizens have used it extensively in our counties famous for grazing and dairies. In many cases it has supplanted the old-fashioned coarse, or sun made salt. Wherever this substitution has been made, it has been with a pernicious effect. The butter so salted does not keep so well, loses its agreeable flavor, and acquires rather a disagreeable scent. It is less prized by those who are nice in selecting this important article of house-keeping, and it consequently brings a lower price to the person who makes it. Thus agricultural industry is deprived of a part of its reward. And this will probably continue until the butter-makers discontinue altogether this very unfit and unsafe material. The difference between butter put up with this salt, and with natural crystallized salt, is so great, that our wholesale and retail grocers can distinguish it at once by the smell on piercing or opening the firkin. The sweet flavor and nice order, which pure sea-salt gives, is altogether wanting in that which is seasoned with the other.

"And thus, as Liverpool salt is the remote agent of so much loss, damage, and misery, in the United States, it is high time to cease both to buy and consume it. In its stead, salt from the Bay of Biscay, Portugal, Isle of May, or the Bahamas, may be employed with perfect safety. The preferableness of these will be discovered by a little experience; and further observation and trial will determine which is the best among them for particular uses. Having thus far detailed the matters of fact, I must recite a few more things of the same kind before this examination is closed.

"The British philosophers have long known the disposition of their salt to promote putrefaction. It has even been published to the world half a century ago. In *their own* country their experiments and monitions have had the desired effect. They have warned their own people not to trust it for any other than culinary and extemporaneous use. The experiments of Sir John Pringle were decisive on this point. They have been confirmed since by Dr. Percival, an inhabitant of Manchester, in his experiments upon *their* common salt, (carried, of course, directly from the shores of the Mersey, or from Liverpool,) which, in small quantities, does not prevent the corruption of animal flesh, but on the other hand, promotes it. (Percival's Essays, vol. 1, p. 346.) And these facts no one has pretended to dispute.

"And yet, after all, the experiments, plain and instructive as they are, made at home, and all the facts cogent and conclusive as they are abroad, the citizens of the United States are to this day purchasing and consuming this baleful article of commerce; while, if they judged rightly, they would reject it in all their dealings.

"Dr. Percival has preserved an anecdote on the subject which is worthy of being known more generally. He says that '*Sir John Pringle told him that he had long believed the septic quality of sea-salt, as employed in his experiments, was owing to some heterogeneous substance blended with the article, and not to any putrescent quality in the mere muriate of soda, or pure sea-salt itself.*' Doubtless the noble baronet was right, and Dr. Percival has borne ample testimony to the truth of his opinion.

"The fault of Liverpool salt and all other salt obtained from sea-water, by force of fire, or by boiling, is its admixture with foreign ingredients, known by the technical names of *slack and bitters*. These usually adhere to the salt in considerable quantities. They have no anti-septic virtues, but possess directly a contrary effect. Hence, their bad quality and the bad quality of salt impregnated by them, can be readily accounted for. Sea-salt formed by *natural* evaporation and

crystalization, has very little admixture with these foul and foreign ingredients. It is therefore, more pure and anti-septic and more fit for all manner of economical purposes."

If Dr. Mitchell had seen what Dr. Brownrigg has written on the subject, he would have added another and a *radical* fault to Liverpool and all other salt made by boiling; it is that muriatic acid, (chloric acid,) being somewhat volatile is evaporated from the pickle in the process of boiling to such a degree that the salt can neither be strong or the crystals be perfectly formed. In fact, in the cases of the Liverpool, New York, and Kanawha salts, a portion of this acid is evaporated in the very *act of crystalization*.

Readers will remember that Dr. Mitchell was not only one of the first scientific men of his age, but a practicing physician, and a practical and conscientious observer of the common affairs of life, with a view of benefitting his fellow man. More such men are needed in this country to awake our people to a sense of their own interest in matters like the one under review. It is strange that with so general a knowledge as there is in the country of the bad quality of Liverpool and other boiled salts, that their use should be continued. It is an abuse of the gifts of Providence. Had Heaven been as sparing of its gifts to the masses of our land as it has been to those of Europe, our people would have been compelled to use economy in preserving their food. They could not have afforded that thousands of tons of meat should spoil for the want of proper salt and proper care, as now is the case.

Much more might be written in the way of proof of the bad quality of Liverpool salt, and to show that a large share of our people know it, but it will spin out this article too long, I will only bring forward one other instance of the public condemnation of Liverpool salt in this country. At a large public meeting held in Wilmington, North Carolina, on the subject of duties on salt, in 1823, the importation and use of Liverpool salt was condemned in the most unmeasured terms, and establishments on their coast for making solar salt recommended.

The boiled salt made in New York, and in the salt basin of the Kanawha, is equally as bad as Liverpool; and as the yearly production of both of those regions taken together must be nearly as large as our annual importation from England, the evil to the country from the use of the one is about the same as that of the other. The most of the salt made in New York, as well as a good share of that made in the Kanawha salt basin, goes to the great West, where it seems they have so much meat that they do not mind the loss of a large portion of it by

its becoming rotten, and they must have acquired a taste for tainted meat from their continuing the use of a salt that a majority among them seem to know is unfit to cure meat. The same remark will apply to the Southwest and South.

In 1840 the Hon. Thomas H. Benton made a movement in the Senate of the United States in relation to duties on salt, for the purpose of breaking up what he called the Kanawha salt monopoly. In his usual laborious preliminary researches in regard to this matter, he framed a series of thirty questions, to be answered by his constituents and others. He received answers from some twenty to thirty public meetings, held in most of the Southwestern and Western States, and from as many private individuals from the same regions.

The 18th question was: "Do you know whether there is lime, bitter-water, or other impurities, in any of the kinds of salt sold in your neighborhood? and, if so, in which of the kinds? and how do you detect the impurities, by chemical analysis, or common observation?"

The 19th question was: "Is the domestic salt fit for pickling beef and pork, and for preserving butter and curing bacon for exportation, or long keeping, or consumption in the South."

And the 20th question was: "Do you know, or have you heard from credible sources, of any practice among salt-makers to adulterate their salt by using tallow or other substances, to cause lime, or bitter-water or other impurities to be retained in it, to increase its weight? and if so state the circumstances."

Questions 1st and 2d made the inquiries, as to the kinds of salt used in the vicinity; and whether it was sold by measure or weight. The universal answers to these two questions were that Kanawha salt was principally used, and that it always was sold by weight, at fifty pounds to the bushel. This proves it as light as Liverpool salt.

It would be too tedious to give the answers to these questions above quoted in detail, and it is the less necessary from their being of the same tenor without a single exception; consequently, a few of these answers, as a sample, will suffice.

Answers to the above questions from a meeting in Lincoln county, Missouri, October, 1839, Wm. Sitton, Chairman:

Answer to 18th question: "There is lime, bitter-water, and other impurities in the lick salt; the bitter-water can be detected by common observation; other impurities by chemical analysis."

Answer to 19th question: "It, (the Kanawha salt,) preserves them poorly here; but in the South it will not answer at all."

Answer to 20th question: "We have two practical salt boilers present who state, when salt was sold by measure, the measured bushel would frequently weigh not over *forty pounds*. When the law authorized the sale of salt to be fifty pounds to the bushel at those licks, the boilers were then directed to put in alum and other ingredients, and to retain in the salt the lime and bitter-water to increase the weight of the salt."

At a meeting of farmers, in Green county, Missouri, October, 1839, they answer:

Answer to 18th question: "There is bitter-water comes from the lick salt which is sold here."

Answer to 19th question: "It will not answer for either purpose."

Another large meeting in Madison county, Missouri, December, 1839, send the following answers:

Answer to 18th question: "Bitter-water and other impurities are easily detected in Kanawha salt by common observation. We have never seen this salt submitted to a chemical analysis."

Answer to 19th question: "It is not; it is not as good as other salt for those purposes."

Answer to 20th question: "That tallow is used by salt-makers to adulterate their salt there is not a doubt. We have it from good authority that tallow is sometimes used to retain the bitter-water, so as to increase the weight of the salt; and we know that in salting pork ashes are frequently mixed with the salt to make it dissolve."

But as the scores of answers to these questions are so near alike, it is useless to cite more of them. I will quote extracts, however, from one or two more of them, to show that the people of the West and Southwest know of the superior quality of sun-made salt.

In more than a dozen cases something like the following expressions occur in answer to question 19th: "It will not preserve beef or pork—Turk's Island and other alun salt are much better for the purpose." Or, "Lick salt is not considered safe for the purpose—alun salt should alone be used to cure meat."

About the same time, in the proceedings of a public meeting, held in Madison county, Alabama, the following expression occurs: "Moreover, our pork is often spoiled for the want of a proper kind and a sufficiency of salt to pack it up in, which we cannot obtain on account of the high price. Thousands and tens of thousands of pounds are often lost from that

circumstance alone. Alum salt (solar salt) would be an immense saving to north Alabama in that one particular." There is no doubt of this; and one would think that it is poor economy to let a little difference in the price of the two articles prevent them from buying solar salt, as at most it could only amount to a few dollars, while the loss on meat, from the use of bad salt, must count up by thousands of dollars.

It is a matter of astonishment that the use of boiled salts should continue in regions where the people appear to be well informed that it is entirely inferior to solar salt, and where the loss of provisions from the use of bad salt, every year, must be a thousand fold greater than any difference in price between bad and good salt could possibly amount to.

At the time the above inquiries were made the routes to the Great West from New York were, by no means, as numerous or as perfect as at present. Consequently, not so much of the pernicious boiled salt of that State was sent there as now. Within the borders of that State comparatively but little of that salt is used for curing provisions, and, in fact, the whole North and East appear to practice a more sensible economy in the use of salt than the rest of our country. New York practices the same game with the West that England does with the United States. She makes boiled to sell, not for her own use.

That New York boiled salt is equally bad with Liverpool, and Kanawha, is proved by the following facts. An official authority, before me, gives the average weight of their boiled salt, at fifty-six pounds to the measured bushel, while the solar salt, made from the same brine, weighs seventy-six pounds to the measured bushel. Common salt that weighs but fifty-six pounds to the bushel, *lacks* some of its *proper constituents*, and consequently can neither be of the *proper* strength, or its crystals be perfectly formed. In the Report of the Superintendent of the New York Salt Works, for 1837, we find the following: "From a very early period of the manufacture of salt, in this region, lime has been extensively used, principally for the purpose of improving the color, and rendering it more saleable." "As at present used, however, by a large number of manufacturers, we are convinced that the quality of the salt is, in many cases, materially injured by its application." There can be no doubt but that lime mixed with common salt in any quantity, or in any form, materially injures it. The Superintendent, had argued, previous to the last of the above extracts, that a little lime applied with care to the pickle, could be done without *injury*! This proves what is said above—that the substances put into the New York boiled salt, are put in to improve its appearance, not its quality.

The law of the State allows lime, &c., to be put into the pickle, under the direction of the Superintendent, but makes it penal to use it in larger quantity than he directs, or to otherwise adulterate the salt; but scarcely a report of a Superintendent, that I have seen, but that complains that this law is constantly evaded by the manufacturers. But this is a small matter, for the fault of boiled salt is too radical, for a little lime, more or less, added or abstracted, to do it much harm or good. However, the glittering, snowy, appearance of boiled salts, is dependent, in a great measure, on the lime that is in them. One or two more facts and observations in relation to the injury to the country from bad salt, and we will dismiss this branch of the subject. Among a number of letters from New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, of different dates, matter like the following frequently occur: "Many thousand pounds of Western bacon and hams, received this spring, costing seven cents per pound, resulted in the total loss to the owners."

"Mr. A, the purchaser there, thinks it was salted with boiled salt, which he states is not so sure as Turks Island or other sea salt; he states the practice in Cincinnati, is to mix domestic with foreign salt half and half." The letter from which the above extracts were made is dated Philadelphia 1840, and similar extracts, from commercial letters, could be collected by thousands.

With all of these facts staring our people in the face, is it possible that they continue the use of those pernicious boiled salts, above enumerated? The fact that of the twenty to twenty-one millions of bushels of common salt that is *now* consumed, annually, in the United States, sixteen or seventeen millions of bushels of this yearly consumption is Liverpool, New York, Kanawha, or other boiled salt, answers the question! Was it not so foreign to the genius of our Government, both Federal and State, to interfere so deeply in individual affairs, this would seem to present a case of necessary legislation, to protect our people from the effects of their own folly, by preventing them from using boiled salt for salting provisions, either for domestic use or for the home or foreign trade. In the foreign trade of provisions, however, matters appear to be in course of amending themselves, but in the home trade, and in provisions for home use, which constitute the chief part of the whole, there is no such amendment.

Nor is the carelessness and lack of skill in packing, man-aging, and curing meat for the home trade and for home use, much less astonishing, among a people so truly progressive as ours. There seem to have been many improvements among the packers engaged in packing and curing meat for our for-

eign trade, since that trade opened to the country ; but they have yet many things to learn beside the one of selecting the proper kind of salt. The principle by which salt preserves meat is in part, at least, analogous to the operation of drying, and it is held by many, that this principle, in common salt is more effective in preserving flesh than any chemical change that it produces in the animal juices, tissues, and fibres. Be that as it may, it is certain that when newly killed flesh is placed in contact with good and strong salt, the process of shrinking, and compressing out its juices is very rapid, and if the packer is careful that every part of it be sufficiently touched with salt, that all of its tissues, and fibres, becomes so compressed that gasses engendered by putrefaction have no power to expand, this destructive process it is evident, will have no chance to commence or extend. Putrefaction and fermentation, are propagated on much the same principle, and a very light pressure of the air around beer in a barrel will prevent it from *commencing* to ferment, but when it once has commenced, it requires an enormous pressure to arrest it. It is the same with putrefaction. As long as care be taken that incipient putrefaction does not attack any portion or spot of flesh, a comparatively small quantity of salt will preserve it. But should, by carelessness, a small spot become tainted, scarcely any amount of salt will prevent it from propegating itself through the whole piece, barrel, or other package, that the meat may be in. This fact should be borne in mind by every house-keeper, as well as every packer of meat in the country. Another fact connected with the foregoing should also be generally borne in mind, that salting meat to preserve it, necessarily injures its nutritious qualities, consequently, all excess of salting should be carefully avoided. Much meat, especially beef, is nearly destroyed by allowing it to become partially tainted in the preliminary process of curing, and afterwards its destruction is about completed by putting on salt to keep it from becoming rotten. In the first processes for curing beef, the salt is not sufficiently rubbed unto the pieces, nor is the brine soon enough, or often enough changed. The domestic practice of boiling the brine, and returning it to this kind of meat, is a most pernicious one. The boiling injures the strength of the brine, and does not remove the juices that have come from the meat, and are liable to putrefy. The very best solar salt made fine, should be well rubbed into beef, and the pieces packed on benches to drain, before putting into barrels. After that, coarse solar salt can be safely used in barreling beef.

Much pork is irretrievably injured by bringing it to New Orleans, in bulk, on flat-boats. It is packed into those boats

with the vile boiled salt, described, as I am informed—in many places it comes in contact with the damp soft wood of the boat, and large surfaces are exposed to the air. And, although, the first part of the voyage may be performed in cool weather, one or two weeks of the last of it, they may have the temperature of summer. Under such circumstances, it is impossible but that some spots, or parts of pork, thus handled, must become tainted; more especially, the leaner parts; and all of it must lose that freshness and sweetness of taste that Nature has given to such meat; nor can any after process of salting, smoking, or other means of curing, recover this natural sweetness. The rancid flavor and smell acquired by this preliminary management will always remain.

Pork put up in barrels in the interior towns of the West, and sent to New Orleans and other cities for repacking, is often nearly spoiled from similar causes. At the first packing bad salt is used, that is insufficient to prevent putrescent gases from forming in the meat before it is repacked. The fact above stated shows how difficult it is to prevent meat, thus incipiently tainted, from spoiling outright; and should it be prevented by the process of repacking, it can never be made into the agreeable healthy food that it would have formed, had good salt been used, and careful management observed, throughout. Most certainly, pork is easy to be saved perfectly sweet, if none but good salt be used, and even ordinary care be used in the different packings, more especially in the first, nor should the second packing be delayed too long. Yet, out of the fifty to an hundred barrels of the best mess pork that I can procure, that are opened on my place, yearly, there is scarcely one of them, when first opened, but that sends forth an intolerable tainted smell, and much of the meat has a strong rancid taste. As for beef, I never buy it in this climate after May; late in the summer, in this region, scarcely one barrel in fifty is fit for a human being to eat. The juicy nutritious beef, fattened on the prairies of the West, would make an excellent food for general consumption at the South, was good salt, and proper care used in curing it.

The nice sugar cured hams that are now made at a number of places in the West, ought to afford an instructive lesson to every packer of meat, and house-keeper in our country, of what proper care and proper materials can do in the way of preparing healthy, and even epicurean food out of the numerous gifts that Heaven has showered upon us with such a bountiful hand. How different are these hams from the sides, hams, and shoulders, as we generally find them made into bacon, for the home market! The state of this bacon when it comes to us, its general appearance and taste, warrant us in saying, that

it is better fitted for the soap-boiler, than to eat. Can it be possible, that our market will continue to be filled with such stuff, when those who prepare it have evidence before them that all it requires to make it a favorite article of food for high and low, rich and poor, is to use good salt and other materials for curing, skillful management in smoking, and care and cleanliness in covering and packing it for market?

But, as it is only my purpose to glance at the subject of packing and curing provisions at the present time, I will close this part of the matter by observing that in curing flesh, &c., in addition to not permitting a particle of boiled salt to come near it in any part of the process, and the other hints above made, nothing but the best seasoned oak or ash should be used to make barrels, and other packages to put up salted provisions in. Soft woods of any kind are bad. The domestic practice of using brine twice, by boiling, for reasons above stated, is very bad for either beef or pork. When meat is to be smoked, this process should be commenced at an early period, to prevent the necessity of the meat becoming very salt. All salt beyond the amount absolutely necessary to cure meat, &c., by skillful management, does injury, by unnecessarily destroying its nutritious qualities. From some experiments, it would seem that the best domestic method to cure pork, where it is not to be smoked, is to cut it up, as for bacon, and salt with best of salt, on benches till it is thoroughly drained, then *dry salt* it in hogsheds, with the coarsest solar salt. A bin made of seasoned oak, of the proper size to hold the pork required by the family, plantation, or establishment, for the year, is better than hogsheds to salt pork in, in this manner. And all who cure provisions should ever bear in mind that if they allow putrescent gases to *begin* to swell in any part of them, the difficulties of curing are increased an hundred fold.

In another part of this article the "sharpness and ferocity" of Spanish and Portuguese salt is alluded to. This is undoubtedly owing to the large amount of iodine and bromine that adheres to the salt by its being crystalized in a bed of filth and impurities deposited from the sea-water from which it is made. These salts are certainly strong, and will preserve flesh, &c., from tainting, but they as certainly injure the flavor of provisions cured with them; and from a table to be appended to this article, it will be seen that they constitute a large part of the solar salt imported into the United States. In fact, last year, I think, they constituted the largest part. In this country but little attention appears to be given to the injury that the flavor of provisions may receive from particular kinds of salt—not so in Europe. We have seen, in part, what has been said about Dutch herring, and that Spanish and Portuguese

salts are not used in England to any great extent on account of their "sharpness" of taste. Much more could easily be collected to show that in Europe they are very particular as to the *flavor* of the salt they use. For making sugar-cured hams, salting butter, and other like provisions, none but the cleanest, purest, and best flavored salt should be used. In fact, for these purposes, nothing but *twice* crystalized solar salt ought to be employed. Such an article could be afforded at rather less than twice the price of ordinary salt. In a letter received from Vermont a few months ago, a gentleman writes me that a farmer in his region had, a number of years ago, put up some 400 lbs. of butter, with Turk's Island salt, that he had carefully recrystalized, after having dissolved it in rain-water. This butter was taken to Bombay, and in the fifth year of its having been put up, some of it was brought to New Orleans in a perfectly sweet state, and there commanded 62½ cents per pound. This is a most important fact. It has already been stated that Dr. Brownrigg advised that, for particular purposes, salt made after his careful first process should be dissolved in rain-water and recrystalized. All chemists know the value of recrystalization for the purpose of purifying any salt.

I think lime in any form, when it comes in contact with flesh, after a long period, has the effect of decomposing it. Even the carbonate of lime, in the form of particles of rock, will do this. From the nature of the bottoms of the pans in which solar salt is crystalized, more or less marl and *lime-sand* is mixed with it, according to the care taken to prevent it—and even the greatest care will not exclude it entirely. It could be cheaply got rid of at the time of raking the salt by dashing clean, saturated pickle on the salt with a machine like a fire-engine. It would cost some two to three cents per bushel, extra, and it is certain that the consumer would find it economical to pay this enhanced price.

It may be inquired where all of the good solar salt is to come from to supply the place of the sixteen or seventeen millions of bushels of boiled salt, now yearly consumed in this country, if the importation and making of this article should cease. The answer to this question would soon be made, should our people gradually refuse to buy boiled salt for any purpose of curing provisions at any price, by the increased importations of solar salt, and by the increased quantity of the same kind of salt that would be made in this country. We have seen that they can, and do make solar salt at the brine springs, in New York, and in the Kanawha salt basin. An excellent article of solar salt was also made in the Eastern States at a price that it would be cheaper for people to pay than to use boiled salt and lose their meat. But solar salt can

be made on our sea-coast, from New Jersey to Florida, after the method adopted in the South of Germany, most certainly, if they cannot make it without the aids to evaporation in use in that country.

However, among the Florida Keys, and on the coast of Texas, from Galveston to the Rio Grande, enough of the very best solar salt can be made, cheaply, under all probable circumstances, to supply the whole United States east of the mountains; and anywhere on the coast of California it can be made to supply the country to the west of them. Beside, there are many sources that supplies of this necessary article can be made at, in the interior, by solar heat. The Great Salt Lake seems to be the strongest and purest brine fountain known. Its water is generally at 22, Beaumé. Some fifty-five miles a little east of north from Brownsville, Texas, there is a most singular salt lake or pond of some 30 to 40 acres extent. The salt is crystalized over the bottom of this lake to an unknown depth, with constantly "*pickle*" over it, one or two feet deep. When they cut out the salt for use it soon crystalizes in the place from where it was taken to the same level as before. I have no knowledge of the quality of this salt. There is scarcely a State or Territory but that solar salt can be made in it; and if our people will obey the call of interest, and cease entirely to use boiled salt for salting provisions, it would create such a demand for solar salt, that it would call forth such competition in making it, that very soon its price would be reduced to what boiled salt is now.

It has been considered an index of the comfort and prosperity of a people the amount of salt that they consumed. In our case the sign holds good. About the end of the last century it was estimated, that in the provinces of France where they had purchased an exemption from the *gabelle* or salt duty, the consumption of salt was 19½ pounds per head yearly. In the other provinces it was less. At the same time it was estimated at 22 pounds per head in England. In our country, such salt as it is we consume nearly 50 pounds to each person annually.

I append some tables so show the sources whence we draw our supplies of salt, in which can be seen about the quantity from each source. In the case of England, the quantity does not vary, from year to year, except to steadily increase; but from other countries, the quantity that we import is different in different years. In 1854, from the high price of freights, we imported but little salt from Spain and Portugal, but for the two past years, I think, we have imported full 1,000,000 bushels from those countries in each of those years, but I have no official returns.

I have no certain statement of the amount of boiled salt

made in the Kanawha Salt Basin, since 1829, and have estimated the increase there since that period, at a less figure than has taken place at the New York Salt Works, which I presume is in accordance with truth.

It will be remembered that the use of salt has greatly increased in all manufacturing countries of late years, from its extensive employment in the arts: bleaching materials, soda for soap making, and many other chemicals are prepared from it, and for most of these purposes, boiled salt answers a good end.

An estimate of the salt made in the United States in 1829, from a public document:

| | Bushels. | | Bushels. |
|--|-----------|--------------------------------------|----------|
| Maine..... | 90,000 | Ohio..... | 426,350 |
| New Hampshire..... | 1,200 | North Carolina..... | 31,860 |
| Massachusetts..... | 567,239 | South Carolina..... | 3,000 |
| Rhode Island..... | 1,600 | Kentucky..... | 137,320 |
| Connecticut..... | 2,000 | Tennessee..... | 3,640 |
| New York..... | 1,291,220 | Alabama..... | 2,000 |
| New Jersey..... | 2,300 | Illinois..... | 138,000 |
| Delaware..... | 7,500 | Pennsylvania, Arkansas, Florida, and | |
| Maryland..... | 38,000 | Indiana—no satisfactory returns. | |
| Virginia..... | 1,061,000 | | |
| Total in the United States, 3,804,229 bushels. | | | |

NOTE.—The estimated quantity of boiled salt made in Pennsylvania, in 1829 and 1830 is 600,000 bushels per annum. See "Pitkin's Statistics."

All of the above was boiled salt except that made in Massachusetts, Maine, and Rhode Island.

Imports of boiled salt from Great Britain, in different years, from 1802 to 1854, inclusive:

| | Bushels. | | Bushels. |
|-----------------|------------|-----------------|-----------|
| 1802 about..... | 1,200,000* | 1830 about..... | 3,651,472 |
| 1827 about..... | 3,027,838 | 1854 about..... | 7,080,979 |

I have not the official statement of the quantity imported from that country in 1855 and 1856, but the estimated quantity will be found in another table.

Salt made at the New York Salt Works in the years 1855 and 1856, from Report of the Superintendents:

| | Bushels. | | Bushels. |
|--------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|-----------|
| In 1855 boiled salt..... | 5,085,815 | In 1856 boiled salt..... | 5,390,771 |
| " solar salt..... | 717,526 | " solar salt..... | 692,114 |
| Total..... | 5,803,341 | Total..... | 6,082,885 |

NOTE.—They make about 500,000 bushels of salt, per annum, called "dairy salt," but I do not know how it is made.

* I have mislaid my memorandum for 1802, the authority for the rest of the table is "Pitkin's Statistics."

Imports of Salt into the United States, 1854.

| | Bushels. |
|---|------------|
| From England, boiled salt..... | 7,080,979 |
| From Ireland, boiled salt..... | 10,615 |
| From British West Indies, solar salt..... | 1,863,166 |
| From Spain and Portugal solar salt..... | 392,838 |
| Total importations from all foreign countries.. | 10,158,376 |
| Of which, was boiled salt, about..... | 7,100,000 |
| And solar salt, about..... | 3,058,376 |

As has been stated, in the body of the article, from the high rate of freight we import but little salt from Spain and Portugal; the same cause prevented any from coming in that year from the Cape de Verde and Azore Islands, but I have reason to know, for the two years past, there have been over 1,000,000 bushels imported in each year from those sources. It is singular that our importation of salt from France, in that year, was no more than 30,000 bushels, nor do we at any time import much salt thence.

An estimate of the annual consumption of salt in the United States in the two past years, (1855 and 1856,) stating the kinds, and the sources, whence drawn :*

| | Bushels. |
|--|------------------------|
| From Great Britain, full..... | 8,000,000 boiled salt. |
| “ New York..... | 5,200,000 “ “ |
| “ Other parts of United States..... | 3,800,000 “ “ |
| Total boiled salt..... | 17,000,000 |
| From Spain, Portugal and their possessions.. | 1,000,000 solar salt. |
| “ British West Indies and other parts in their vicinity..... | 2,000,000 “ “ |
| “ New York..... | 650,000 “ “ |
| “ Other parts of United States..... | 300,000 “ “ |
| “ All other sources..... | 50,000 “ “ |
| Total solar salt..... | 4,000,000 |
| Grand total bushels for the United States.. | 21,000,000 |

THE POLITICS AND ECONOMICS OF ARISTOTLE AND MR. CALHOUN.

Philosophers, with few exceptions, have signally failed when they have attempted to play the part of politicians. Their failures, too, have been singularly alike. They all split upon the same rock, despite of the fate of their predecessors, the lessons of history, and the warnings of human experience. The great Plato, in his Republic, attempts to “expel nature,” and to construct a society out of human materials without regard to the ordinary characteristics of human nature. His

* NOTE.—In two or three places the author is made to say *muriate* instead of *sulphate* of magnesia. It was discovered after the pages were in press, and the reader will hold the office of the Review alone responsible for the mistake.—Ed.

high reputation was wholly inadequate to give currency to his visionary schemes. Yet his example has been followed by most political philosophers from his day to the present. Sir Thomas More's Utopia, Bacon's Atlantis, Harrington's Oceana, Locke's Scheme of Government for South Carolina, the Visions of Rousseau, of Hobbes, and a host of others, were failures of the same character. None of them were content to follow human nature, but proposed entirely to change it by force of highly artificial, social, and governmental arrangements. But it was in the infidel age immediately preceding the first French revolution that this wild and profane political and social philosophy became most prevalent. From that day to this it has convulsed France and most of Western Europe with bloody but fruitless revolutions. Nevertheless, its votaries are far more numerous and more sanguine than ever, and equally ready to adopt a kingdom, a city, a village, or a phalanstery, as the subjects of their rash experiments. All the failures of Owen, Fanny Wright, Louis Blanc, Greely, and a thousand others, besides the larger failures of Abbe Sieze, and Lamartine and his associates, do not abate a jot their confidence of ultimate and speedy success. The whole pack of abolitionists and socialists of Europe and America have a Utopia in full view which they still pursue with bloodhound pertinacity.

Unfortunately for us of America, the minds of Franklin, Jefferson, Paine, and probably many others who gave tone and direction to public opinion during, and just after our Revolution, were tintured with this rash philosophy which we have described. It is true, they did not succeed in impressing their theories on the forms of our institutions, which were like all permanent institutions—the outgrowth of circumstances, the results of compromise and necessity, or the gradual accretions of time, and mostly borrowed from England, where their adaptation to the people to be governed had been sufficiently tested. Such practical or wise men as Washington and Hamilton, Madison and Jay, modified and fitted our governments, thus originating, to meet the peculiarities of our position. But whilst statesmen, not philosophers, formed our governments, the latter threw in and attached a plentiful batch of abstractions, taken from the doctrines of Locke, Rousseau, and such like political visionaries, that have done no good and are threatening much harm. The abolitionists and socialists of Europe and America have seized upon these abstractions, and now employ them in attempting the overthrow of all the institutions of society, and the inauguration of wilder schemes of government than Plato or Sir Thomas More ever dreamed of. The Declaration of Independence, and the Virginia Bill of Rights, are daily relied on as authority by the anarchists of Europe and America, and it is hard to deny or refute their construction of these instruments. We must assail the whole philosophy on which they are founded, and yet there has been little other political philosophy in the world. Aristotle, however, to one of whose works we are about to invite attention, is a distinguished and noble exception. He modestly and wisely took human nature as he found it, and proposed to adopt government to man, not man to government. The family composed of wife, children, and slaves, he found co-extensive

with civilized humanity, and therefore did not attempt to disrupt it, ties, or to alter its parts, but only by law to enforce obligations and social and family duties, which history and experience showed to be natural. He commences his treatise on Politics and Economics with a description of the family, and begins with the slaves as a component part of every perfect family. The other school of philosophy, of which Protagoras and Plato were as distinguished lights in remote antiquity, as Fourier, and Owen, and Greely in modern times, generally propose not only to abolish slavery, but to abolish the family itself, and to throw husbands, wives, and children into a sort of common public stock. It were well they stopped here, but they propose to disrupt all human ties, and to abolish everything which God and Nature have established. This school of philosophy leads and controls the Black Republican party in America, threatens the disruption of the Union, the abolition of slavery at the South, and the overthrow of everything sacred, useful, or reasonable in the institutions of the North. It is time the religious, the moral, and conservative should look about them for an opposite philosophy with which to repel and refute their assaults. In this work of Aristotle will be found the book which they need. In all respects he differs with Plato, who proposed, in his Republic, to have wives, children, and property in common, and elaborately disputes and refutes his proposition. He considered it the first duty of the State to preserve the purity and distinctness of the family, and much of his work is devoted to enforcing the proper treatment, training, and education of slaves and children, and to showing what are the appropriate duties of masters and husbands, parents and wives. Even practical legislators and wise statesmen have forgotten, in one day, the family, and left it to take care of itself. And whilst they express a holy horror at the doctrine, that "the king can do no wrong," take it for granted that the most ignorant and cruel husband or father is infallible, never errs, and may be left to exercise over wife and children the most unlimited despotism. Hence the number of trials and convictions for wife-murder, and hence, also, no doubt, the fact stated by the abolitionist, Stephen Pearle Andrews, that "there are ten times as many fugitives from matrimony at the North as fugitives from labor." This is the reason, too, why Massachusetts grants five hundred divorces in a single year. The owners of slaves are almost always too enlightened to abuse women and children, and it is they who form public opinion at the South, and thereby control, in great measure, the moral conduct of all the members of society. Ill treatment of wives and children is very rare with us, for here the family is considered a sacred and a holy thing, whilst at the North it is going quite out of repute and fashion, and perpetual partnerships between man and woman are taking the place of regular Christian marriage. These partnerships prove perpetual, however, in naught save the name.

Cicero adopted most of the political and social doctrines of Aristotle, but he did not possess equal genius, and does not expound and enforce them with so much ability. Beside, Aristotle is the fountain-head of all true conservatism, and the weight of his name and authority would go far to disabuse the world of its faith in the philosophy of Plato,

More, Locke, and the French and German socialists, from which latter many of the pestiferous isms of the North borrow their opinions; in many respects, however, these isms exceed in absurdity all their predecessors and all their cotemporaries.

The South is lamentably deficient in self-appreciation, and such she must ever be so long as she borrows her thoughts, sentiments, opinions, and even her fashions from abroad. From early boyhood to old age we read scarce any but foreign books, and gradually and imperceptibly imbibe the ill opinion of ourselves and our institutions which these foreign books inculcate. We must have a thought and literature of our own, learn to respect ourselves, and hurl back upon our accusers the charges which they falsely make against us and our institutions. It is they, not we, who oppress the laboring man. A distinguished New Yorker remarked to us a few days since that "the difference between free laborers and slaves was, that slaves had masters without asking for them; free laborers could not live without masters, yet could not always obtain them when they most needed them." In the depths of winter, when subsistence is dearest, large numbers of free laborers are without masters or employers. The capitalists hire them in the summer, during seed time and harvest, and turn them out to starve in winter, in sickness, and in old age. They are thus cruel because the law does not compel them at all times to take care of their hirelings, as it does masters to provide for their slaves. It is in free society that the laborer is treated with cruelty and injustice, not with us. Yet the Southern mind will never be convinced of this great truth, never be satisfied that its own is the only natural, true, and rightful form of society, until it rears up a thought and literature of its own. But until it is so convinced and satisfied it will neither duly respect itself, nor be able to make a proper defence before the world.

The first and most essential step towards attaining such a result, is, that all our colleges and universities repudiate such text books as Smith, Parley, and Wayland, and adopt Aristotle in their stead.

Abolition has already done an infinite deal of good for the South in making her more self-reliant, in compelling her to improve and develop her resources, build up manufactures, erect schools and colleges, educate her people at home, and cut off in various forms her dependence on the North. It only remains for us to make our schools and colleges fountains and centres of Southern thought and opinion. To do so we must cast aside all our old school books and text books and adopt new ones. Many learned men among us are now preparing such books. They are necessary, and will be useful. But none of our writers can compare in ability, much less in weight of authority, with Aristotle. His work has stood the test of more than two thousand years, and is still considered the best ever written on the subjects that he treats of. Besides, it is the great original fountain from which all broad and scientific defence of Southern institutions must be deduced.

The edition which we are reviewing is by Edward Walford, M. A., late scholar of Baliol college, Oxford, with an introductory essay and life of Aristotle, by Dr. Gillias; published in Bohn's Classical Library:

"In explaining the origin of political society, Aristotle writes neither the satire nor the panegyric of human nature; which, by writers of less wisdom than fancy, have been alternately substituted for plain history. In this, as in all other inquiries, his first question is, what are the phenomena? His second, what is the analogy of nature? Building on these foundations, he concludes that both society and government are as congenial to the nature of man, as it is natural for a plant to fix its roots in the earth, to extend its branches, and to scatter its seeds. Neither the cunning, cowardly principles asserted by Hobbes and Mandeville, nor the benevolent moral affections espoused by Shaftesbury and Hutcheson, according to our author's notions, ought to be involved in the solution of the present question: since the first political societies are as independent of human intelligence, and therefore of moral determination, as the instinctive actions of plants and insects, tending to the preservation of their respective kinds, are independent of any intelligence of their own; even when they move and operate conformably to the laws of the most consummate wisdom.

"Government, then, is coeval with society, and society with men. Both are the works of nature; and therefore, in explaining their origin, there cannot be the smallest ground for the fanciful supposition of engagements and contracts, independently of which the great modern antagonist of Aristotle declares, in the following words, that no government can be lawful or binding: 'The original compact, which begins and actually constitutes any political society, is nothing but the consent of any number of freemen capable of a majority, to unite and to incorporate into such a society. And this is that, and that only, which could give beginning to any lawful government in the world.' From this maxim, which is perpetually inculcated in Locke's two treatises on government, is fairly deducible the inalienable right of mankind to be *self governed*; that is, to be their own legislators, and their own directors; or, if they find it inconvenient to assume the administration of affairs in their own persons, to appoint representatives who may exercise a delegated sovereignty, essentially and inalienably inherent in the people at large. Thence results the new inalienable right of all mankind to be fairly represented, a right with which each individual was invested from the commencement of the world, but of which, until very recently, no one knew the name, or had the least notion of the thing. From this right to fair representation, there follows, by necessary consequence, the right of universal suffrage, universal eligibility, and the universal and just preponderancy of majorities in all cases whatever.

"Such is the boasted and specious theory begun in the works of our Locke and our Molyneux, continued in those of our Price and our Priestley, and carried to the utmost extravagance in those of (I wish not to say our) Rousseau, Paine, and the innumerable pamphleteers whose writings occasioned or accompanied the American and French revolutions.

"Such works, co-operating with the peculiar circumstances of the times, have produced, and are still producing, the most extraordinary effects; by arming the passions of the multitude with a false principle, fortifying them by specious arguments, and thereby stirring into action those discordant elements which naturally lurk in the bosom of every community. It is not consistent with my design, in defending the tenets of my author, to answer his political adversaries with declamation and obloquy—a rash and dangerous attempt! since the voice of the multitude will always be the loudest and the strongest—but merely to examine whether the fundamental maxim of their great master, Locke, be itself founded in truth. To prove that government is merely a matter of consent, he assumes for a reality a wild fiction of the fancy; what he calls a state of nature, which he defines to be 'men living together according to reason, without a common superior on earth with authority to judge between them.' But he himself seems aware that this supposed natural state of man is a state in which man never yet was found; and in which, if by violence thrust into it, he could not remain for a single day. Locke, I say, saw the difficulty, which, instead of meeting, he only endeavors to elude. 'Where are there,' he asks, 'or ever were there, any men in such a state of nature?' He answers, 'that since all princes and rulers of independent governments, all through the world, are in the state

of nature, it is plain the world never was, and never will be, without numbers of men in 'that state.' But this, I affirm, is not to answer the proposed question; for princes and rulers of independent states do not live together, nor associate and 'herd,' as he himself expresses it, in the same society. If they did so, they could not subsist without government: for government and society are things absolutely inseparable; they commence together; they grow up together; they are both of them equally natural; and so indissolubly united, that the destruction of the one is necessarily accompanied by the destruction of the other. This is the true sense of Aristotle, as understood and expressed by an illustrious defender of just government and genuine liberty. 'As we use and exercise our bodily members, before we understand the ends and purposes of this exercise, so it is by nature herself that we are united and associated into political society.'

"Locke, who so severely, and, as I have endeavored to prove, so unjustly arraigns what is called Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, appears to have equally mistaken his *Politics*. Had he understood the invaluable work to which he refers in terms of commendation, this idol of modern philosophers, and especially of modern politicians, would not probably (since he was a man of great worth as well as of great wisdom) have produced a theory of government totally impossible in practice; a theory admirably fitted, indeed, for producing revolutions and sedition, but according to which, as is evinced by all history, no political fabric ever yet was reared; or if it were to be reared, could ever possibly be preserved. The neglect or misapprehension of some of the most important parts of Aristotle's writings is indeed most deeply to be lamented. Of the many thousand authors who have copied or commented on his *Logic*, the far greater number omit his interesting chapters on language; deeming the consideration of words below the dignity of philosophers. His profound observations concerning the nature and constitution of a family have been equally overlooked by his pretended followers in politics. Yet as his analysis of language has been proved to be the sole foundation of logic, so his analysis of a family, and his explanation of the causes through which its elements naturally and regularly combine, can alone enable us clearly to discern the analogous principles (principles continually insisted on by himself) which have raised and upheld the great edifice of civil society; which is not a mass, but a system, and which, like every system, implies a distinction of parts; with many moral as well as physical differences, relative and reciprocal; the powers and perfections of one part supplying the incapacities and defects of another. To form a commonwealth from elements of equal value, or of equal dignity, is an attempt not less absurd than that of composing a piece of music from one and the same note.

"A difficult question follows, how far social inequality, whether civil or domestic may be allowed to extend? It is with a trembling hand that I touch the delicate subject of slavery; an undertaking to which nothing could encourage me, but the utmost confidence in the humanity, as well as in the judgment of my author. First of all, Aristotle expressly condemns the cruel practice, prevalent in his own days of enslaving prisoners of war; secondly, he declares, in the most explicit terms, all slaves fairly entitled to freedom, whenever it clearly appears that they are fitly qualified for enjoying it. But the benefits conferred on men, he observes, must in all cases be limited by their capacities for receiving them; and these capacities are themselves limited by the exigencies and necessities of our present imperfect condition. The helplessness of infancy and childhood, the infirmities of old age, and the urgencies attending mankind in every stage of their existence on earth, render it indispensably necessary that a great proportion of the species should be habitually employed in mere mechanical labor, in the strenuous exertions of productive industry, and the petty tasks of domestic drudgery. Nature, therefore, in whose plan and intention the system of society precedes and takes place of the parts of which it is composed, has variously organized and moulded the human character as well as the human frame, without setting other bounds to this variety, than are imposed by the good of the whole system, of which individuals are not independent units, but constituent elements. According to this plan or intention, the *Stagirite* maintains, that there is room for the widest of all discriminations, and the

lowest of all occupations, domestic servitude, a species of labor not employed in production, but totally consumed in use; because solely, but not unprofitably, spent in promoting the ease and accommodation of life. In the relation of master and servant, the good of the master may indeed be the primary object; but the benefit of the servant or slave is also a necessary result, since he only is naturally and justly a slave, whose powers are competent to mere bodily labor; who is capable of listening to reason, but incapable of exercising that sovereign faculty; and whose weakness and short-sightedness are so great, that it is safer for him to be guided or governed through life by the prudence of another. But, let it always be remembered, that 'one class of men ought to have the qualifications requisite for masters, before another can either fitly or usefully be employed as slaves.' Government, then, not only civil but domestic, is a most serious duty, a most sacred trust; a trust, the very nature of which is totally incompatible with the supposed inalienable rights of all men to be self-governed. Those rights, and those only, are inalienable, which it is impossible for one person to exercise for another: and to maintain those to be natural and inalienable rights, which the persons supposed to be invested with them can never possibly exercise, consistently either with their own safety, or with the good of the community, is to confound all notions of things, and to invert the whole order of nature; of which it is the primary and unalterable law, that forecast should direct providence, reason control passion, and wisdom command folly."

Mr. Calhoun in his *Disquisition on Government*, which forms the first division of his works, edited by Richard K. Crallé, maintains much of the doctrines of Aristotle. It is entirely obvious, that Mr. Calhoun's views are the results of his own reflection and observation, and are not borrowed from the Stagyræite. We doubt whether he ever read his politics and economics, for we think the book has but recently been published in America. This coincidence of opinion between two great, observant, learned, and experienced men, living more than two thousand years apart, goes far to strengthen the authority of Aristotle to prove his adaptation for modern use, to show the saneness of human nature and of human institutions, in all ages and countries, and to establish the theory for which both contend that society, law, government, religion, nay, all human institutions, are of natural origin, growth, and development, and that

"There is a Divinity that shapes our ends
Rough hew them how we will."

In the first page of his treatise, Mr. Calhoun without naming it, expressly repudiates the social contract, and maintains the doctrine of Aristotle that man, society, and government are congenital. He says:

"The first question accordingly to be considered is, what is that constitution or law of our nature, without which, government would not exist, and with which, its existence is necessary?

"In considering this, I assume, as an incontestible fact, that man is so constituted as to be a social being. His inclinations and wants, physical and moral, irresistibly impel him to associate with his kind, and he has accordingly, never been found in any age or country in any state, other than the social. In no other, indeed, could he exist, and in no other, were it possible for him to exist, could he attain to a full development of his moral and intellectual faculties, or raise himself, in the scale of being much above the level of the brute creation.

"I must assume, also, as a fact, not less incontestible, that while man is so constituted as to make the social state necessary to his existence and the full development of his faculties, this state itself cannot exist without government. The assumption rests on universal experience. In no age or country has any

society or community, ever here found, whether enlightened or savage, without government of some description."

Again, he says :

"To the Infinite Being, the Creator of all, belongs exclusively, the care and superintendence of the whole. He, in his infinite wisdom and goodness, has allotted to every class of animated beings its condition and appropriate functions; and has endowed each with feelings, instincts, capacities, and faculties, best adapted to its allotted condition. To man, he has assigned the social and political state, as but adopted to develop the great capacities and faculties, intellectual and moral, with which he has endowed him; and has accordingly constituted him so as not to impel him into the social state, but to make government necessary for his preservation and well-being."

These doctrines of Calhoun and Aristotle are of vital importance to the South; for if a social contract precedes society, then it is but fair to assume, that all men have surrendered to government equal amounts of rights and liberty, and retained equal amounts, hence all men remain equal, or of right ought to be, and domestic slavery becomes a gross violation of natural right.

But the consequences of the doctrine would not end here; all men being equal, all would have equal right to the soil, and equal right to govern. Carry out the principle of the social contract into practice, and it leads to an equal division of land, and the government by turns of every member of society, all which is impracticable and absurd, and, therefore, the doctrine of the social contract is itself absurd and should be rejected.

The next passage which we shall quote from Mr. Calhoun, we think fully equal to anything ever written by Aristotle. Yet, we wish that he had gone farther. He says: "It would seem that it has exceeded human sagacity deliberately to plan and construct constitutional governments." Might he not truly have said, that government, in all its forms, from that of a family to that of a kingdom, is not of human contrivance, but of natural and necessitous origin and growth? Might he not have added that there is no such thing as absolute anarchy, pure despotism? When no constitutional checks are interposed to limit power, when no legal institutions exist to oppose the will of the contract, nature supplies a thousand checks and balances to control his conduct, and to mitigate his tyranny. The father is the universal and natural head and despot of the family, but his conduct is influenced, and often entirely controlled by wife, children, slaves, the church to which he belongs, or, by public opinion. We say by slaves, because it is a notorious fact in history, that in Asia, where slaves are of the same color with the master, they are very generally, "a power behind the throne greater than the throne itself."

Our own governments and institutions are generally supposed to be of human origin and contrivance. Never was there a greater mistake, nor one more likely to lead to mischievous consequences. The Colonies brought with them the laws and institutions of England, and modified them very slightly to suit the difference of condition between an old and a new country. Those laws and institutions were the growth and accretion of time, circumstance, necessity, and compromise, not the contrivance of any man or set of men. The Confederation arose

out of the necessities of the times. It it was found inadequate for continuance, and our present Constitution of the Union grew up by bargain and compromise of opposing interests, and was not the work of any man in the Convention that framed it, nor the joint work of all, but a compromise in which the opinions and purposes of none were fully carried out. It was the outgrowth of nature, Providence, and necessity, not the work of man. It will last, because it is God-made, not man-made. Man can no more make a human government than he can make a human being, a tree, or a honeycomb. With these remarks we introduce the quotation which we promised from Mr. Calhoun:

"Complexity and difficulty of construction; as far as they form objections, apply not only to governments of the concurrent majority of the popular form, but to constitutional governments of every form. The least complex and the most easily constructed of them are much more complex and difficult of construction than any of the absolute forms. Indeed, so great has been this difficulty, that their construction has been the result, not so much of wisdom and patriotism, as of favorable combinations of circumstances. They have, for the most part, grown out of the struggles of conflicting interests, which, from some fortunate turn, have ended in a compromise, by which both parties have been admitted, in some way or another, to have a separate and distinct voice in the government. Where this has not been the case, they have been the product of fortunate circumstances, acting in conjunction with some pressing danger, which, from their adoption, as the only means by which it could be avoided. It would seem it has exceeded human sagacity, deliberately to plan and construct constitutional governments, with a full knowledge of the principles on which they were formed, or to reduce them to practice, without the pressure of some immediate and urgent necessity. Nor is it surprising that such should be the case, for it would seem almost impossible for any man, or body of men, to be so profoundly and thoroughly acquainted with the people of any community, which has made any considerable progress in civilization and wealth, with all the diversified interests ever accompanying them, as to be able to organize constitutional governments suited to their condition. But even were this possible, it would be difficult to find any community sufficiently enlightened and patriotic to adopt such a government without the compulsion of some pressing necessity. A constitution, to succeed, must spring from the bosom of the community, and be adapted to the intelligence and character of the people, and all the multifarious relations, internal and external, which distinguish one people from another. If it do not, it will prove in practice to be, not a constitution, but a cumbrous and useless machine, which must be speedily superseded and laid aside for some other more simple, and better suited to their condition."

Mr. Calhoun seems always to employ the terms "constitution" and "constitutional" as synonymous with "institution" and "institutional." Institutions check and balance each other, and constitutions are only so far valuable as they establish institutions. As well whistle to the winds as to prescribe rules of government without placing men in power whose interests it shall be to enforce those rules. Mr. Calhoun's "concurrent majority" is nothing but the concurrence of the various institutions that naturally and gradually arise in all civilized governments. It is to be lamented that Mr. Calhoun did not confine himself to the analysis of government rather than to its formation. The passages which we have quoted from his works, show, that at times, the great truth was impressed on his mind, that society and government are natural and necessitous—God-made, not man-made. Mr. Calhoun's works display a remarkable power of dialectical ability, a fervid and

lofty morality, and a patriotism that seems at times to absorb all his other feelings and faculties; but his works are controversial in fact, though not in profession, for he wrote them under a keen sense of wrong and injustice, inflicted by the North. Yet, as treatises on political and social philosophy, they contain much more of abstract truth than any of the text books employed in our colleges and universities. Their analyses and exposition of the frame-work and tendencies of our own institutions are invaluable. They should, therefore, be used as text books in our schools. Like all such books, they are only valuable in the hands of learned, able, and discriminating professors. No man is so far above his fellow-men that his books should be swallowed whole.

DR. KANE'S ARCTIC EXPLORATIONS.

Century after century has left its record of perilous adventure and daring, of danger encountered and suffering endured; beyond almost the capacities of physical life, and yet the problem of the polar regions is still almost as much unsolved as when the Scandinavians first attempted it, long years before Columbus had dared the Western deep, or given, beyond its confines, to Castile and Aragon, a new world.

There stands the pole still, unassayed, undescribed, girt around by a circle two thousand four hundred miles in diameter, of snows and ice piled mountain high, grotesque, terrific, sublime, and interminable, where

"Blocks of sapphire seem to mortal eye
Hewn from Cerulean quarries in the sky,
With glacier battlements that crowd the spheres."

The Arctic ocean includes, on the Asiatic side, Nova Zembla and the new Siberian Isles, extending to about the 76° of latitude, and on the European and American sides, Spitzbergen, reaching to 80°, and Greenland, whose northern point has not yet been determined. What other geographical features it may present, with the exception of some large islands that face the American continent, is the problem for future discovery.

As early as the ninth and tenth centuries, the Scandinavians, or sea-kings, it is ascertained, made their daring adventures to the Greenland coast, and a century later, it is believed, reached as far north as 72° 55', coasting south to Massachusetts Bay. The colonies planted by them perished in the course of time. In 1497, Cabot, aiming for the pole, reached the latitude of 67° 30'. Then began the search, so zealously prosecuted since, for that *western passage*, which should be the pathway of commercial adventure to the wealthy regions of the East. Cortereal, soon after Cabot, attained the 60°, but lost his life in the event. His brother Miguel perished in the at-

tempt to seek him out. In 1553, Hugh Willoughby and his crew perished among the snows of Lapland, in struggling to make the passage from the European side. Frobisher, a quarter of a century later, perceived the entrance of Hudson's, and explored Frobisher's Strait. Humphrey Gilbert struck the shores of New Foundland, but his expedition ended disastrously, and his own ship foundered at sea. When last seen, though in imminent peril, he was holding a book in his hand, and exhorting his men with the words—"courage my lads, we are as near Heaven at sea as on land."

In 1585, Davis made a further advance towards the pole by discovering the strait which bears his name, and by skirting the Greenland coast; and in the same century the Dutch, Danes, and French were making unrelenting efforts in the same quarter, in their anxiety to reach the Indian seas without traversing the ocean, over which the Spaniards exercised supremacy.

There is something terrible in the voyaging of Barentz which has never since been exceeded, if equaled. Making his way between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla, his vessel became frozen in. Here the appalling Arctic winter had to be endured without any of the appliances with which subsequent explorations have been fitted. A rude hut was built of drift-wood. The closeness of its interior nearly suffocated them, and the walls and beds were covered with ice. For months the party kept constantly in bed, unless employed in the operations of cooking. Day and night were alike. Foxes were heard running over head, but could not be caught. Seated before the fire the backs of the party would be white with frost. The ship was abandoned early in June, and the crew, twelve in number, took, for escape, to the boats. The indefatigable chief died, chart in hand, from exhaustion. The survivors reached the coast of Lapland after a voyage of 29 days, and 1,143 miles, and embarked thence for home upon a Dutch ship.

In 1607, Henry Hudson coasted Spitzbergen to the $81\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, and the next year to 75° , and was convinced that a *northeast* passage was unattainable. Several other voyages were made by this noble old navigator, who discovered and explored Hudson's Bay. He spent a winter in these northern regions with great suffering, and in the attempt afterwards to escape, was, in a mutiny of the crew, abandoned by them, and left to perish with the few that remained faithful to his fortunes. Similar attempts of Baffin made known to the world the immense extension of the bay which bears his own name.

All of these adventurers navigated the perilous seas of the North in vessels which varied in burden from 10 to 56 tons, and were but long-boats in comparison with those at present in use.

During much of this period the Russians fitted out, upon their side, innumerable northern expeditions, involving, like the rest, shipwreck, scurvy, starvation, and death, the usual concomitants of Arctic navigation. The greatest of their heroes in this field is Behring, the discoverer of the strait of that name. Shipwrecked, he encountered winter on an island near the coast of Kamtschatka, and amid its hardships died. A Cossack of his party constructed a boat, forty feet in length, from the wreck of the ship, and in this crazy vessel all of the survivors navigated the sea to the port of Petropalanski. The Russian expeditions by sea and by land were made by Schalafroff, Andrejeff, Billings, Anjou, and Von Wrangell.

We come again to the English—to the land journeys of Hearne and Mackenzie across the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company—to the voyages of Phipps, who reached $80^{\circ} 48'$ on the Spitzbergen shore, and of Cook, who, in 1776, attained the $70^{\circ} 45'$. From that time a pause in northern explorations ensued, until about 1816, when the Greenland whalers having reported an extraordinary breaking up of the polar ice, the Admiralty determined upon renewed efforts. Captains Ross and Sir Edward Parry were sent out immediately in quest of the northwest passage. Baffin's Bay was carefully examined, and Lancaster Sound pronounced to be a bay, affording no entrance into any western sea. Captain Franklin and Buchan went in search of the pole.

A word in regard to Franklin, whose melancholy fate attracts the sympathy of the civilized world. He entered, very early, the navy, assisted in surveying the coast of Australia, was with Nelson at Copenhagen and at Trafalgar, and did service against New Orleans, in 1815, where he was wounded. In this expedition he was directed to pass to the north between Spitzbergen and Greenland, and endeavor to reach the pole.

Lieutenant Parry, the second officer under Ross, differing with his commander in regard to the impracticability of a western passage through Lancaster Sound, conducted an expedition into that quarter soon after the return of Ross. He reached longitude $83^{\circ} 12'$, and penetrated this sound for 150 miles. The course was thence uninterrupted to longitude $86^{\circ} 30'$, nothing now seeming to interfere with reaching Icy Cape, on the western American coast. On the 4th of September, they reached 110° west, and thus became entitled to the Parliamentary reward of £5,000. The expedition returned to England, having sailed 30° further to the west than any of its predecessors, having discovered numerous islands, etc., and ascertained, as it was claimed, the existence of the North Polar sea, preserving, during all, sound and vigorous health. A second and a third voyage was made by this bold explorer.

In 1820 Sir John Franklin assayed the land passage, starting from York Factory, Hudson's Bay, with several others; but after three years of time, and over five thousand miles of journeyings, under trials which baffle description, he returned unsuccessful. In 1824 he undertook, again, with Dr. Richardson, this hazardous adventure, hoping to descend Mackenzie river to the sea, and, if possible, make his way westwardly to Icy cape, and perchance to Behring's strait. It was the fortune of this brave commander to have twice allied himself in marriage with women of the most heroic courage, intelligence, and spirit. The world is well acquainted with the present Lady Franklin; but the former, his first wife, who was lying at the point of death when this expedition was to set out, refused to allow her condition to interrupt, but pressed upon her husband, by every consideration of love and glory, to depart on the day appointed, and not to pause in the career of his fame, until he had planted a silk flag she had worked for him on the shores of the polar sea. She died the day after his departure.

But our purpose in this article must be chiefly with Dr. Kane, and it will be necessary, therefore, to pass over with merely a word of mention, the voyages of Beechy and Lyon, of Scoresby and Clavering, the fourth voyage of Parry, and the second of Ross, Back's, and the land expedition of Rae, the last and fatal voyage of Franklin, and the searching expeditions of Kellett, Moore, Richardson, Rae, Ross, Kennedy, M'Clure, etc.; etc. By land or by sea, these were all bold, hazardous, and so far as the great objects were concerned, unsuccessful. M'Clure, however, from Behring's straits, made the passage, in the *Indicator*, to a point which had been reached by Parry, going from Baffin's Bay, thus demonstrating the existence of a water communication around the north coast of America, and *discovering, it is said, the Northwest passage.*

Rae, too, on his second expedition in 1854, found articles in the possession of the Esquimaux, recognized as belonging to Franklin's party. He was informed by them that in 1850 about forty white men were seen drawing sledges and a boat over the ice, and from signs it was understood that their vessel had been destroyed by the ice. At the close of the same winter, the bodies of thirty-five of these men were found scattered about, in tents or under the boat, and one of them seemed to be an officer. From the condition of some of the bodies it was supposed the party had been driven by their hunger to cannibalism. The powder and ammunition were very far from exhausted, which, with other relics, passed into the hands of the natives. On a silver plate was engraved "Sir John Frank-

lin, K. C. B." The presumption is that the whole party were starved to death. Many of the relics have been carried to England. Thirty-five of the unfortunate party would thus seem to be accounted for, but where are the one hundred and three others that constituted the Expedition? Have they all perished years ago in the terrific struggle with snows, and ice, and famine, or are there a few still who survive, having acquired the habits and experiences of the Esquimaux, and is Sir John Franklin of the number? His age would seem to forbid this; but, while there are doubts, who can deny to woman the exercise of her undying faith and hope, and what effort would be misdirected which aimed to ascertain the facts. Better the sad reality than such terrible uncertainty.*

It is now over twelve years since Sir John Franklin, with his vessels, the *Erebus* and *Terror*, and a noble band of officers and men were seen by a whaler moored to an iceberg in the upper waters of Baffin's Bay, and the liveliest interest of the whole civilized world has been excited in his behalf. On the part of the Americans two relief expeditions have been fitted out mainly through the liberality of one of our merchant princes, Henry Grinnell, Esq. The first expedition was commanded by Lieut. DeHaven, of the United States Navy, sailing from New York in May, 1850, and returning about the 1st October, 1851. It endured the usual perils and hardships of the Arctic winters, discovering, however, in conjunction with the English vessels on the same search, the graves of some of Franklin's crew, with the inscriptions upon them, which, in connection with other matters, gave incontestible evidence of the fact that Franklin had wintered in the neighborhood. The historian of the expedition is Dr. Kane, who acted as its Surgeon.

We come to the second and more important Grinnell Ex-

* Another, and perhaps not yet final expedition, is being fitted out in England. It is to be commanded by Capt. McClintock, and has perhaps already sailed. His vessel, a screw yacht, will carry five weeks fuel for speed, and two and a half years provisions; and the outfit will absorb nearly all the remaining resources of Lady Franklin. The Captain has published a letter upon this subject, from which we make an extract:

"The means of accomplishing Lady Franklin's object, the completion of the search, now placed at my disposal, are ample. The vessel is a three-masted screw schooner yacht, with foretopsail and top-gallantsail; the topsail roofs from the deck; she is decidedly a clipper—diagonally built, 132 feet long over all, 320 tons builder's measurement, with a light draft of water; trunk engines, of thirty horse power; crew numbering thirty individuals, including an Esquimaux interpreter. Almost all will be old shipmates of my own in former Arctic voyages. They shall be fed and clothed as in the Government expeditions, and receive double pay. I therefore anticipate no difficulty in keeping up precisely the same discipline as that which we found to answer so well in the three Arctic expeditions in which I have served."

pedition, commanded by Dr. Kane himself. It consisted of eighteen persons embarked on board the *Advance*, a brig of 140 tons burden, and of great strength, having already been tried on the Arctic seas. Five small boats, a quantity of boards, several sledges, a large amount of pemmican and meat-biscuit, pickled cabbages, dried fruits, vegetables; some liquors, malt, &c., wollens in good proportion, small articles of barter with the natives, books, etc., made up the equipment. A supply of dogs was taken in at St. Johns, New Foundland. Pemmican, an indispensable and invaluable resort in these expeditions, is a preparation of beef, dried and ground in a mill, then mixed with an equal portion of lard or beef suet, and sometimes flavored with currents and sweetened with sugar. It is then fit for use and is packed away in small hermetically sealed cans, and may be kept for several years, furnishing a condensed, acceptable, and nutritious diet.

The *Advance* reached Smith's Sound in about two months after her departure from New York, encountering the most fearful gales among the icebergs. For thirty-six hours instant death on every wave appeared. The parting of the hawsers the loss of anchors, the crash of bulwarks, and the accumulations of ice upon the deck were appalling to even experienced icemen. Borne on by the ice "the immense blocks piled against her, range upon range, pressing themselves under her keel and throwing her over upon her side, till, urged by the successive accumulations, she rose slowly and as if with convulsive efforts along the sloping wall. Still there was no relaxation of the impelling force. Shock after shock, jarring her to her very centre, she continued to mount steadily on her precarious cradle. But for the groaning of her timbers and the heavy sough of the floes, we might have heard a pin drop. And then, as she settled down into her own position, quietly taking her place among the broken rubbish, there was a deep-breathing silence, as though all were waiting for some signal before the clamor of congratulation and comment could burst forth."

The brig is soon fastly bound in by the ice for the winter, and as it proved in the event, forever. Excursions in the small boats and on shore succeed. On one of these Dr. Kane having climbed an attitude of eleven hundred feet, looked out upon an expanse extending beyond the eightieth parallel of latitude. To his right a rolling country led to a dusky wall like ridge, recognized afterwards to be Humboldt's great Glacier, and still further northward, stretched Washington land, with Capes Andrew Jackson and John Barrow, with a great sea of solid ice between. Further out a stream of icebergs increasing in



BRIG IN HARBOR.

The first sledge brought into use was built very carefully, the runners being shod with steel and fastened with copper rivets. All the other parts were held together by seal skin lashings, in order to secure the greatest pliability and entire security from irregularities of surface. The Esquimaux dogs were reserved for the great tug of the actual journeys of search. They were fierce and unbroken, resembling the wolf, but after experience showed their inestimable value, their power and speed, their patience, and sagacity. To drive an Esquimaux team much skill is required.

"The whip is six yards long, and the handle but sixteen inches—a short lever, of course, to throw out such a length of seal-hide. Learn to do it, however,

numbers as they receded showed an almost impenetrable barrier.

On the 11th September, Dr. Kane remarked that the long staring day which had clung to him for more than 2 months, to the exclusion of the stars, had begun to intermit its brightness, and stretching his neck to look uncomfortably upwards, there stood the north star, as it seemed impossible to realize otherwise, *directly over head*.

The dogs which had been embarked were Esquimaux as well as Newfoundland, and had to be broken to travel without the lash. Six of them made a powerful team, and four could carry a man and his instruments of scientific observation for short journeys with great ease.

with a masterly sweep, or else make up your mind to forego driving sledge; for the dogs are guided solely by the lash, and you must be able not only to hit any particular dog out of a team of twelve, but to accompany the feat also with a resounding crack. After this, you find that to get your lash back involves another difficulty; for it is apt to entangle itself among the dogs and lines, or to fasten itself cunningly round bits of ice, so as to drag you head over heels into the snow."

On the 28th October, the moon had reached her greatest northern declination of $25^{\circ} 35'$, presenting a most glorious appearance and sweeping around the heavens in a curve which at its lowest was 14° above the horizon. For eighty days she had been making her circuits with almost unvarying brightness. The night is sparkling and bright, bringing back in fancy, associations and communings of homes and hearths far away. On the 7th November darkness indicated its sure advances, though the thermometer could be read at noon-day, without a light; and the black masses of the hills were plain for about five hours, with their glaring patches of snow. All the rest was night. Lanterns remained permanently upon deck, and lard lamps as constantly burning below. Stars of the sixth magnitude shone out at noon-day.

A Northern winter indeed. It is a latitude higher than any endured before at this season by christian men, except at Spitzburgen, (which has the advantage of an insular climate and the temperings of ocean currents,) where Russian sailors make the encounter, and where the early Dutch entirely perished. Ninety days more of darkness must intervene. For one hundred and forty days the camp and the bergs, the glaciers, and the floes will be sunless. Ha, ha, ha, amid all these trials and this darkness, a fancy ball and a fox chase!

"November 21, Monday.—We have schemes innumerable to cheat the monotonous solitude of our winter. We are getting up a fancy ball; and to-day the first number of our Arctic newspaper, 'The Ice-Blink,' came out, with the motto, 'IN TENEBRIS SEQUIVARE FIDEM.' The articles are by authors of every nautical grade: some of the best from the fore-castle. I transfer a few of them to my Appendix; but the following sketch is a fac-simile of the vignette of our little paper.

"November 22, Tuesday.—I offered a prize to-day of a Guernsey shirt to the man who held out longest in a 'fox-chase' round the decks. The rule of the sport was, that 'Fox' was to run a given circuit between galley and capstan, all hands following on his track; every four minutes a halt to be called to blow and the fox making the longest run to take the prize; each of the crew to run as fox in turn. William Godfrey sustained the chase for fourteen minutes, and wore off the shirt."

On the 15th December the last vestiges of mid-day twilight are lost, it being impossible to read print, or to count the fingers a foot distant. Noon and midnight are alike. A week later and the midnight of the year enshrouds the Arctic regions.

We have not yet referred to the fitting up of the vessel, and the details of preparation of the little command, rendered ne-

* Kane's Arctic Explorations; 2 vols. Philadelphia: Peterson & Childs, 1857.

cessary in their winter quarters; nor yet to the landing and deposit of provisions, and the construction of an observatory. During all the privations, and sufferings, and difficulties of every sort which were encountered, magnetic and meteorological observations were never once remitted, nor, indeed, anything else which seemed to be necessary to give value to the expedition, or to keep up the hopes, the health, and the discipline of the men. The observatory was but an ice-house itself, and scarcely any appliances were sufficient to bring it up to the temperature of the freezing point. It was almost impossible at times to use the instruments. The touch of steel or iron blistered the hand, so like were found to be the effects of extremes of cold and heat. On the 5th February the thermometer ranged, by the means of the spirit standards, from 67° to 99° below the freezing point of water. Ether became solid, spirit of naphtha froze at 54° , oil of sassafras at 49° .

March had come at last, and with it the return of perpetual day. The bright rays of the sun were, indeed, a blessed vision to these dejected, spiritless, and scurvy-marked men; but with the sun, however, came no alleviation of the cold. Out of nine New Foundland, and thirty-five Esquimaux dogs, six only had survived the winter. The following account of the routine of the days, as regularly observed, is given in the volumes of Dr. Kane:

"At six in the morning, McGary is called, with all hands who have slept in. The decks are cleaned, the ice-hole opened, the refreshing beef-nets examined, the ice-tables measured, and things abroad put to rights. At half-past seven, all hands rise, wash on deck, open the doors for ventilation, and come below for breakfast. We are short of fuel, and therefore cook in the cabin. Our breakfast, for all fare alike, is hard tack, pork, stewed apples frozen like molasses-candy, tea and coffee, with a delicate portion of raw potato. After breakfast, the smokers take their pipe till nine: then all hands turn to, idlers to idle and workers to work; Ohlson to his bench, Brooks to his 'preparations' in canvass, McGary to play tailor, Whipple to make shoes, Bonsall to tinker, Baker to skin birds,—and the rest to the 'Office!' Take a look into the Arctic Bureau! One table, one salt-pork lamp with rusty chlorinated flame, three stools, and as many waxen-faced men with their legs drawn up under them, the deck at zero being too cold for the feet. Each has his department: Kane is writing, sketching, and projecting maps; Hayes copying logs and meteorologicals; Sontag reducing his work at Fern Rock. A fourth, as one of the working members of the hive, has long been defunct: you will find him in bed, or studying 'Littell's Living Age.' At twelve, a business round of inspection, and orders enough to fill up the day with work. Next, the drill of the Esquimaux dogs,—my own peculiar recreation,—a dog-trot, specially refreshing to legs that creak with every kick, and rheumatic shoulders that chronicle every decent of the whip. And so we get on to dinner-time; the occasion of another gathering, which misses the tea and coffee of breakfast, but rejoices in pickled cabbage and dried peaches instead.

"At dinner as at breakfast the raw potato comes in, our hygienic luxury. Like doctor-stuff generally, it is not as appetizing as desirable. Grating it down nicely, leaving out the ugly red spots liberally, and adding the utmost oil as a lubricant, it is as much as I can do to persuade the mess to shut their eyes and bolt it, like Mrs. Squeer's molasses and brimstone at Dotheboys Hall.

Two absolutely refuse to taste it. I tell them of the Silesians using its leaves as spinach, of the whalers in the South Seas getting drunk on the molasses which had preserved the large potatoes of the Azores,—I point to this gum, so fungoid and angry the day before yesterday, and so flat and amiable to-day—all by a potato poultice: my eloquence is wasted: they persevere in rejecting the admirable compound.

"Sleep, exercise, amusement, and work at will, carry on the day till our six o'clock supper, a meal something like breakfast and something like dinner, only a little more scant: and the officers come in with the reports of the day. Doctor Hayes shows me the log, I sign it; Sontag the weather, I sign the weather; Mr. Bonsall the tides and the thermometers. Thereupon comes in mine ancient, Brooks; and I enter in his journal No. 3, all the work done under his charge, and discuss his labors for the morrow.

"McGary comes next, with the cleaning-up arrangement, inside, outside, and on decks; and Mr. Wilson follows with ice measurements. And last of all comes my own record of the day gone by; every line, as I look back upon its pages, giving evidence of a weakened body and harassed mind.

"We have cards sometimes, and chess sometimes,—and a few magazines, Mr. Littell's thoughtful present, to cheer away the evening."

One of the most graphic and terrible pictures of human suffering and peril, ever perhaps recorded, is that of the rescue party which set out from the brig about the first of April, headed by Dr. Kane in person. He had sent forth an advance to make deposits of provisions to be used in future land expe-



RESCUE PARTY.

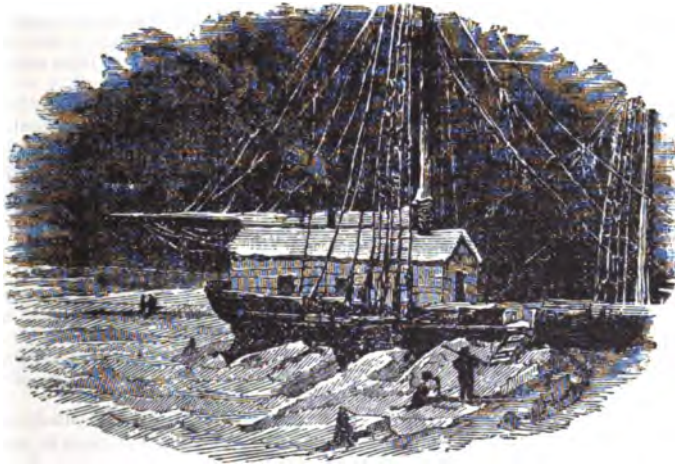
ditions, and its return was anxiously awaited. Long days had passed. It was midnight, when three of the party, swollen, haggard, and scarcely able to speak, glided like apparitions into the cabin of the brig, bringing the fearful news that they had left their companions frozen and disabled on the ice, but where, they scarcely knew. The snows were drifting heavily around, and not a moment could, therefore, be lost. Ohlson, the only one of the returned who seemed to be yet in command of his faculties, was taken back, for information, by the rescue party, strapped in a fur bag to a sledge, and wrapped in furs and eider down. The thermometer stood at 72° below the freezing point, and the party, ten in number, carried with them only the clothes on their backs. It soon became evident that Ohlson, from fatigue and exposure, had lost the entire control of his mind, and that nothing could remain but to

break up into smaller parties, and trust, in the search, to the instincts of the individuals, or to the decrees of fate. The thermometer sunk from -78° to -82° . Halting was now altogether out of the question, and exercise the most violent, only, might preserve life. Ice could not be made to melt, and snow burnt like caustic, leaving bloody lips and tongues. The sturdiest and most experienced of the men failed continually, being seized with trembling fits and shortness of breath. Dr. Kane fainted several times on the ice in the desperate effort to encourage the men. At last Heaven seemed to open its gates of mercy, and the camp of the unfortunates was discovered after an unbroken march of twenty-one hours. Here they were indeed, still alive, and as Dr. Kane crawled in upon them in their darkness and gloom, he was greeted with a burst of welcome, for they well knew their commander, and had believed implicitly that he would come to their rescue. The return to the brig was, if anything, even more terrible. The sick were placed upon sledges, sewed up in reindeer skins, laid on buffalo robes, and covered over with other skins and blanket bags. This time the thermometer had reached to 87° below the freezing point. The energies, and powers, and vitality of the party were rapidly failing. The fatal desire to sleep came upon them with a power which could not be resisted. A halt was indispensable, and their tent was pitched, but with frozen hands it was impossible to strike fire or obtain food or water. The whiskey had frozen under the coverings of the men's feet. Dr. Kane, leaving the tent, pushed ahead with a single companion. They recollected little further. A stupor came over both, and they were only kept awake by imposing on each other a continual articulation of incoherent words. The Doctor long after recollected these hours as the most wretched he had ever gone through. Neither himself or companion retained their right senses, though they succeeded in reaching a tent that they had left behind, which they raised, and into which they crawled, and where for several hours they slept on intensely, awakening to find their beards a mass of ice, and their bodies frozen to the buffalo skins. Rejoined by the rest of the party they pushed for the brig, taking naps of three minutes duration, alternately, regulated by the watch. They found refreshment in this strange and unusual manner. At last the brig was reached after an absence of 72 hours, and a march of 80 or 90 miles. Two of the rescued soon afterwards died. Dr. Kane thus describes the event:

"We moved on like men in a dream. Our footmarks seen afterward showed that we had steered a bee-line for the brig. It must have been by a sort of instinct, for it left no impress on the memory. Bonsall was sent staggering ahead

and reached the brig, God knows how, for he had fallen repeatedly at the track-lines; but he delivered with punctilious accuracy the messages I had sent by him to Dr. Hayes. I thought myself the soundest of all, for I went through all the formula of sanity, and can recall the muttering delirium of my comrades when we got back into the cabin of our brig. Yet I have been told since of some speeches and some orders too of mine, which I should have remembered for their absurdity if my mind had retained its balance."

On the 26th April, Dr. Kane and a party of seven men set out with the sledges intending to reach the great glacier of Humboldt, obtain thence some of the supplies he had buried during the previous October, and thus stretch along the glacier to the northwest, crossing if he could the ice to the American side. He hoped to be able to find an outlet, and determine the state of things beyond the bay in which he was encased. This was



BRIG IN BAY.

to be the crowning expedition of the campaign, to attain the ultima thule of the Greenland shore, measure the waste between it and the unknown west, and seek its outlet. The scheme proved in its details impracticable, and begat dangers and trials and sufferings, scarcely less than those of the relief party. The snow became heavier and heavier, the drifts impassible. Scurvy appeared among the men, and Dr. Kane becoming delirious and fainting, succumbed entirely. His illness was long and serious. Those who retained sufficient strength succeeded in dragging their comrades back to the vessel after an absence of about eighteen days. Referring to all of his trials and his miraculous preservation Dr. Kane finds good grounds for hope in regard to poor Franklin and his crew.

"If, four months ago,—surrounded by darkness and bowed down by disease,—I had been asked the question, I would have turned toward the black hills

and the frozen sea, and responded in sympathy with them, 'No.' But with the return of light a savage people come down upon us, destitute of any but the rudest appliances of the chase, who were fattening on the most wholesome diet of the region, only forty miles from our anchorage, while I was denouncing its scarcity.

"For Franklin, every thing depends upon locality: but, from what I can see of Arctic exploration thus far, it would be hard to find a circle of fifty miles' diameter entirely destitute of animal resources. The most solid winter-ice is open here and there in pools and patches worn by currents and tides.

"To these spots, the seal, walrus, and the early birds crowd in numbers. One which kept open, as we find from the Esquimaux, at Littleton Island, only forty miles from us, sustained three families last winter until the opening of the north water. Now, if we have been entirely supported for the past three weeks by the hunting of a single man,—seal-meat alone being plentiful enough to sustain us till we turn homeward,—certainly a party of tolerably skilful hunters might lay up an abundant stock for the winter.

"I have undergone one change in opinion. It is of the ability of Europeans or Americans to inure themselves to an ultra-Arctic climate. God forbid, indeed, that civilized man should be exposed for successive years to this blighting darkness! But around the Arctic circle, even as high as 72°, where cold and cold only is to be encountered, men may be acclimatized, for there is light enough for out-door labor.

"Of the one hundred and thirty-six picked men of Sir John Franklin in 1846, Northern Orkney men, Greenland whalers, so many young and hardy constitutions, with so much intelligent experience to guide them, I cannot realize that some may not yet be alive; that some small squad or squads, aided or not aided by the Esquimaux of the expedition, may not have found a hunting-ground, and laid up from summer to summer enough of fuel and food and seal-skins to brave three or even four more winters in succession.

"It requires hardly a single winter to tell who are to be the heat-making and acclimatized men. Petersen, for instance, who has resided for two years at Upernavik, seldom enters a room with a fire. Another of our party, George Riley, with a vigorous constitution, established habits of free exposure, and active cheerful temperament, has so inured himself to the cold, that he sleeps on our sledge-journeys without a blanket or any other covering than his walking-suit, while the outside temperature is 30° below zero. The half-breeds of the coast rival the Esquimaux in their powers of endurance.

"There must be many such men with Franklin. The North British sailors of the Greenland seal and whale fisheries I look upon as inferior to none in capacity to resist the Arctic climates.

"My mind never realizes the complete catastrophe, the destruction of all Franklin's crews. I picture them to myself broken into detachments, and my mind fixes itself on one little group of some thirty, who have found the open spot of some tidal eddy, and under the teachings of an Esquimaux, or perhaps one of their own Greenland whalers, have set bravely to work, and trapped the fox, speared the bear, and killed the seal and walrus and whale. I think of them ever with hope. I sicken not to be able to reach them."

Things seem to grow worse instead of better with the progress of the season. As late as the middle of June there was so little indication of a breaking up of the ice, that the prospect of a second winters detention of the vessel dawned, bringing with it a thrill of horror to the stoutest heart, for the supply of coal and fresh provisions had been entirely exhausted, and the men were already victims of disease. On one of his excursions, after climbing a high promontory, Morton's ears were gladdened with the music of dashing waters, and of the surf breaking upon the rocks at his feet. What is this sea and

where does it extend? Does it connect with a polar basin which is iceless and open? This mysterious fluidity in the midst of solid ice excited hopes which were never realized. Necessity prevented a further exploration. An open sea near the pole has ever been a theory or dream of navigators, and many before had announced, or believed, that they had discovered it. They were mistaken, and perhaps it will remain for others to demonstrate the same error in Dr. Kane, though his announcement is founded upon many miles of journeyings along its coast, and upon a view from a great height, interrupted as far as vision extended by not one single obstacle. Other circumstances lead to the idea of a milder climate near the pole, as we shall see hereafter.

"I inspected the ice again to-day. Bad! bad!—I must look another winter in the face. I do not shrink from the thought; but, while we have a chance ahead, it is my first duty to have all things in readiness to meet it. It is *horrible*—yes, that is the word—to look forward to another year of disease and darkness to be met without fresh food and without fuel. I should meet it with a more tempered sadness if I had no comrades to think for and protect."

In this dark hour of the expedition, its commander determined to erect a signal, and deposit certain documents, for the instruction of those who might come after, in the event that inexorable fate had ordained, as seemed probable, the destruction of the whole party. One of the documents stated the names of the survivors of the party at that date, and recapitulated their labors. They had delineated 760 miles of coastline, and travelled 2,000 miles a-foot, or by the aid of dogs. Greenland had been charted to 82° 27', and Smith's Sound entirely surveyed. A channel had been discovered from it to the north. Dr. Kane called a council of the men and officers. He explained to them the position of things. He would stand by the brig another winter. He believed the attempt to escape to open water could not succeed. Such as were disposed could, however, make it, under proper officers. Nine of the men determined to accept the offer, and left soon after with a fair division of the resources, and an assurance of hearty welcome should necessity drive them back. Brave and almost herculean struggles were now required to make the vessel habitable during the long winter months which impended, to preserve physical life, and to extend to the utmost capacity the almost exhausted supplies of fuel and provisions. In about three months time, and after fruitless journeys of over 350 miles, the escape party returned, headed by Dr. Hayes, broken down by exposure, disease, and want. The thermometer was at minus 50°, and they were covered with rime and snow, and were fainting with hunger. After an exposure to cold of such fearful intensity and duration, the warmth of the cabin had

to be avoided to guard against utter prostration. The chief mode of warming was by the lamp.

"The heat given out by these burners is astonishing. One four-wicked lamp not very well attended gives us six gallons of water in twelve hours from snow and ice of a temperature of minus 40°, raising the heat of the cabin to a corresponding extent, the lamp being entirely open. With a line-wick, another Esquimaux plan, we could bake bread or do other cookery. But the crust of the salt, and the deposit from the resin are constantly fouling the flame; and the consequence is that we have been more than half the time in an atmosphere of smoke."

On the 14th of January the party had been 124 days with the sun below the horizon, and had in prospect 140 days more before he could reach the rocky surmountings of the brig. It was 52 days since diamond type could be read, even on the highest hills.



DECK BY LAMPLIGHT.

Dr. Kane enters into a warm eulogium upon the merits of raw walrus meat, and indeed of raw meat in general, after the fashion of Charles Lamb's roast pig. The liver of walrus, eaten with slices of his fat, he considers a delicious morsel. "Fire would ruin the pithy expression of vitality which belongs to its uncooked juices." He wonders that raw beef is not eaten at home. "The outside fat of your walrus sustains your little moss fire, its frozen slices give you bread, its frozen

blubber gives you butter, its scragg ends make the soup—my thoughts recall the frost-tempered junks of this amphibium as the highest of longed-for luxuries.” Speaking of the capacities of the natives to endure cold, he mentions that they will sleep upon their sledges with the thermometer at 98° below freezing point, and that their clothing is so contrived as to expose the back to partial nudity in many positions, and to leave the chest open to the atmosphere from below. By the 8th of February the whole party are disabled and on their backs with scurvy, or other disease, except Dr. Kane and Mr. Bonsall, who are indefatigable in their labors. The Doctor is indeed an angel of light in this darkness and woe. The meat is exhausted, and scurvy reigns uncontrolled. Two rabbits are taken which afford about a pint of blood. It is drank raw, and proves a most grateful cordial to the sick. No other relief can be found except in fresh meat, and every effort of the chase has failed. The whole party are more or less affected.

“February 12, Monday.—Hans is off for his hunting-lodge, over the hills and far away, beyond Charlotte Wood Fiord. I have sent Godfrey with him; for I fear the boy has got the taint like the rest of us, and may suffer from the exposure. He thinketh he can bring back a deer, and the chances are worth the trial. We can manage the small hunt, Petersen and I, till he comes back, unless we break down too. But I do not like these symptoms of mine, and Petersen is very far from the man he was. We had a tramp to-day, both of us, after an imaginary deer,—a *benvisok* that has been supposed for the last three days to be hunting the neighborhood of the waterpools of the big fiord, and have come back jaded and sad. If Hans gives way, God help us!”

Amid all this despondency Dr. Kane records in his journal, “we will stick together—one more effort to search the shores of Kennedy channel, for the lost Franklin, and then for escape.”

Early in March things had reached the crisis, and the last hope was in the Esquimaux, whose winter quarters were believed to be not distant. The desperate venture was fallen upon of sending Hans, the only effectual huntsman left to the party, in quest of them. He started with the slightest sledge and the two remaining dogs. On the 9th of March, such was the deplorable condition of things, that Kane and Bonsall alone remained to protect the vessel, nurse the sick, cook, wash, cut the wood, prepare the fires, and serve the messes. But Hans returned, having met with the savages, and entering upon the hunt with them, had obtained a bountiful supply. Each man has his saucer of thinly sliced frozen walrus heart, with lime juice or vinegar, before breakfast: at breakfast, blood gravy with wheaten bread: at dinner, steaks slightly stewed or fried: at 8 o'clock, p. m., a renewed allowance of raw slices and vinegar.

In the midst of all these trials, and in return for the heroic and sublime sacrifices of the commander, evidences of a slight

mutiny appear in the camp, and two men devise means of escape to the Esquimaux. They are detected, and after partial success, the last of them is arrested by the captain in person, who brings him back to the ship. Such is often the depravity of human nature!

Gazing upon the mountains in the distance, Dr. Kane breaks into the following rhapsody: "Once upon your coasts, O inaccessible mountains, I would reach the Northern Ocean and gather together the remnants of poor Franklin's company. These would be to me the orchards and vineyards and running fountains. The 'Lord of the Hill' would see in me a pilgrim." "Leaning upon our staves, as is common with weary pilgrims when they stand to talk with any by the way," we would look down upon an open Polar sea, refulgent with Northern sunshine."



KALUTUNAH'S ESQUIMAUX PARTY.

Hans, an Esquimaux youth, remains the hope of the party. He is a brave and daring and successful hunter, but at last is missing, and the most melancholy forebodings of his fate succeed. There was no one to go to his relief but Dr. Kane. "Clearly duty to this poor boy calls me to seek him, and clearly duty to these dependent men calls upon me to stay. I have resolved to go after Hans." "He had been ill, but was found faithfully endeavoring to return. It would seem, from what follows, that even among the Arctic savages winter has its horrors and carries on its work of destruction. Speaking of the settlers at Etah Bay the narrative continues:

"I can already count eight settlements, including about one hundred and forty souls. There are more, perhaps, but certainly not many. Out of these I

can number five deaths since our arrival; and I am aware of hardships and disasters encountered by the survivors, which, repeated as they must be in the future, cannot fail to involve a larger mortality. Crime combines with disease and exposure to thin their numbers; I know of three murders within the past two years; and one infanticide occurred only a few months ago. These facts, which are open to my limited sources of information, cannot, of course, indicate the number of deaths correctly. They confirm, however, a fearful conclusion which these poor wretches have themselves communicated to us,—that they are dying out; not lingeringly, like the American tribes, but so rapidly as to be able to mark within a generation their progress toward extinction. Nothing can be more saddening, measured by our own sensibilities, than such a conviction; but it seems to have no effect upon this remarkable people. Surrounded by the graves of their dead, by huts untenanted yet still recent in their memory as homesteads, even by caches of meat which, frozen under the snow by the dead of one year, are eaten by the living of the next, they show neither apprehension nor regret. Even Kalutunah—a man of fine instincts, and, I think, of heart—will retain his sympathy of face as, by the aid of Petersen, our interpreter, I point out to him the certainty of their speedy extinction. He will smile in his efforts to count the years which must obliterate his nation, and break in with a laugh as his children shout out their 'Amna Ayah' and dance to the tap of his drum."

The labors of the Lutheran and Moravian missionaries have been very successful in Greenland. Before their arrival murder, incest, burial of the living, and infanticide were common, and vessels might not safely touch the coast. For two hundred years things have been very different, and now, from Uppernavik to Cape Farewell, the Esquimaux does not hesitate to devote his own meal to the necessities of a guest.

May has come, and every thing admonishes that it is time to leave the brig, whose condition is now hopeless, and at best entirely unseaworthy, and trust to the boats. Before this, however, one parting effort is determined on to visit the further shores of the channel and complete the search in that quarter. Did ever patience and fortitude and determination rise to the height of heroism like this before? The attempt proved again abortive.

And now for the escape! What hopes, what fears, what trials and difficulties, what despair in that word. The men, broken hearted, had not even faith in the sincerity of the preparations that were making. Many worked with moody indifference. Clothing had to be prepared; provisions packed; the boats, three in number, to be refitted and mounted on sledges to be drawn by the worn-out party. We pass over the sad details. A paper was left giving the reasons for the abandonment of the brig, to wit: That only thirty-six days provisions remained and that no more fire-wood could be cut from the vessel without making her unseaworthy. Another winter could bring nothing but destruction of the entire party. The day for starting arrived:

"We read prayers and a chapter of the Bible; and then, all standing silently round, I took Sir John Franklin's portrait from its frame and eased it in an India-rubber scroll. I next read the reports of inspection and survey which

had been made by the several commissions organized for the purpose, all of them testifying to the necessities under which I was about to act. I then addressed the party: I did not affect to disguise the difficulties that were before us; but I assured them that they could all be overcome by energy and subordination to command; and that the thirteen hundred miles of ice and water that lay between us and North Greenland could be traversed with safety for most of us, and hope for all. I added, that as men and messmates it was the duty of us all, enjoined by gallantry as well as religion, to postpone every consideration of self to the protection of the wounded and sick; and that this must be regarded by every man and under all circumstances as a paramount order. In conclusion, I told them, to think over the trials we had all of us gone through, and to remember each man for himself how often an unseen Power had rescued him in peril, and I admonished them still to place reliance on Him who could not change."

"It caused me a bitter pang to abandon our collection of objects of Natural History, the cherished fruit of so much exposure and toil; and it was hardly easier to leave some other things behind,—several of my well-tested instruments for instance, and those silent friends, my books. They had all been packed up, hoping for a chance of saving them; and, to the credit of my comrades, let me say gratefully that they offered to exclude both clothes and food in favor of a full freight of these treasures.

"But the thing was not to be thought of. I gave a last look at the desolate galley-stove, the representative of our long winter's fireside, at the still bright coppers now full of frozen water, the theodolite, the chart-box, and poor Wilson's guitar—one more of the remnant of the old moss walls, the useless daguerreotypes and the skeletons of dog and deer and bear and musk-ox,—stoppered in the rigging;—and, that done, whipped up my dogs so much after the manner of a sentimentalizing Christian, that our pagan Metek raised a prayer in their behalf."

One of the most affecting scenes in the whole narrative of Dr. Kane is the parting with the poor Esquimaux savages, with whom he had lived in such amity and in such reciprocal good offices, who followed the boats with heavy hearts and unfeigned grief. Boys, girls, old men and women, are in the crowd, ready for all good offices to the *Docto Kayens*, whom they call the whole party. Dr. Kane talked with them as brothers. He told them all he knew of the tribes from which they were separated by the glacier and the sea, of the resources of those southern regions, greater length of day, the lesser degree of cold, the frequent drift wood, the facilities of the chase and of the fishing-net. He explained to them how, under bold and cautious guidance, they might yet, in a few seasons, reach there. He gave them drawings of the coast with its headlands, hunting grounds, and camping stations.

"They listened with breathless interest, closing their circle round me; and, as Petersen described the big ussuk, the white whale, the bear, and the long open water hunts with the kayak and the rifle, they looked at each other with a significance not to be misunderstood. They would anxiously have had me promise that I would some day return and carry a load of them down to the settlements; and I shall not wonder if—guided perhaps by Hans—they hereafter attempt the journey without other aid."

Peril succeeded peril, and rescue and escape, which it seemed only the hand of God could have directed. Days and weeks of this fearful passage in the boats succeeded. Everything is failing. Difficulty of breathing, swellings of the feet,

sleeplessness and low fevers ensue. Close allowance has reached the starvation point. Two miserable dogs alone remain, as a last resource. None liked to think of them. They had been companions of every hardship, and the lone leaders of the winter's teams. How to destroy them! A seal, at this fearful moment, is descried. The excitement becomes intense. He rears his head. Never could Dr. Kane forget the hard, care-worn, almost despairing expressions of the men's thin faces, as they saw him move, their lives depending



BOATS CAMP IN STORM.

on his capture. Peterson, gun in hand, seemed paralyzed in his deep anxiety. The unerring rifle told but partially upon the seal. Says Dr. Kane:

"I would have ordered another shot, but no discipline could have controlled the men. With a wild yell, each vociferating according to his own impulse, they urged both boats upon the floe. A crowd of hands seized the seal and bore him up to safer ice. The men seemed half crazy: I had not realized how much we were reduced by absolute famine. They ran over the floe, crying and laughing and brandishing their knives. It was not five minutes before every man was sucking his bloody fingers or mouthing long strips of raw blubber."

The trials are passed. After eight-four days they are passed. Deliverance is at hand. The fugitives have reached the vicinities of the Dutch settlements. A sound is heard in the

distance as of oars. The passage which follows is touching and beautiful:

"Listen, Petersen! oars, men!" "What is it?"—and he listened quietly at first, and then, trembling, said, in a half whisper, "Dannemarkers!"

"I remember this, the first tone of Christian voice which had greeted our return to the world. How we all stood up and peered into the distant nooks; and how the cry came to us again, just as, having seen nothing, we were doubting whether the whole was not a dream; and then how, with long sweeps, the white ash cracking under the spring of the rowers, we stood for the cape that the sound proceeded from, and how nervously we scanned the green spots which our experience, grown now into instinct, told us would be the likely camping-ground of way-farers.

"By-and-by—for we must have been pulling a good half hour—the single mast of a small shallop showed itself; and Petersen, who had been very quiet and grave, burst out into an incoherent fit of crying, only relieved by broken exclamations of mingled Danish and English. 'Tis the Upernavik oil-boat! The Fraulein Flaischer! Carlie Mossyn, the assistant cooper, must be on his road to Kingatok for blubber. The Mariane (the one annual ship) has come, and Carlie Mossyn——' and here he did it all over again, gulping down his words and wringing his hands. It was Carlie Mossyn, sure enough."

But what need of further detail. They embark at Upernavik in a Dutch ship, and soon after reach Godhavn, where the vessels of Capt. Hartstene, which had been sent in search of the Kane Expedition, were happily met. A little boat put out from the shore to meet the coming vessels.

"Presently we were alongside. An officer, whom I shall ever remember as a cherished friend, Captain Hartstene, hailed a little man in a ragged flannel shirt. 'Is that Dr. Kane?' and with the 'Yes!' that followed, the rigging was manned by our countrymen, and cheers welcomed us back to the social world of love which they represented."



ENTERING THE TENT.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SLAVEHOLDING STATES.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:

A session of the Southern Convention will be held at Knoxville, Tennessee, on the second Monday, the tenth day of August next.

It will constitute another of the series that have taken place periodically in the several Southern and Southwestern cities, attracting large and influential delegations, actuated by lofty

patriotism, prepared to deliberate and act with intelligence and harmony.

The latest of these was at Savannah. There, but a few months since, delegations from ten or twelve States enjoyed the courtesies and hospitalities of a time-honored community, interchanged the kindly greetings and friendly offices of brothers, advised and counselled together, as in family circle, on the dangers that threaten, and the hopes and interests that encourage and unite us.

For six days these deliberations lasted, embracing in their scope the wide field of the social life and institutions of the South, its education and literary policy, the various and important ramifications of its industry, its political rights and necessities, or such of them at least as rise higher than the cunning and too often deceptive platforms of parties and politicians.

Upon several most important matters select committees were appointed to meet in the recess of the Convention, to collect information and prepare reports, hereafter to be submitted and considered.

Looking primarily to the advancement and security of the South, the aims of the Convention are altogether consistent with and promotive of the peace and welfare of the Union, shall it continue for us and ours, as all Government worth preserving must—a shield and not a sword—and shall its obligations be preserved and obeyed—obligations, without which it would not and could not have been formed, and without which, and their faithful performance by all the parties to the great compact, it cannot be, and ought not to be, maintained. Every other purpose is of trifling importance in comparison with the high moral and social objects of the Convention. They are intended to spread far and wide, correct, enlarged, and faithful views of our rights and obligations, and to unite us together by the most sacred bonds to maintain them inviolate for ourselves and our posterity.

The citizens of Knoxville are making liberal preparations for the reception of the Convention. It is a point readily accessible from the North, South, East, or West, by the Railroads of Tennessee, Virginia, and Georgia; and the meeting will take place at a season when it will be convenient and delightful to visit the mountain regions of the South, and to explore the charms of an almost virgin country.

Delegates to the Savannah Convention are, without further appointment, invited to Knoxville; and the Executives of the States, and the Mayors, or other competent officers of cities and towns, through all the Slaveholding States of the Union,

are earnestly requested to make additional appointments of Delegates.

The aid of the press is solicited in calling attention editorially to the meeting; and of railroad and steamboat companies, etc., in granting the usual facilities of travel to the delegates.

By order of the Convention :

J. D. B. DEBOW, *of Louisiana.*
W. G. SWAN, *of Tennessee.*
JNO. COCHRAN, *of Alabama.*
WM. BOULWARE, *of Virginia.*
MITCHELL KING, *of S. Carolina.*

ELWOOD FISHER ON THE NORTH AND SOUTH.

NUMBER II.

By many persons it is contended, that in estimating the average wealth of individuals in a community, the slaves ought to be included as persons, and left out as property. This I think an error, for reasons already stated. Where it is contended that the white man ought to abandon slave property because it makes him poor, or prevents him from getting rich, it is absurd to assert that he not only has no property in his slave, but that all other property belongs equally to the slave. But if for any other purpose or view of political economy, the slave be included with the freeman in averaging the property of a State, it will even then appear that in the States I have considered, the Southern are still wealthier than the Northern, counting the slaves as persons and deducting them from the property. So that in no aspect of the question whatever, is there any foundation in fact for the popular delusion that the Southern States, or any of them, are either now or heretofore, or likely to be hereafter, inferior to their Northern neighbors in wealth—but the reverse.

The triumph of Southern enterprise and capital in the accumulation of wealth being established as a fact, demands of us an investigation of its causes—and this, I think, will materially elucidate the character of modern civilization, and particularly that which has been developed in the United States.

The original methods of acquiring wealth, adopted by men on their organization into communities, was by conquest or commerce. Hence the almost exclusively military character of one great class of the ancient States, which resulted in the universal empire successively of the Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman governments; and hence the rise of Tyre and Carthage. Hence, also, in the middle ages, the empire of Charlemagne, and the long protracted efforts of France to conquer England, and England to conquer France—and the wealth of Venice, Genoa, and Holland. At a later period, when the arts had made more progress, manufactures were included in the means of creating wealth. The policy of England has combined the three—con-

quest, commerce, and manufactures—and by these she has succeeded in the construction of an empire, which, for extent of territory and wealth, has never had a parallel. The policy of England has been dictated by her insular position. This rendered it necessary for her to acquire the empire of the sea, to be secure from invasion by great continental powers; and with the dominion of the sea, it was easy to establish a great colonial empire. The growth of such a great power in commerce was the strongest possible stimulus to progress in the arts and manufactures; hence her success in them. But an extraordinary development of commerce and manufactures has always resulted in the concentration of large masses of people in cities, which causes inequality of condition, great depravity of morals, great increase of want, and of crime; consequences that are fatal in the first place to liberty in governments, and finally to independence in nations. This tendency has been so obvious and universal among the great States of all ages as to have caused the belief that communities, like individuals, contain within themselves the seeds of dissolution, which must ultimately bring them to the dust.

But whether we consider a State as a moral being, whose essence consists in the principles on which it is constructed, and therefore not necessarily mortal, or whether we regard it as a mere creature of the race or persons that founded or inhabit it, and therefore transient, there can be no doubt that its prosperity is seriously impaired by the evils referred to, that generally attend the progress of civilization.

Rural life has always been celebrated by the poets for its innocence.

“God made the country and man made the town;”

but it is a kind of life that has seldom been thought favorable to the accumulation of wealth—the first want of civilization. It is also usually associated with rudeness of manners. Hence the votaries of fortune and society have preferred the city; and if to these we add the vast multitude who seek the immediate gratification of their appetites and passions, which cities afford, at the hazard of future want, we have a clear solution of the undue tendency to city at the expense of country life. This great evil, sufficient of itself to cast a stigma on civilization, and even ultimately to destroy it, was, for the first time, successfully encountered and conquered by the institutions of the South; and in the great achievement Virginia led the way. Amongst the early white settlers of Virginia were many of the Cavaliers who had been driven into exile by the triumph of the Roundheads and of Cromwell. The Cavaliers were of the country party in England, the cities and towns were more generally devoted to the Roundheads. The Cavaliers of Virginia seem to have brought over with them from England a hostility even to the modes of life of the enemies they left behind them, as the settlers of New England, on the other hand, from the Roundheads, became trading and commercial. These peculiarities were exhibited in a striking manner in the progress of the two colonies. Bancroft tells us:

“But the greatest safeguard of liberty in Virginia was the individual freedom of mind, which formed, of necessity, the character of independent landholders living apart on their plantations. In the age of

commercial monopoly Virginia had not one market town, not one place of trade. As to all outward appearance it looked all like a wild desert; and the mercantile world, founding its judgment on the absence of cities, regarded it as 'one of the poorest, miserablest, and worst countries in America.' It did not seek to share actively in the profits of commerce; it had little of the precious metals, and still less of credit, it was satisfied with agriculture. Taxes were paid in tobacco; remittances to Europe were made in tobacco; the revenue of the clergy, and the magistrates, and the colony, was collected in the same currency; the colonial tradesman received his pay in straggling parcels of it, and ships from abroad were obliged to be whole months in the rivers before boats visiting the several plantations on their banks could pick up a cargo. In the season of a commercial revolution, the commercial element did not enter into the character of the colony. Its inhabitants 'daily grew more and more averse to cohabitation.'

Such was the character of Virginia in 1700—ninety-two years after the colony was founded, and seventy-six before her Independence—such she has remained. I have seen a law passed by her Legislature during the Revolutionary war, prohibiting merchants from serving as Representatives in the Continental Congress.

But this primitive character of Virginia could not have been preserved to the extent we now behold but for peculiar circumstances. The soil of Virginia was found to be adapted to the production of tobacco, and African slave labor to its cultivation; and tobacco soon became an article of commerce. The introduction of this sort of labor had the effect of excluding, in a great measure, emigration from Europe—the emigration which subverted the ascendancy of the Quakers of Pennsylvania, which has materially modified the original character of New England, and still more of the new free States of the West. And it has been through negro slavery that agriculture has been made, for the first time in the history of the world, so profitable and attractive as to render rural life the favorite of wealth as well as of the mass of the people—to make the country, instead of the towns, the abode of elegant manners and refined taste. And this system of society has prevailed throughout the other States of the South, owing to the similarity of their primitive character to that of Virginia—to her example—to emigration into them of many Virginians, the warmth of the climate, and to the culture of cotton, which is more favorable to the employment of slave labor than that of tobacco.

Thus, then, we have fifteen Southern States—one half of the number belonging to the Union—occupying half their territory—who present the extraordinary, and so far as my researches extend, the unparalleled result of a population which has acquired greater wealth by agriculture, than any other people in any other manner; and who have consequently given ascendancy within their borders to country life over city, in social and political power. In Great Britain, the only country which can be compared in civilization with ours, the landholders are indeed a very wealthy class, perhaps the most so, but they have dwellings in London, and pass a large part of the year there. The landholders of Great Britain also constitute but a small portion of the population.

We must now consider the effect upon the various elements of civilization, of a population at once wealthy and rural like that of the South.

In communities which have acquired great wealth, it is almost universal that such wealth is very unequally distributed. Extreme poverty and extreme wealth characterize the population—but the mass are poor. This is perhaps inevitable where manufacturers, or commerce, or conquest, are the means of acquisition. And in England this is strikingly displayed. But it is not so in an agricultural people. I know it is a common opinion, that much greater inequality of property exists in the South than in the North. But although I do not possess exact knowledge on this point, there is enough known to prove that this cannot be the case. The State of Virginia allows none to exercise the elective franchise but white freeholders, leaseholders of five years, and housekeepers who are heads of families.* Now it appears by the returns of the Presidential election of 1844, that Virginia gave about 95,000 votes; allowing 10,000 for voters who did not attend the polls, and it appears that there are 105,000 free white males in that State who are either freeholders, leaseholders, or housekeepers, and heads of families, and by the census of 1840 there were only 157,989 white males in that State above the age of twenty-one; so that two-thirds of them are either freeholders, leaseholders, or housekeepers. I do not know what proportion of the Northern States are freeholders, but I have seen a detailed statement from one of the interior counties of New York, from which it appears that only half the voters were freeholders; and when we consider that the cities of New York, and Boston contain nearly half the property of the States to which they respectively belong, and that in those cities pauperism prevails to greater extent than anywhere else in the Union, it is very clear that great inequality of property prevails.

The State of Ohio, a new State and an agricultural one, and very prosperous, may be presumed to enjoy a tolerable equal distribution of property. There are in this State, by the last assessment, about fifty thousand pleasure carriages, and the possession of one of these, is an indication of a comfortable condition of a family. In Virginia there were in 1847 over 19,000; and that in a white population about one-third as great as ours is now. This proves that the degree of comfort which such establishments indicate, is more diffused in Virginia than in Ohio. The proportion of dwellings built in a year, is another indication of comfort, and the degree of its diffusion among a people. According to the returns of the marshals in 1840, Massachusetts, whose white population is nearly the same with that of Virginia, built 324 brick houses in that year. Virginia built 402, or nearly one-fourth more. Massachusetts built 1,249 wooden houses the same year, Virginia, 2,904, or more than double. The cost of the houses in Massachusetts was \$2,767,134; in Virginia, only \$1,369,393, or about half. Now if this excess in the cost of the houses of Massachusetts be attributable to the excess of business, or manufacturing structures among them, it swells the proportion of dwellings built in Virginia, and thus displays

* By the Constitution of 1851, the right of suffrage extends to all white males 21 years of age, resident of the State for two years, and of the election district one year, preceding the election.—Ed.

a still greater progress in comfort among the population of the latter. But if the excess of cost in Massachusetts is owing to the superior style of her dwellings, it proves, since the number is so much less, a still greater inequality of property. A comparison of the houses built in New York the same year with those in Virginia, exhibits similar results. And I will add that the same thing is true, by a comparison between Virginia and Ohio, although one is considered the most declining, the other the most advancing State in the Union; one supposed to be the most unequal in the distribution of property; the other the reverse. In 1840 Ohio built 970 brick, and 2,764 wooden houses, at a cost of \$3,776,823. Thus, whilst we had twice the white population, we built only a fourth more of houses. Kentucky, also, as well as Virginia, surpassed Ohio in this respect. Kentucky built 485 brick and 1,787 wooden houses; thus, with only 40 per cent. of Ohio's white population, she built 75 per cent. of the number of houses Ohio did. The fact is that Virginia and Kentucky constructed, in that year, more buildings in proportion to their whole population, black and white, than Ohio and Massachusetts. This result does not appear, indeed, in the cities, or in the principal streets of cities, and therefore has not come to the knowledge of fugitive and superficial observers, or newspaper item mongers, but it is demonstrated by the labors of the officers of government who were required to visit the country as well the towns, the by-ways, as well as the high-ways, and it is triumphant evidence of the extraordinary aggregate prosperity, and wide-spread individual comfort of the States which have been selected by the new school of politicians, and political economists as the objects of their sympathies and the victims of their theories.*

* NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—The census of 1850 did not ascertain the number of dwellings constructed as was done in 1840, but simply the number of dwellings *in actual existence*, meaning "separate inhabited tenements." The occupation of such a tenement, in itself, is an evidence of some degree of physical comfort, and perhaps of moral and social advancement. The average of the census of 1850 shows:

| | Families to 100 dwellings. |
|---------------------|----------------------------|
| South Carolina..... | 100.56 |
| North Carolina..... | 100.46 |
| Virginia..... | 101.08 |
| Vermont..... | 103.81 |
| Connecticut..... | 114.73 |
| Massachusetts..... | 126.06 |

But to make the comparison more general—

| | Number of families to 100 inhabitants. | Number of dwellings to 100 families. |
|----------------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| New England..... | 19.01 | 115.54 |
| Southern States..... | 14.83 | 100.71 |
| Southwest..... | 17.65 | 102.04 |

Thus the average number of persons to the family is also larger at the South, another favorable indication.

NUMBER OF PERSONS TO THE DWELLING, 1850.

| | | | |
|-------------------|-----|-----------------|------|
| Richmond..... | 5.2 | St. Louis..... | 7.7 |
| Charleston..... | 5.3 | Cincinnati..... | 8.2 |
| New Orleans..... | 6.5 | Boston..... | 8.9 |
| Philadelphia..... | 6.6 | New York..... | 12.6 |
| Baltimore..... | 6.9 | | |

The same relative condition of comfort in the two respective sections of the Union, is indicated in their food. Although Virginia is not an exporter of animal food, she is one of the greatest producers of it, of all the States. In 1840 she possessed 1,992,155 hogs, which is almost identically the same number that Ohio had, although Ohio has twice the white population, and as is well known, is a large exporter of pork, whilst Virginia imports, in addition, to her own stock every year a large quantity. New York, with three times the white population, was materially behind Virginia in this respect. Now it is well known that the great mass of provisions produced in any State, are designed for domestic consumption, as the cost of transporting them to the dwellings of an agricultural people is too great to admit of their importation. Hence the products of such a people afford a good criterion of the character of their food. The stock of neat cattle in New York was 1,911,244; in Virginia, it was 1,024,148; the proportion of Virginia being still the greatest. In sheep, alone, was New York better off, having 5,118,777, whilst Virginia had 1,293,772, which, however, is only about 150,000 less than her share. The proportion of poultry in Virginia is double that of New York. And, in all these articles, Virginia is still more the superior of Ohio than of New York. So, also, is Kentucky. So that if it be said that New York is an importer of such provisions, and therefore consumes more than her production indicates, what is to be said of Ohio which exports them all. Now, in determining the relative comfort of two civilized communities in the same climate, the quantity of animal food they respectively consume, is a well established criterion. Yet here is a State in the warmer climate consuming the greater proportion. For when it is considered that the hog is killed for food at the age of eighteen months or two years, and neat cattle at five or six years, it will appear that the excess of animal food in Virginia or Kentucky over New York or Ohio is quite large,—is quite large, indeed, even if we include the slave as well as the free population of the former States.

A reference to the quality of breadstuffs and other vegetable food, leads to the same conclusion. Virginia is the largest producer of wheat, the finest and costliest material of bread, of any State, according to population. * Her crop of 1840 was 10,109,716 bushels; that of New York was only 12,286,418; of Ohio, 16,571,661. All these are wheat exporting, as well as wheat consuming States; but still the great mass of that article must be consumed in the respective States of its production. In proportion to her white population, Virginia produces twenty-five per cent. of wheat more than Ohio, and two hundred per cent. more than New York. How is the deficiency supplied in New York! Not by importation, but by the substitution of potatoes, that cheapest article of vegetable food, to which the misfortunes or improvidence of Ireland have driven her. New York, instead of producing her proportion of wheat with Virginia, which would be thirty-five millions of bushels, instead of twelve, produces annually thirty millions of bushels of potatoes; and it is remarkable that Virginia, with nearly half a million of slaves, instead of resorting to this cheap food for them, produces only about three millions of

bushels of potatoes, and provides her negroes with corn, of which her annual crop is about 34,500,000 of bushels, and which is a much more costly and substantial article of food. The tendency manifested by New York to prefer the cultivation of the cheapest, but the more precarious and less nourishing article of vegetable food, is also distinctly visible in all the Northern States, and is a fact which always deserves to be considered in any estimate of their present and future comfort.* In Massachusetts agriculture is rapidly declining; particularly the production of the finer sorts of breadstuffs—a fact which is admitted and lamented by one of her leading papers—the Boston Atlas. The following statements are from the official returns of the State:

| | Bush. Wheat. | Ind. Corn. | Barley. | Rye. | Buckwheat. | Potatoes. |
|------------|--------------|------------|---------|---------|------------|-----------|
| 1840..... | 210,000 | 2,203,000 | 156,000 | 563,000 | 102,000 | 4,850,000 |
| 1845..... | 48,000 | 1,985,000 | 121,931 | 447,000 | 32,000 | 4,767,000 |
| Decrease.. | 162,000 | 218,000 | 34,079 | 116,000 | 70,000 | 83,000 |

Of course it is not pretended that States of a commercial and manufacturing character chiefly, should produce as much from the soil, in proportion to population, as the agricultural. But the articles they do produce, and their proportions to each other, indicate the quality of food at least of the agricultural population. Hence it appears that the farmers of Massachusetts consume but little wheat bread, and use rye, indian corn, and potatoes, as substitutes.†

I think now that if anything can be shown by facts, I have demonstrated the superior wealth of the citizens of the South over those of the North in proportion to their respective numbers; and this, by

* The census of 1850 shows the same superiority in this particular, as follows:
 Editor.

| | 1850. Neat Cattle. | Hogs. | Population, white. | Total population. |
|---------------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| Virginia..... | 1,076,269 | 1,829,848 | 894,800 | 1,421,661 |
| Kentucky..... | 752,512 | 2,891,163 | 761,413 | 982,405 |
| New York..... | 1,877,639 | 1,018,252 | 3,048,325 | 3,097,394 |
| Ohio..... | 1,358,947 | 1,964,770 | 1,955,050 | 1,980,329 |

† Here, again, the census of 1850 will be found to sustain the positions of Mr. Fisher:

| | Wheat, bush. | Corn, bush. | Potatoes, bush. |
|--------------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|
| Virginia..... | 11,213,616 | 35,254,319 | 3,130,567 |
| New York..... | 13,121,498 | 17,858,400 | 15,403,997 |
| Massachusetts..... | 31,211 | 2,345,490 | 3,585,484 |
| Ohio..... | 14,487,351 | 59,078,895 | 5,245,760 |
| Kentucky..... | 2,142,822 | 58,672,591 | 2,490,666 |

The following comparisons will be found of much interest, and sustains the conclusions above:

| To each person. | Non-slaveholding States. | Slaveholding States. |
|---|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| Horses, asses, and mules....number..... | .17 | .27 |
| Cows, oxen, and other cattle..do..... | .64 | .95 |
| Sheep and swine.....do..... | 1.80 | 2.84 |
| Bushels wheat, rye, barley, and buckwheat.... | 7.31 | 3.11 |
| “ corn..... | 18.06 | 36.12 |
| “ potatoes..... | 4.39 | 4.64 |
| “ peas and beans..... | .11 | .79 |

comparing the less prosperous of the South with the most flourishing of the North. And I think I have shown the South to be the most fortunate in the distribution or equalization of wealth as well as in its acquisition. At all events, I have rescued the controversy between the two sections, from the control of bold assertion and slipshod declamation, and confided it to the umpirage of argument and document.

There are some who sneer at statistics, and assert that anything can be proved by them. But such expressions, I think, are peculiar to those who deal in assertion chiefly, and find it unpleasant to be answered with facts. For statistics are nothing but collections of facts. I admit that fact themselves may be powerless or pernicious to a mind not logical nor philosophical enough to comprehend and classify them. But in relation to the affairs of this world at least, I ask with the English philosophic poet,

"What can we reason but from what we *know*."

Facts constitute the great restraint on the imposition of interests, the dogmatism of fanatics and bigots, the fallacies of the vulgar, the prejudices of the sectional, and the dreams of enthusiasts. Facts are the tests of systems, the landmarks of progress, the harvest of time, the elemental particles of truth.

But it is peculiarly important to resort to statistics on this question, because they are so much employed and perverted on the other side. From the speech of the Senator to the column of the Editor we are continually assailed with statistical comparisons between the North and South, derogatory to the latter. In 1839 Daniel Webster presented in a speech to the Senate, in praise of Massachusetts, an official statement of her annual products, which amounted to nearly \$100,000,000, which he characterized as the yearly fruit of her industry and capital. This would strike every mind as evidence of great productiveness and profit in a State of her population; since the annual product of Virginia is only about seventy millions. But on scrutinizing the Massachusetts statement, it is found that Webster included as the product of her industry, the raw material employed in her manufactures obtained from other States; the raw cotton, the wool, the raw hides, the dye stuffs, etc., etc.*

* NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—An assessment of property in Virginia, in 1856, showed the most gratifying improvement since 1850, the date of the statistics we have been using. The Richmond Examiner, after a careful digest of the returns, remarks: "The aggregate exhibits an increase over the assessment of 1850 of \$101,617,000."

It might be well to observe that a very elaborate reply to Mr. Fisher was undertaken through the columns of the National Era, in 1849, by some one who signs himself "A Carolinian," and who in his persevering efforts to malign and traduce his native region succeeded at last in bringing himself within the reach of the old proverb. We trust, however, that the colors assumed were but false as the mortification is sufficient which the last Presidential election brought us, in the person of one of its candidates, to suffice for the present century.

Whoever this "Carolinian" was, and we have his pamphlet before us, the reader can judge how far he can be entitled to serious consideration, when it is stated that, at the very basis of one of his most irresistible and conclusive arguments, the following paragraph appears:

A SOUTHERN PARTY AND SOUTHERN PRINCIPLES.

It may be that the present party organizations are sufficient to maintain and perpetuate the rights of the South. They were found so in the past four years, and there is yet nothing to indicate that they will not in the four years to come. Considering the pressure, however, from without, prudence would at least dictate the utmost vigilance, and the consideration of such measures of protection as are proposed, and seem to be within reach, in the event of an unhappy disappointment in our reasonable hopes.

We, therefore, furnish our readers with a part of the preamble of a public meeting lately held in Louisiana.

"In the affairs of our nation at this time stands one question pre-eminently conspicuous and overshadowing all others—that is, the conflict of the South against Northern aggression—a contest which we desire not, but which we cannot shun. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the many acts of Northern enmity; nor to particularize offences. Nullifications of the decrees of the United States Supreme Court, and the murder of United States officials in the execution of federal laws enacted for the protection of Southern rights, are acts which have been perpetrated in Northern States by Northern men, and obtained sanction by Northern Legislatures. Grants of money to Northern companies to wage war upon Southern people, are facts which disgrace the records of Northern State assemblies. We need go no further. Every mail brings you news that should warn you of impending danger. Certainly does it behoove us, most urgently, to provide the means of defence. We ask no favors—no concessions; all we require is justice—is independence—and this we must have. But will a free-soil Administration grant us justice? Nay, rather will it not trample upon our rights? And is not this free-soil party now so strong as to make success almost certain in the next election for the Presidency? This, we fear, is too true; but, while yet doubtful let us use all diligence, and strain every nerve to prevent it; and if, in this unsuccessful, at least to place ourselves in the best attitude of defence. To do this, it becomes necessary to consolidate the strength of the Southern people. There are no causes which should operate to prevent our cohesion. Points of past contention must be made to yield to the object in view. We look upon it not only as a matter of policy, but as one of necessity, and to obtain which we are in duty bound to make sacrifices. It is impossible to blend influences under any party retaining, in toto, its ancient aspect.

"Massachusetts has bank stock to the value of \$32,000,000, which is more than the total value of real and personal estate in South Carolina, exclusive of slaves, that is to say, more than the accumulated labor of that State."

Now is such ignorance conceivable in any intellect assumed to be above the level of actual idocy, unless perverted by the basest passions. "Thirty-three millions of dollars, which is more than the value" of the real and personal property, etc. The city of Charleston alone, with one-fourteenth of the population of the State, had, in 1854, \$23,000,000 invested in real estate, to say nothing of the merchandize in her stores, her bank, and railroad stocks, and her other property, which would certainly make up the amount of \$32,000,000. The cash value of the farms alone of the State in 1850, amounted to \$82,431,684; and of farming materials to \$4,136,354; total \$86,568,038, add to this the property of all the plantations, exclusively of slaves, the merchandize of all the towns, villages, cities, all of the internal improvements, bank stocks, shipping, furniture, plate, horses, carriages, etc., etc., and we have the figures which are stated by the "Carolinian" at less than \$32,000,000! Comment is idle.

Besides diversities of principles, feelings have been engendered by political strife which must render fusion impossible or ineffective. Political exigencies require, too, a modified organization under which the national question of 'Southern rights' must be made first and superior to all others, and exclusive of old and obsolete issues which have been retained only to subserve the purposes of partisan leaders. While, however, asserting determination to maintain our rights, let it be understood that we claim nothing that the terms of our federal compact do not bestow, and that we are ready to acknowledge the rights and to assist our Northern brethren in obtaining every benefit which can accrue to them from the operation of laws consistent with the Constitution. We therefore propose an organization as free from sectionalism as is possible within the law—not exclusive—contending for 'Southern rights.' We would not call this a Southern party. We propose a name more comprehensive, more fraternal, and which is perfectly inoffensive and peculiarly expressive of our purposes. We suggest the term Constitutional."

VISIONS OF AMERICAN PROGRESS.

By the force of events the United States will, in the end, have attained a population of a hundred millions. They will extend their population, their Constitution, their culture, and their spirit over all Central and South America, as they have recently extended them over the border provinces of Mexico. The Federal bond will unite all those immense countries, a gross population of several hundred millions will develop the power and the resources of a continent, the extent and the natural wealth of which, vastly exceed those of Europe. The maritime power of the western world will then exceed that of Europe in the same proportion as its sea-coasts and rivers surpass the sea-coasts and rivers of Europe in size and grandeur.

At no very distant period, then, the same necessity that now urges the European powers to establish a continental alliance against British supremacy, will make it necessary for the English to organize an European coalition against the supremacy of America. Great Britain will then seek and find in the control of the United European powers, her security against the *preponderance of America*, and an indemnity for her lost supremacy. England will act wisely if she accustoms herself in good time to the idea of resigning her supremacy, and she secures by timely concessions the friendship of the European States, among whom, she must soon be content to hold the place of "first among equals."

Some may imagine, that as we were seventeen millions in 1840, and twenty-three and a quarter millions in 1850, we are now about twenty-seven millions, but this number is below the truth.

The following official table has been communicated by the Secretary of the Treasury to accompany this annual report on the finances:

| | Population. | Real and personal wealth. |
|---------------------------|-------------|---------------------------|
| Alabama..... | 835,192 | \$179,233,087 |
| Arkansas..... | 253,117 | 64,240,726 |
| California..... | 335,000 | 165,000,000 |
| Connecticut..... | 401,202 | 203,759,831 |
| Delaware..... | 97,295 | 30,466,924 |
| Florida..... | 110,725 | 49,461,481 |
| Georgia..... | 935,090 | 550,000,000 |
| Illinois..... | 1,242,911 | 333,237,474 |
| Indiana..... | 1,119,606 | 301,858,474 |
| Iowa..... | 325,014 | 110,000,000 |
| Kentucky..... | 1,086,587 | 411,000,198 |
| Louisiana..... | 600,387 | 270,425,000 |
| Maine..... | 623,863 | 131,128,186 |
| Maryland..... | 639,500 | 261,243,260 |
| Massachusetts..... | 1,133,123 | 579,936,995 |
| Michigan..... | 509,374 | 116,593,680 |
| Mississippi..... | 671,640 | 251,525,000 |
| Missouri..... | 831,215 | 223,948,731 |
| New Hampshire..... | 324,701 | 103,824,326 |
| New Jersey..... | 569,499 | 179,750,000 |
| New York..... | 3,470,059 | 1,390,154,625 |
| North Carolina..... | 921,853 | 239,603,372 |
| Ohio..... | 2,215,750 | 860,877,354 |
| Pennsylvania..... | 2,542,960 | 1,081,731,304 |
| Rhode Island..... | 166,928 | 98,699,850 |
| South Carolina..... | 705,661 | 303,434,641 |
| Tennessee..... | 1,082,470 | 321,776,840 |
| Texas..... | 500,000 | 240,000,000* |
| Vermont..... | 325,206 | 91,164,680 |
| Virginia..... | 1,512,593 | 530,994,897 |
| Wisconsin..... | 552,109 | 87,500,000 |
| District of Columbia..... | 59,000 | 25,568,738 |
| Minnesota..... | 65,000 | 20,000,000 |
| New Mexico..... | 88,500 | 7,250,000 |
| Oregon..... | 36,000 | 7,775,000 |
| Washington..... | 5,500 | 1,650,000 |
| Utah..... | 39,000 | 4,250,000 |
| Kansas..... | 11,000 | 2,350,000 |
| Nebraska..... | 4,500 | 1,235,644 |
| | 26,964,312 | \$9,817,611,072 |

Add for property not valued—

For under valuations and for the rise in the value of
property since 1850..... 1,500,000,000

\$11,317,611,072†

Now this is manifestly incorrect, as we have increased about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum for the last sixty years, which for seven years gone by, since the last census, would add about one-fourth to our population, making it now nearly 29,000,000.

Alabama is set down in the above at 835,192 for 1856, a pretty good guess, *for eighteen hundred and fifty-five*; see Legislative Report, &c. The estimate of the Legislature of

* The valuation of the census of 1850 was \$7,066,562,966.—Ed.

† The population of Texas in 1857 is nearer 600,000.—Ed.

Arkansas in 1854 and 1855, was 278,000, and now she probably numbers 300,000.

California's population in 1852, according to the census taken that year, was 308,471, but now it is probably 400,000. The number assigned to Massachusetts is her population in 1854-'5. The last report made it 1,188,000, now, perhaps, 1,200,000. The legislative report of '55 gave Georgia 930,000. The number is probably near 950,000. The State census of '55 gave Illinois 1,302,000, and proved the remarkable fact that Illinois doubled every ten years. The Governor of Iowa, in his report to the Legislature of that State, says the returns give (June, '56,) 503,000; but they are incomplete, it should be 550,000, and now near 600,000. The legislative report of '56 makes Louisiana's population to be 588,000; now she is near 600,000. The legislative report of '54 gave Michigan 499,000; now she is 625,000, or thereabouts. The recent census of Missouri gave her over 900,000. The figures for New York's are those of the census of '55.

As for the value of the real and personal property of the United States, the sum total we have divided among the several States and Territories, and increased Virginia's wealth to \$800,000,000, that being her worth according to her Governor, the incomplete returns giving her \$782,000,000.

It will thus be seen that instead of the small sum of twenty-seven millions, our real population is twenty-nine millions, an increase based upon our past increase, and which will make our population amount to 31,000,000 and over in 1860.

Ten years hence we will exceed in numbers, France, Austria, and every other country on the globe, with the exception of the colossal Empires of Russia and China, and will exert an irresistible influence greater than that of any empire, state, or kingdom, either in the past or present.

The sum of the wealth and numbers may be generalized thus:

| | Pop. in 1857. | 1850. | Area.* | Density. | Wealth. |
|-------------------|---------------|------------|-----------|----------|------------------|
| 16 Free States.. | 17,340,000 | 13,650,754 | 642,089 | 27 | \$6,565,000,000 |
| 15 Slave States.. | 11,190,000 | 9,468,749 | 860,773 | 13 | 4,933,000,000 |
| Territories..... | 470,000 | 143,985 | 1,746,138 | | 102,000,000 |
| | 29,000,000 | 23,263,488 | 3,250,000 | | \$11,600,000,000 |

* The writer's figures of area are incorrect. If he will consult the *Compendium of the Census*, they will be thus corrected on the authority of the Topographical Bureau:

| | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Non-slaveholding States..... | 612,597 square miles. |
| Slaveholding States..... | 851,508 " |
| Unorganized Territories..... | 1,499,561 " |
| Total..... | 2,966,666 |

The average distribution of wealth is in the Northern States \$378 a head, and in the Southern States \$440, and in the Territories, &c., \$217. In Rhode Island it is about \$600. It is over \$500 in Massachusetts, Maryland, Virginia, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and near \$500 in New York, New Jersey, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.

The States that had a million of souls in 1850 were few, now there are many, and we estimate them thus in 1860:

| | | | |
|---------------------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|
| New York..... | 3,750,000 | Kentucky | 1,225,000 |
| Pennsylvania..... | 3,000,000 | Tennessee..... | 1,160,000 |
| Ohio | 2,550,000 | Missouri..... | 1,100,000 |
| Illinois | 1,750,000 | Georgia..... | 1,000,000 |
| Virginia..... | 1,625,000 | North Carolina..... | 1,000,000 |
| Indiana..... | 1,375,000 | Iowa..... | 1,000,000 |
| Massachusetts | 1,300,000 | Wisconsin..... | 1,000,000 |

With Alabama treading close on their heels.

This country cannot without great renown run the common race of national existence; our situation, our language, our laws, our literature, and our civilization are peculiar, and favor a marked and distinct course. We have not the apologies of nations, hemmed in by narrow bounds, or threatened by the overshadowing power of ambitious neighbors. Our path on the page of history will be one resplendent track of light, or like the Eagles course in mid-air—

“Upward and onward true to the line.”

With a country embracing the best portion of the globe, situated midway between Europe and Asia, with an area so extensive, that while it is morn on our western border (Astoria) it is noon on our eastern limit (Eastport.) We have the means within ourselves, if we rightfully use them, of ruling an obedient world.

We can now look back over our past studies like one who having gained the towering summit of a barren mountain, retraces with inquiring eye the weary leagues that he has travelled in his toilsome journey, and casts a look ahead to see what he has to expect.

So we can judge of the future by the past!

At the rate in which we are increasing, in 1876, we will number over 50,000,000; and at the close of this century, we will be about 100,000,000.*

When we shall arrive at an uniform density as great as

* In the compendium of the census we estimated the population of the United States in 1900, at 72,000,000, supposing the Union continued to exist and no great convulsions occurred. Of this number we calculated that 20,000,000 would occupy the Atlantic slope, 11,000,000 the Pacific slope, 7,000,000 to the gulf region, and 32,000,000 the valley of the Mississippi. It was also suggested that the number might reach as much as 100,000,000.—Ed.

Europe, our wealth will be counted by tens of thousands of millions of dollars, and if our civil and religious liberty remains the same as it is at the present time, the science of government will be brought to such perfection, that the vast machinery of State will move with beautiful and wonderful harmony in all its complicated parts.

Another singular fact is also apparent, that the centre of population is slowly tending to the north-west. At the first census it was near the present seat of the Federal Government, and it has silently and slowly passed since, through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, and into Ohio, and is now north-west of the city of Columbus, and in about twenty years, will cross the Mississippi near Rock Island.

How great the change in that eventful century, from the small band of rebel patriots that met in the Continental Congress, to guide the struggling colonies to the haven of freedom to the

"Deep statesmen skilled in deep design,"

who will meet beyond the Great Father of Waters, to give law to tens of millions of freemen!

The centre of industrial wealth is at present near the City of Pittsburgh, and is also slowly progressing westward, and the two will probably unite near the intersection of the 45th parallel of North latitude and the 19th meridian of longitude, west from Washington, about the year 2,000, where they will probably remain, and a capitol of an enormous population will arise far exceeding London as London has exceeded Rome, or any other ancient or modern capitol!

They will then be half way from the Equator and the Pole and half way from the Atlantic and the Pacific! Then the delegate from volcanic Iceland will meet the delegate from what the Spaniards have aptly termed the "burning furnace," and the representative from the now unknown and far off peninsula of Alaska, will set down with the luxurious inhabitant of the peninsula of Florida, or the enervated son of the windward Islands! A confederation then of five hundred million of freemen, will give laws to an obedient world!

This country cannot have a density like the reputed one of China, of near 300 to a square mile, but will probably be equal or greater than that of Europe, of say 75 to a square mile. And allowing 2,500,000 square miles for the deserts and the frozen regions of the extreme north, the balance, 8,000,000, will then have a population of near 500,000,000 of souls; and if they have the same head, the same laws, the same tongue, and the same God, it will be the sublimest spectacle on this revolving ball!

Our steps in the path of Empire will be thus :

| | | |
|--------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Area in 1790 | 816,292 sq. miles. | 3,929,827 population. |
| " " 1800 | 816,292 | 5,305,941 |
| " " 1810 | 2,005,650 | 7,239,814 |
| " " 1820 | 2,005,650 | 9,638,191 |
| " " 1830 | 2,064,518 | 12,186,020 |
| " " 1840 | 2,064,518 | 17,069,452 |
| " " 1850 | 3,221,595 | 23,263,488 |
| " " 2000 | 8,500,000* | 500,000,000 |

Future nations, in the coming time, when they behold the strides that we have made, are making, and are to make on the page of history, will surely say that such a people were, without doubt, the greatest people in the world !

Well hath the poet prophetically sung :

"Thy reign is the last and the noblest of time—
On Freedom's broad basis thy sway shall arise,
Extend with the main, and dissolve with the skies!"

SOUTHRON.

LOUISVILLE, KY., *June*, 1857.

YANKEE COLONIZATION OF THE SOUTH.

We have referred to the scheme of Eli Thayer, who, from some corner in New England, proposes to descend upon Virginia, and bring with him a colony of live abolitionists to regenerate that worthy old commonwealth, and bring her tip to the standard of excellence of Plymouth Rock and Martha's Vineyard. It would seem that Mr. Thayer has more firm friends and admirers at the South than he imagined, as the following warm and inimitable invitation extended to his colony will evince. With the writer's definition of *Yankee*, we entirely concur. It is only in that sense admitted into the Review, for God forbid that friends and enemies should ever be confounded together.

"HEAD WATERS TADPOLE NAVIGATION, YAZOO SWAMP, }
"Mississippi, *June* 15, 1857. }

"HON. ELI THAYER :

"DEAR SIR: Having seen a notice to the effect that you were forming a society with the avowed object of colonizing and renovating the worn-out lands lying on the tide waters of Eastern Virginia. Now, sir, the object of this communication is to invite you and your Yankee colonists to the more fertile lands lying on the Yazoo river, a description of which may not be unnecessary. The Yazoo river is a very small, narrow, muddy stream of great length, and with as many bends, crooks, winds, and twists, as are in a Yankee conscience, winding its way through one of the most fertile and productive regions of country in the world.

* For the exact accretions of area, and the present amount, see *Comp. Census*, p. 32.—EDITOR.

Upon either side of the river lie immense bodies of uncleared lands, thickly set with a dense forest, in which you find trees of every description and of gigantic proportions. Underneath this growth you will find the tall, rank, blue cane, growing as thick as the sins of a Yankee preacher. Intermingled with this you will find the tie vine and bamboo. So you see that in the summer months, when the forest is in thick foliage, there night holds her regal sway, and unbridled nature reigns supreme.

"The spontaneous productions are such as to conduce to the comfort and happiness of every Yankee. Among the most choice are alligators, turtles, buffalo gnats, mosquitoes, and other delicacies sufficiently inviting to tickle the most fastidious appetite of the most dainty Yankee. On the cultivated lands grow to perfection, string-beans, onions, and 'pumpkins;' the latter grow to a fabulous size, one being sufficiently large to house Eli Thayer and his colonists the first winter, and feed them some. You need not fear the attacks of mosquitoes, as it is well known that the blood of the Yankees, on the coast, from the river St. Johns to Cape Cod, has become so thin and poor, from severe cold, hunger, and ague fever, that the mosquito would starve to death in the vain endeavor to draw nourishment, while, on the other hand, the Yankee would fatten on swamp malaria, and live for ever.

"Now this portion of the Yazoo Swamp is not adapted to either white folks, negroes or mules, and we presume it would therefore be a fine country to grow string-beans, onions, 'pumpkins,' and Yankees.

"Should you conclude to come, you must accede to the following propositions:

"1. You must leave your kind of morals in the land of steady habits, as we do not tolerate Kallorchism here.

"2. You must not color and trim the leaves off the pumpkin vines and sell them for bailing rope.

"3. You must not cheat or corrupt our negroes.

"4. On your entrance into the State, you and all your Yankee colonists must take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, as we do not tolerate treason here.

"In using the term Yankee, in this communication, we mean to apply it to that species of the human race who foster in their hearts lying, hypocrisy, deceit, and treason, the British-loving Yankee, and not the law-abiding, national men at the North.

Your ob't servant,

"YAZOO SWAMPER."

ARKANSAS.

All accounts represent that a rapid increase is going on in the settlement and development of Arkansas, for which, it has undoubted advantages. In the last twelve months over a quarter of a million of acres of land have been entered by new and enterprising settlers. Population—

| | White. | Free colored. | Slave. | Total |
|-----------|---------|---------------|--------|---------|
| 1820..... | 12,579 | 59 | 1,617 | 14,278 |
| 1830..... | 25,671 | 141 | 4,576 | 30,388 |
| 1840..... | 77,174 | 465 | 19,935 | 97,574 |
| 1850..... | 162,189 | 608 | 47,100 | 209,897 |

In 1857 the total cannot be short of 300,000 persons. Absolute debt of the State in 1855, \$1,506,017; contingent liability, \$1,813,579. Eight millions acres of swamp lands were donated to the State by Congress, much of which may be reclaimed. Taxable property, \$55,377,384; State tax, \$146,488.

In 1828 the western boundary of Arkansas was changed by the Federal Government, and a very large slice of that territory was added to the Cherokee nation. Mr. Benton, in his "Thirty Years in the Senate," bemoans this act of transfer as equivalent to the conversion of so much slave territory into free territory. The fact, however, remains to be proved when the Indian reservation comes to take its place among the States. The excised part was 30 miles by 300 in extent, containing valuable salt springs. "Territorially, and in mere extent, the western portion was the best part of the territory, agriculturally, and in capacity for population, it might be equal to half of the whole territory."

A correspondent of one of our Northern journals has thus written in regard to the present state of things in Arkansas:

"Beginning with the northeastern portion, he describes it as one of the best corn, grass, and stock-growing regions in all the Southern country, though, owing to the want of market facilities, it has till lately attracted but little notice. It was, also, particularly unfortunate in its early settlers. Ishmaels of old, without means or love for civilized life, the wilderness is their home; they scorn the city and the multitude; neither have they house or lands; wherever night or chance overtakes them, they pitch their tents and herd their flocks; 'and when the railroad starts, they will start also, to go whither it cannot come,' so strong is their love for semi-civilized life, so great their aversion to improvement of whatever kind.

"Northwest Arkansas is mountainous, the river valleys narrow, rarely more than two or three hundred yards wide. The soil, however, is fertile. Admirably adapted to pasturage and general tillage, it makes the most beautiful and productive farms in the Southwest, where peace, and joy, and contentment dwell. On the high land, too, or more properly the hills, are fertile and well-watered fields, good for raising wheat and other small grains, as well as for general tillage and pasturage. This part of Arkansas has the advantage in health; its waters are clear, pure, and cool, and valuable minerals—marble, slate, and lead—abound. White river and its forks water this whole region; made navigable, as they easily might be, they would soon develop the inexhaustible resources of this portion of the State.

"The cotton-growing region of Arkansas is south of the base line.

"It is true, cotton is raised as high up as Jacksonport, on White river, but the southern part of the State is justly considered as the region adapted to cotton. And for the production of this great staple, the lands of the Mississippi, White, Arkansas, Onachita and Red rivers, are not surpassed. Their

richness and productiveness are too well known for me to attempt to say anything more in their favor. These streams are rendered navigable in the spring of the year by rains, and the melting of the snows in the mountains above, and not until then the greatest part of the cotton goes to market. But, in order that they may ship their cotton as soon as it is ready, they are building a railroad from Fulton, on Red river, to Gaines' Landing, on the Mississippi. And to remove a like difficulty, (to which the Arkansas river is subject,) they have been talking of a road from Little Rock to Napoleon, at the mouth of the Arkansas.

"The writer adds that there are a vast number of acres of cotton lands in Arkansas not yet brought into cultivation."

INALIENABILITY OF SLAVES.

The views of the author of the following article are substantially those propounded very lately, in his annual message, by Governor Adams, of South Carolina.* Our own opinions are different. We believe that any tampering whatever, with the relations now subsisting between the master and the slave, and which involves the idea of full and complete property, would be unfortunate, and effect more of evil than of good. Time and discussion, and the necessities of the world, will but add strength to that relation; and it is a good old rule, which may always safely be observed, to "let well enough alone."

So long as the excitement which attending the Presidential election existed, every good citizen of the South was keenly alive to the danger which menaced their domestic institutions.

It has passed as a sudden fever, and an apathy supervenes which it would be well to shake off, and prepare ourselves against a relapse to the disease.

The better genius of the Republic is, for the time, paramount; but a calm survey of the facts and incidents of the contest—the narrow escape from a disastrous defeat—the uncertainty of our supremacy—the directness of the issue made, are matters for the gravest consideration, and they may well serve as another lesson in the history of States, wherefrom they should learn to profit, and to use their success wisely.

We will not analyze the statistics of the recent canvass to weary the reader. We simply assume that the contest was a close one, and the

* Says Governor Adams: "The outward pressure against the institution of slavery should prompt us to do all we can to fortify it within. Diffusion is strength—concentration, weakness. Our true policy is to diffuse the slave population as much as possible, and thus secure in the whole community the motive of self-interest for its support. I have no doubt of the inherent ability of the institution to maintain itself against all assaults. It is the basis of our political organism, and it would not be difficult to show that the poorest white man among us is directly concerned in its preservation; but the argument of self-interest is easy of comprehension and sure of action. I recommend the passage of a law exempting from sale (under contracts to be hereafter entered into) at least one slave. Such an immunity would stimulate every one to exert himself to possess his family at least of a property in some degree above the casualties of debt. As you multiply the number who acquire the property, so you will widen and deepen the determination to sustain the institution."

escape from the dominance of a serious majority a narrow one, and that the avowed object of the defeated party was the overthrow of domestic slavery by means *within or without the Constitution*.

The object of this writing is to direct public attention, at the South, to the propriety of a policy of using all legitimate conservative means within their power, and that immediately, to secure the permanence of Southern institutions, and the hospitality of the Southern States. We repeat, our wish is merely to unite the consideration of our people and politicians to a simply conservative measure by which abolition will be disarmed of its weapons, whilst we will gather strength, security, stability, support, and sympathy from abroad.

We propose that our legislatures should make *all slaves inalienable by forced seizure and sale, and that any free white citizen owning a slave free from incumbrance of mortgage or lein, such property should become his and his children's forever.*

I claim, for the incorporation of such a principle into the organic law of the Southern States, the following obvious advantages:

1st. It will attach the master to the slave by a double tie, for he will hold them in trust for his children, and thus there will exist every inducement for their good treatment and preservation.

2d. It will attach, with equal interest, the slave to his master; for when a slave knows that he will belong to his owner during life, and his children and his children's children to his master's descendants, his feelings of security, of dependance, of reliance, and attachment will be fostered to the fullest extent.

3d. It will offer to every man among us the strong inducement to become a slave-owner, for what man could not, with common industry, accumulate sufficient money to purchase in a few years a single slave, or a family of slaves? and what man who desires the name could fail to be industrious when assured that his wife and child could be, by his own effort, secured from want?

As corollary to this, every man living in a slave State would have an interest, direct and abiding, in the existence and the perpetuity of domestic slavery.

4th. It would, by withdrawing slaves as forming a basis of credit, contribute to the solvency and independence of the South.

5th. It would conciliate the opinion of foreign States, who, from ignorance or prejudice, oppose our institutions, and would take from our enemies the strongest appeal they make to us, known to be false as to effect, but is, to those who do not understand the facts, frequently a strong objection, to wit: the separation of parent from child, and wife from husband.

6th. It is not improbable that others of the United States now free, would, for the benefits of such a system, reintroduce slavery where servants are becoming scarce.

The objections to such a system would, perhaps, be urged, that it would be aristocratic; but not so. There can be no aristocracy without primogeniture. Slaves would be distinguished among heirs under such regulations of law as would best subserve the institution of such a system.

Neither would such a law be retroactive in effect, but might, with due regard to existing contrasts, be so regulated as to go into operation as rapidly as such property could be freed of debt. Slaves might also be made sequestrable, during the life of the owner, owing any sum in judgment.

Such a law is entirely distinct, and wholly different in principle from so called exemption laws, which, to our mind, are seldom productive of benefits to the State or the citizen.

AMOUNT EXPENDED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, 1855-6.

As promised in our last, we furnish the list of expenditures from the report of the Secretary of the Treasury :

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|
| Civil list..... | \$5,916,429 |
| Foreign Intercourse..... | 3,618,891 |
| Interior Department expenditure..... | 3,872,826 |
| War do. do. | 16,948,196 |
| Navy do. do. | 14,077,047 |
| Public debt..... | 12,776,390 |
| Miscellaneous..... | 15,739,010 |

The civil list includes the expenditures of the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Departments. We regret that the books included in the first item are not valued, and that the cost of the public printing is also omitted. An analysis of this branch of the national statistics would perfectly astound the unsophisticated. It is an evil that seems to have no check, and will go on increasing to the end of the chapter, stimulated as it is by the cupidity of individuals, and by the electioneering necessities of partisans. The receipt of a book, gratis, is supposed to be the price of a vote; or at all events, woe to that member, politically, who is not lavish in such distribution. "Books, not speeches, is the cry." The people want information. A book is a book, if there be nothing in it. A bad book, rather than none. In this respect, at least, the public are not likely to be disappointed. No other qualification is necessary, in most cases, for a Government book-maker, upon subjects ever so recondite—commerce, agriculture, statistics, ethnology, physical sciences, etc., except a fair political record, and a strong friend or two at court. In our great country everybody is capable of everything. It is not only in this that we reverse the experiences of all the world. If the people ask bread, shall we give them a stone? At best, there are not loaves and fishes for so great a multitude. Would we advocate darkness rather than noonday light?

CIVIL LIST.

| | |
|---|----------------|
| Legislative, including books..... | \$2,000,362 22 |
| Executive..... | 2,055,125 07 |
| Judiciary..... | 1,228,338 93 |
| Governments in the territories of the United States..... | 272,693 63 |
| Surveyors and their clerks..... | 189,819 98 |
| Officers of the mint and branches, and assay office in New York | 101,666 68 |
| Assistant treasurers and their clerks..... | 40,758 26 |
| Supervising and local inspectors, &c..... | 78,169 90 |

214 AMOUNT EXPENDED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

The FOREIGN INTERCOURSE, in addition to the figures given below, includes office rent at Basle, \$50; at Zurich, \$100; Consul at Beyrout, \$100; interpreters, &c. in Turkey, \$797; contingency, \$50.

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Salaries of ministers, chargés des affaires, &c..... | 110,237 19 |
| Salaries of secretaries of legation..... | 18,679 88 |
| Commissioner to the Sandwich Islands..... | 5,750 00 |
| Salaries of consuls..... | 118,324 21 |
| Dragoman to Turkey..... | 2,375 00 |
| Interpreter and secretary of mission to China..... | 2,500 00 |
| Contingent expenses of all the missions abroad..... | 73,977 38 |
| Contingent expenses of foreign intercourse..... | 30,130 50 |
| Intercourse with the Barbary powers..... | 5,677 86 |
| Relief and protection of American seamen..... | 136,283 99 |
| Purchase of blank books, stationery, &c., for consuls of the United States..... | 20,000 00 |
| To reimburse E. Riddle, money expended by him at Industrial Exhibition, London..... | 11,871 05 |
| Expenses of releasing from captivity among the Indians of Queen Charlotte island the crew and passengers of the sloop Georgiana..... | 8,935 30 |
| To defray expenses in complying with the resolution of the House of Representatives of December 14, 1853, calling for a statement of the privileges and restrictions of foreign intercourse with the United States, &c..... | 5,000 00 |
| Expenses in acknowledging the services of masters and crews of foreign vessels in rescuing American citizens, &c., from shipwreck..... | 5,995 52 |
| Awards under the 15th article of treaty between the United States and Mexico, of February 2, 1848..... | 50,122 09 |
| To fulfil the 3d article of treaty between the United States and the Mexican Republic, of December 13, 1853..... | 3,000,000 00 |
| Boats and other incidental expenses connected with the duties of commissioner, under first article of reciprocity treaty with Great Britain..... | 9,777 14 |
| Carrying into effect the convention upon the subject of claims between the United States and her Britannic Majesty, of February 8, 1853..... | 2,067 46 |

Under MISCELLANEOUS, the most important articles will be found in the following list:

| | | | |
|--|-----------|---|-----------|
| Mint..... | \$521,002 | Drawbacks, &c..... | 567,359 |
| Safe-keeping revenue..... | 41,425 | Support of light houses... | 901,478 |
| Coast Survey..... | 420,004 | Building " "... | 831,316 |
| Mail service for the Departments..... | 200,000 | New custom houses.... | 1,415,046 |
| Mail service for Congress.. | 625,000 | Collecting customs at San Francisco..... | 65,070 |
| " deficiency general.... | 2,294,368 | Collecting revenue f'm lands | 374,400 |
| " steam to Vera Cruz.. | 69,750 | Surveys of public lands... | 395,273 |
| " Charleston & Havana | 10,000 | " of California lands. | 203,666 |
| Public buildings in territories..... | 132,070 | Alterations and repairs public buildings in Washington..... | 102,249 |
| Collecting customs revenue | 2,849,958 | Patent fund..... | 185,887 |
| Repayment to interpreters for excess of deposit of duties..... | 1,005,693 | Marine hospital establishment..... | 568,279 |

MISCELLANEOUS.

The other items are as follows:

Mint establishment, \$521,002 78; compensation to special agents to examine books, &c., in the several depositories, \$3,089 40; expenses incident to loans

and treasury notes, \$2,000 00; expenses incident to the issue of \$10,000,000 of stock Texan indemnity, \$289 74; survey of the Florida reefs and keys, \$40,000 00; per centage to messengers, &c., employed in the Coast Survey, \$218 91; fuel and quarters of officers of the army serving in the Coast Survey, \$10,000 00; publishing observations made in the progress of the survey of the coast of the United States, \$15,000 00; payment for horses and other property lost, &c., in the military service of the United States, \$2,257 46; claims not otherwise provided for, \$2,602 35; expenses of the Smithsonian Institution, per act August 10, 1846, \$30,910 14; payment on account of Cherokee Indians remaining in North Carolina, \$3,000 00; results and account of the exploring expedition, \$10,000 00; expenses incurred by the provisional government of Oregon in defending the people of the Territory from the Cayuse Indians, \$9,375 40; debentures and other charges, per act October 16, 1837, \$19,217 77; refunding duties on fish and other articles, under reciprocity treaty with Great Britain, \$133,403 68; refunding duties under the act to extend the warehousing system, \$10,488 10; refunding duties on foreign merchandise imported, \$278,113 91; proceeds of the sales of goods, wares, &c., per act of April 2, 1844, \$2,742 68; salaries of special examiners of drugs and medicines, \$9,057 49; additional compensation to collectors, naval officers, &c., \$7,202 01; life-boats and other means of rendering assistance to wrecked mariners and others on the coast of the United States, \$2,364 02; purchase of metallic surf-boats, to rescue lives and property, \$1,495 20; fuel and quarters for officers of the army serving on light-house duty, \$4,656 27; four additional revenue cutters, \$42,712 26; continuing the survey of the islands on the coast of California, \$40,000 00; continuing the survey of the keys of the coast of Florida, \$30,000 00; salaries and incidental expenses of commissioners to settle land claims in California, \$72,986 20; preparing unfinished records of public and private surveys, \$16,171 04; amount required to graduate and reduce the price of the public lands, \$9,680 65; repayments for lands erroneously sold, \$60,085 55; engraving maps, views, sections, natural history of survey of boundary between the United States and Mexico, \$8,000 00; running and marking the boundary line between the United States and Mexico, \$26,172 21; preservation of the collections of the exploring expedition, \$3,430 00; furnishing rooms in the new wing of the Patent Office building, \$3,000 00; east and west wings of the Patent Office building, \$133,815 57; continuation of the treasury building, \$91,353 01; compensation of public gardener, laborers, gate-keepers, &c., \$20,330 50; compensation and contingent expenses of auxiliary guard, \$23,889 44; collecting agricultural statistics, \$45,000 00; support &c., of transient paupers, \$3,750 00; support, &c., of insane paupers of the District of Columbia, \$20,173 13; penitentiary in the District of Columbia, \$20,129 32; potomac and Eastern branch bridges, compensation of draw-keepers, &c., \$13,524 39; to complete and revise the grades in the city of Washington, \$2,250 00; purchase of site, and erection, &c., of an asylum for the insane of the District of Columbia, \$6,512 00; erection of a lodge for the colored insane, &c., of the District of Columbia, \$12,020 00; furnishing building for use, &c., of United States courts, at Marietta, Ga., \$5,000 00; repairs made and furniture supplied for court-rooms in northern district of New York, \$7,148 81; building for the use of United States courts at Pontitoc, Mississippi, \$4,000 00; furnishing United States court-rooms at Bangor, Maine, \$1,883 25; three per centum to Ohio, \$2,609 04; three per centum to Indiana, \$1,346 80; three per centum to Illinois, \$46,210 86; three per centum to Missouri, \$35,538 47; two and three per centum to Mississippi, \$13,530 38; two and three per centum to Alabama, \$27,158 97; five per centum to Louisiana, \$7,661 02; five per centum to Michigan, \$52,982 68; five per centum to Florida, \$5,811 64; five per centum to Iowa, \$226,873 86; relief of sundry individuals, \$113,059 10; sundry miscellaneous items, \$10,180 65.

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

| | |
|-------------------------|----------------|
| Indian department..... | \$2,598,483 88 |
| Pensions, military..... | 1,179,213 07 |
| Pensions, naval..... | 100,129 69 |

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| Army proper, &c..... | \$12,488,128 42 |
| Military academy..... | 149,822 36 |
| Fortifications and other works of defence..... | 1,209,305 40 |
| Armories, arsenals, &c..... | 939,608 83 |
| Harbors, rivers, roads, &c..... | 444,791 70 |
| Arming and equipping the militia..... | 142,839 09 |
| Pay of volunteers..... | 25,494 22 |
| Extension of the Capitol of the United States..... | 770,000 00 |
| Removing the dome of the Capitol..... | 35,000 00 |
| Continuation of the Post Office building..... | 150,000 00 |
| Continuing the Washington aqueduct..... | 165,000 00 |
| Relief of sundry individuals, and miscellaneous..... | 428,206 87 |
| Pay and subsistence, including medicines, &c..... | 4,296,600 28 |
| Increase, repair, ordnance, and equipments..... | 2,953,481 98 |
| Contingent expenses..... | 815,831 29 |
| Navy yards..... | 1,848,316 16 |
| Hospitals..... | 40,142 41 |
| Magazines..... | 117,028 39 |
| Dry docks..... | 33,684 60 |
| Steam mail service..... | 1,399,284 87 |
| Six steam frigates..... | 1,715,648 11 |
| Marine corps..... | 488,881 28 |
| Relief of sundry individuals, and miscellaneous..... | 368,347 75 |

PUBLIC DEBT.

| | |
|--|---------------|
| Old public debt..... | 1,100 60 |
| Interest on the public debt, including treasury notes..... | 1,953,822 37 |
| Redemption of stock, loan of 1842..... | 385,221 30 |
| Do.....do.....1846..... | 943,500 00 |
| Do.....do.....1847..... | 1,021,600 00 |
| Do.....do.....1848..... | 798,700 00 |
| Redemption of Texan indemnity stock..... | 464,000 00 |
| Redemption of debt contracted by the cities of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria..... | 2,459 68 |
| Redemption of stock issued for 4th and 5th instalments of the Mexican indemnity..... | 242 90 |
| Redemption of Treasury notes which were purloined..... | 53 86 |
| Premium on stock redeemed..... | 385,672 90 |
| Payment of such creditors of Texas as are comprehended in act of September 9, 1850..... | 6,820,016 77 |
| Total under public debt..... | 12,776,390 38 |
| Total expenditures..... | 72,948,792 02 |
| Balance in the Treasury..... | 19,901,325 45 |

THE FREE BLACK POPULATION, NORTH AND SOUTH.

The free blacks, with all the advantage of runaway slaves, increased scarcely at all between 1840 and 1850 in New England, though, in the same time, the increase in the old Southern States was twelve per cent. In a single year, 1850, over a thousand fugitives from slavery were reported by the census, and the number is doubtless increasing. The emancipation statistics of the same census show that, since 1790, as many slaves have been liberated voluntarily, and by individual act,

at the South, as were liberated by general laws at the North. A mean of the three enumerations of 1820-'30-'50 demonstrated the existence among the free blacks of the North of three times the proportion of deaf and dumb, blind, insane, and idiotic, as among the free blacks of the South. In the city of New York, one in fifty of the free black males were engaged in pursuits requiring some sort of education, and in New Orleans, one in eleven; in Connecticut, one in a hundred; in Louisiana, one in twelve. In New Orleans 1,008 free blacks attended school. In Connecticut, \$215,535, in real estate, was owned by free blacks, and \$88,000 by mulattoes; in New York city, by the blacks, \$65,310, mulattoes, \$44,000; in Louisiana, by blacks, \$311,465, mulattoes, \$3,958,830; in New Orleans, by mulattoes, \$1,991,050, blacks, \$222,970. In Barnwell, Beaufort, and Charleston, S. C., fifty-eight free colored persons owned under \$1,000 each of real estate; ten owned between \$1,000 and \$5,000 each; two between \$5,000 and \$10,000 each. The number of convicts reported in the States prisons and penitentiaries of the Union, showed about one in ten thousand colored in the non-slaveholding, and twenty-eight in ten thousand in the slaveholding States!

FREE COLORED POPULATION.

| | Male. | Female. | Total. |
|----------------------|--------|---------|--------|
| Boston..... | 919 | 1,080 | 1,990 |
| Cincinnati | 1,562 | 1,675 | 3,237 |
| Columbus, Ohio..... | 627 | 650 | 1,277 |
| Detroit..... | 308 | 379 | 687 |
| New Haven..... | 444 | 545 | 989 |
| New York..... | 6,098 | 7,717 | 13,815 |
| Philadelphia..... | 8,435 | 11,326 | 19,761 |
| Charleston..... | 1,355 | 2,086 | 3,441 |
| Baltimore..... | 10,832 | 14,610 | 25,442 |
| Louisville..... | 698 | 840 | 1,538 |
| Mobile..... | 286 | 429 | 715 |
| New Orleans..... | 4,104 | 6,196 | 10,300 |
| Richmond..... | 1,075 | 1,294 | 2,369 |
| Savannah..... | 264 | 422 | 686 |
| Washington, D. C.... | 3,398 | 4,760 | 8,158 |

Col. Prince, of the Canadian Legislature, has lately published a letter in the Colonist, in which he details very fully the condition of the free blacks of Toronto, and of Canada generally; and what he says will be a proper supplement to this paper:

"Of the colored citizens of Toronto I know little or nothing; no doubt, some are respectable enough in their way, and perform the inferior duties belonging to their station tolerably well. Here, they are kept in order—in their proper

places—but their ‘proceedings’ are evidence of their natural conceit, their vanity, and their ignorance; and in them the cloven foot appears, and evinces what they would do, if they could. I believe that in this city, as in some others of our province, that they are looked upon as necessary evils, and only submitted to because white servants are so scarce. But I now deal with these fellows as a body, and I pronounce them to be as such, the greatest curse ever inflicted upon the two magnificent western counties which I have the honor to represent in the Legislative Council of this Province! and few men have had the experience of them I have.

“Among the many *estimable* qualities they possess, a systematic habit of lying is not the least prominent. All I admit that one company of blacks did belong to my contingent battalion, but they made the very worst of soldiers, and were comparatively speaking, unsusceptible of drill or discipline, and were conspicuous for one act only—a stupid sentry shot the son of one of our oldest colonels, under a mistaken notion that he was thereby doing his duty.

“It has been my misfortune and the misfortune of my family to live among those blacks, (and they have lived upon us,) for twenty-four years. I have employed hundreds of them, and with the exception of one, named Richard Hunter, not one has ever done for us a week’s honest labor. I have taken them into my service, have fed and clothed them year after year on their arrival from the States, and in return have generally found them rogues and thieves, and a graceless, worthless, thriftless, lying set of vagabonds. That is my very plain and very simple description of the darkies as a body, and it would be endorsed by all the western white men, with very few exceptions.

“I have had scores of George Washingtons, Thomas Jeffersons, James Madisons, as well as Dinahs, Gleniras, and Lavinias, in my service, and I understand them thoroughly, and I include the whole batch (old Richard Hunter excepted) in the category above described.”

The New York Daily News, arguing elaborately against the introduction of free negro suffrage, notes the significant fact, that the vote in its favor was immensely larger in that State, in the counties which had few or no negroes, than in those which had a great many. Thus, in fifteen counties, where the blacks were one to twenty of the total population, the vote against admitting them to suffrage was six to one, whilst in other counties, where this population was but one in near three hundred, negro suffrage was carried by a majority of nearly two to one! We copy from the article:

“Negro suffrage is borrowed from the crazy theorists of that region. It is one link in the chain for binding down the *poor* white man to a level with negroes; raising them to our level being impossible, as contrary to the decrees of the Almighty. A few States where they are very scarce have invested negroes with full citizenship. They arbitrarily raise to the dignity of citizens, a species of human being excluded by the Constitution of our common country, and then claim that they being citizens of one State, may under the provisions of the Constitution become citizens of any State. Under the present Constitution of the United States, for any State to create citizens of negroes, is incipient treason—treason in the bud. Our present Constitution was formed solely for the white man; these lunatic incendiaries might as well openly wage war against it, as insidiously to do it by admitting Indiana, negroes, and Hottentots for that very purpose.

“Abolitionism increases as knowledge of negro character decreases. It was perhaps a knowledge of this fact that induced the traitors of Topeka to forbid negroes, bond or free, entering their anticipated paradise of ‘Bleeding Kansas.’

“Where negroes abound, those who favor their suffrage are clergymen, editors, poets, and other professional gentlemen, who never come in contact with negroes only in the relation of master to servant. Also, many of the same

men who opposed extending the right of suffrage to poor white men, and even now aver that a white man should have a property qualification. In those counties where a negro is scarcely ever seen, the people have no personal interest in the matter, and ought, by right, to leave the decision of the question to those who have, just as we ought to leave the location of their county buildings with them.

We have just placed our hands on another corroboration of the above in a late issue of the Cincinnati Enquirer. Whether the free negro flies from the abolitionist, or the abolitionist changes his position, when in proximity to him, is immaterial to the argument; the fact being that they do not "hunt together." It would be well to press these enquiries further. There is material enough in the papers of the late Census Office, if examined, to shed much light, if any one has the inclination and the leisure to examine. But to the extract from the Enquirer:

"There is a remarkable and very suggestive fact in regard to the negro emigration into this State. It is this: Of the twenty-five thousand free negroes in the State, the vast majority reside in counties where there are very few abolitionists, and which have been chiefly settled by emigrants from the Southern States. These negroes appear to have a great dread of the abolition counties—they give them a wide berth. Thus, for example, Ashtabula has a negro population of forty-three, Geauga of seven, Trumbull sixty-five. The other counties on the lake have a proportionate number of negroes. These counties are settled almost exclusively by New England emigrants. On the other hand, Ross county, a Virginia settlement, has one thousand nine hundred and six negroes; Gallia has one thousand one hundred and ninety-eight, and Hamilton county has over four thousand.

"In these counties the negro is regarded as an inferior, socially and politically, and the abolitionist has but a slight hold. What is the cause of this striking discrepancy? Is it that the negro feels and knows his inferiority, and naturally attaches himself to the population which is disposed to regard him as an inferior? or is it that the whites in the lake shore counties are abolitionists from an ignorance of the real character of the negro? Certainly there is no better mode of curing a neighborhood of abolitionism than by inflicting on them a colony of free negroes. The only way in which Giddings can ever be defeated will be by a few more such philanthropic efforts as those of Colonel Mendenhall, in settling a few hundred North Carolina or Kentucky negroes in Ashtabula. If our Southern friends will send us their surplus negro population, let them provide that they may be located among their kind and generous friends in the Western Reserve. Such earnest philanthropy as they profess ought not to be 'wasted on the desert air.'"

REVIEW OF "THE CONSTITUTIONAL ADMISSION OF STATES."*

In the number of the Review for June, there appeared an essay on the admission of States into the Union, in which the writer advanced the opinion that Congress, before receiving into the sisterhood of States a State applying for admission, should first expunge from its constitution, or cause to be expunged from its constitution any provision, either prohibiting or establishing the institution of slavery; he further regarded a State, applying for admission, as a mere territory, and vested only with territorial powers, and asserted that neither a territory nor Congress had power to legislate on the subject of slavery.

Whilst we do not advocate an unyielding and blind adherence to an opinion, simply because we have entertained it for a long time, nor do we believe that every change is productive of evil; yet unless a proposed change, either of

* See June number, 1857.

opinion, or of a course pursued by a legislative body, be supported by sound reasoning, and shown to be attended by some advantage, we will adhere to the maxim, *via antiqua est tuta*, and, therefore, demur to the soundness of the doctrine of the writer.

The propositions which are laid down, as constituting the only sound basis for the constitutional admission of States, are the following:

"1st. The constitution of a new State applying for admission into the Union, should contain no provisions that must of necessity lead Congress into conflict with the reserved rights of the States.

"2d. Or it should not ask Congress to do what it, alone, can have the power to do, *only after* it becomes a sovereign State.

"3d. And, therefore, it should contain no provision prohibiting or establishing slavery, because it cannot be prohibited by Congress or any other power under our government, but that of a State in its own sovereign capacity, and because it can do of its own right, after it becomes a sovereign State, what Congress has no right to do for it."

The first two propositions are undoubtedly true, and yet, we conceive that the conclusion with reference to slavery, at which the writer arrives in the third, does not legitimately follow from them, and this, we hope to be able to show.

When does a territory become a State? Certainly before it is admitted into the Union; for otherwise, *territory* could be admitted into the Union, and concerning such admission, there is no provision in the Constitution of the United States. Admission into the Union is not necessary to the complete conversion of a territory into a State, for the Constitution of the United States concerning this subject says, "new States may be admitted, &c., plainly implying that they are States before they apply for admission.

Thus, then, the objection to a provision in a State constitution, upon the ground that a territory has no right to interfere with the subject to which the provision refers, is not valid, and is urged with no effect. Indeed no reason can be assigned either upon the ground of right, or expediency, why a State may not have a constitutional provision of establishing or prohibiting slavery.

What is a constitution? It is a collection of fundamental laws propounded by the representatives of the people in convention assembled, and usually adopted by the people in their sovereign capacity. These fundamental laws relate to, and are for the direction of the three elements of government, viz: the executive, the legislative, and judiciary. If the framers of a constitution think proper, they may incorporate into it a law concerning any subject, with reference to which they deem such law necessary. When, in their opinion, it is dangerous to allow the legislature to have cognizance or control of any subject, they may forever prevent legislative controversy relating to it by inserting in the constitution certain laws pertaining to it.

Congress has no right to examine farther into the constitution of a State than to ascertain that it will secure a republican form of government. And would not Congress be more certainly transcending its powers, by striking from the constitution of a State, applying for admission, a provision inserted by the highest authority in the State, and which has no tendency to render the government anti-republican than by admitting it with such provision, even though it referred to the "*quæstio vexata*" of slavery?

Congress does not, in our opinion, any more establish or prohibit slavery in a State by admitting it, when its constitution provides for the establishment or prohibition of that institution, than it determines the qualifications of voters in a State by admitting it when its constitution declares what these qualifications shall be.

But what would be the consequences if the doctrine which the writer so ingeniously advocates should be received? Congress would be rebuked for having admitted, unconstitutionally, States into the Union; the acts by which they were admitted are void, and these States should have no voice in controlling the affairs of the nation. We are unable to see that the slightest advantage would accrue, either to the South or the North, from the adoption by Congress, for its guidance, of the propositions which we have quoted.

If, before the introduction of a State into the Union, the majority of its citizens are pro-slavery men, the first legislature which will be chosen will be pro-slavery likewise, and will certainly at once act upon the all-important subject of slavery, for the delegates will be chosen so soon after the admission of the State, that no sensible change of sentiment can be produced by means of immigration.

The rules, therefore, upon which the writer insists, being unsupported by sound reasoning, and unproductive of any advantage, should be rejected.

EDITORIAL NOTES, ETC.

The second of Mr. Ruffin's able papers upon the "Consequences of Abolition Agitation," after being ready for the printer, was excluded from this number in consequence of a miscalculation of the extent of space occupied by other matter. It will appear in our next, and the other numbers will immediately follow.

Some remarks, by Mr. Gross, on the "Guano question and the prospective wheat crop," must also lie over, as must an article on the "Right of Governmental Toleration."

Now that the travelling season is fully upon us like everybody else, we are sighing for the sea shore and the mountains, and have some apprehensions of not being gratified. A friend, however, in a letter, which we receive to-day, reconciles us to the fate in this wise: (He is speaking of the locomotive habits of our people.)

"Such erratic habits in civilized people are the sure signs of demoralization. It unqualifies men and women for the quiet enjoyments of home, for the manifold performances of duty, for steady pursuits, and for the accomplishment of great things. The insanity of locomotion, which pervades in the United States, has produced an emasculation of the mind. We may generate steam in abundance, but nothing else."

A much valued friend, in Charleston, has been good enough to demonstrate, that we were altogether unreasonable in intimating a *casus omnisus* in the programme of the late railroad celebration in that city, (vide the Review for July.) Thanks for the information. We were speaking semi-jocularly, it is true, but then "mauy a thing spoken in jest," &c., &c.

Some interesting notes upon the present aspect, which the *slave-trade question* is assuming in Europe, are crowded out of the present number of the Re-

view. There is one point, however, upon which a remark must be indulged, and that is the explanation which Gen. Walker gave at Augusta, Georgia, of his course, in relation to the decree issued by him in Nicaragua, legalizing the traffic:

"He remarked, that he was a Southerner by birth, and devoted to all the institutions of the South, but that he never would have issued that decree, unless he had been convinced that upon the establishment of slavery depended the stability of any government which might be inaugurated in any of the Spanish American Republics. This idea, he illustrated by contrasting the condition of Cuba, where slavery (established by the Catholic Priest, Lascazas, distinguished for his benevolence and philanthropy) still exists, with that of Jamaica, where the views of Wilberforce and Clarkson have been carried into practical operation, by the abolition of slavery. The introduction of slavery into the Spanish American Republics, he contended, would end the long strife of their mongrel races for supremacy, give the control of their affairs to a pure unmixed white race, and eventually secure them the blessings of free and stable institutions."

In another place see the address of the committee calling together the *Southern Convention* at Knoxville, Tennessee, on the tenth day of August. It is confidently hoped, that the meeting will be a large and influential one. Let all attend who are able. The full proceedings will appear as usual in other issues of the Review.

The paper which appears in this number upon *Salt*, is very able and valuable, and is from the pen of one who has had great experience and practical knowledge of the subject. Every planter should read it carefully and profit by the suggestions which it contains.

Some additional notes to it were received too late for insertion.

An apology is perhaps due to our readers for the angry and somewhat personal tone, which characterizes at times, our comments upon the maligners of Southern institutions, especially, as it is a departure from the course we have marked out for ourselves in such matters. But, can flesh and blood bear up against injuries so unprovoked and so continuous? Are even saintly virtues adequate to this? Courtesy, dignity, philosophy, may teach the virtues of forbearance, but the instincts of the man will become rebellious at last.

"—If you have nature in you,
Bear it not."

A gentleman in Tennessee, who describes himself as "a plain man," has sent us a very curious plant for inspection. In our keeping, it has stood, singularly enough, the test proposed for it, but preferring the opinion of the more scientific, it has been submitted to a gentleman connected with Georgetown college, and the results of his trial will hereafter be communicated. A short extract from the letter of the party will be made:

"I have in my possession a plant, which I insist possesses extraordinary qualities. I claim, when it is placed in a proper position and exposure, it does indicate, with very great certainty, the state of the weather from 24 to 48 hours in advance—a natural hygrometer and barometer. I desire to have it tested by persons of known and acknowledged scientific attainments.

"The plant grows spontaneously, as I discovered, in Arabia. I have had one in my possession since 1840, and now have it, which proves its exemption from decay. The test I have made during that period with this plant, has satisfied me that it does, in advance, indicate the state of the weather. I cannot, however, rely satisfactorily upon my test of it."

A very valuable work has been placed in our hands by the publishers, D. Appleton & Co., entitled the *Illustrated Hand-book of American Travel*. It is edited by T. Addison Richards, and makes a very handsome and portable duodecimo of above four hundred pages. Our locomotive friends will all want it during the present travelling season. It embraces all the routes in America, with numerous wood-cuts and maps, and a description of all the ci-

ties, towns, water-falls, battle-fields, mountains, lakes, watering places, hunting grounds, etc., etc. The maps alone are worth the price of the book.

The annual report of the New Orleans School of Medicine is before us. In the last year there were 76 matriculants, and 23 graduates. They were from Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, Nicaragua, and Cuba. We regret to learn that Dr. Axson has retired from the chair of physiology on account of impaired health. Of great erudition and ability, accomplished in his chair and out of it, laborious, self-sacrificing, with the highest standard of excellence ever in view, yet modest and unassuming to a fault, Dr. Axson must be a loss to any institution. His place, however, will be worthily filled by Dr. Penniston. Dr. Clapp has been elected to the chair of clinica.

"The Hon. JEFFERSON DAVIS, in a late speech at Jackson, (Mississippi,) mentioned, as an illustration of the vastness of our national domain, the fact that during the four years of the late Administration more land was ceded by the General Government for internal improvement and other legitimate purposes than a third of France, and still we retain a public domain equal to the entire area of Europe."

The above paragraph is going the round of the newspapers. Col. Davis must have said that the national domain nearly equalled the entire area of Europe. Total area of the United States, 2,963,666 square miles, including the Gadsden purchase. Of Europe, by various estimates, 3,000,000 to 3,811,594 square miles, including Russian Europe, which is alone, in extent, 2,120,397 square miles. Area of the territories of the United States, 1,499,561 square miles.

| | Square miles. |
|--|---------------|
| Area of the United States in 1783..... | 820,680 |
| Add purchase of Louisiana, 1803..... | 899,570 |
| Add Florida, 1819..... | 66,900 |
| Admission of Texas, 1846.. | 318,000 |
| Oregon treaty..... | 308,052 |
| Mexican treaty..... | 522,955 |
| Total..... | 2,966,166 |
| Messilla or Gadsden purch ^e | 27,500 |
| | 2,963,666 |

HYGEIA HOTEL, OLD POINT COMFORT, VIRGINIA.

The following letter from Mr. Segar, with the numerous testimonials in regard to Old Point Comfort, will interest our readers. We are in hopes to see this favorite old watering place crowded the present summer with the wealth, intelligence, and beauty of the South:

This most delightful Summer Resort—the "bright particular" locality of all the sunny South—is now the sole property of the undersigned, and will be opened on the 1st of June next, and each successive June following. I engage to make it to the seekers for health, recreation, gaiety, and good living, supremely attractive.

For health, no mountain retreat can be safer, *at any season of the year*. It is as exempt from disease in August, and September, and October, as in April, May, or June. Indeed, the first three are infinitely the most pleasant of the season. The weather is milder, the sea breeze balmy, and the luxuries of the salt water, are to be had of finer quality, and in greater profusion. There is no more inviting spot on the whole Atlantic Seaboard. It is strictly true of it, what the Poet hath said:

"Oh! if there be an Elysium on earth, it is this, it is this!"

That visitors may safely seek its attractions *at all seasons of the year*, I submit the following letters of Drs. Jarvis, Archer, Semple, Shield, Hope, Mallory, Stinkine, and Vaughan, and of James S. French, Esq., who, for nearly ten years, was the proprietor of the establishment. My own experience and observation for more than thirty years past, are to the same effect.

Old Point Comfort, April 25, 1857.

JOB. SEGAR, Proprietor.

— FORT MONROE, Virginia, February 11, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR: I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday asking my opinion as to the "character of Old Point Comfort for health, and particularly as to its exemption from diseases of a bilious character."

A residence of three years at old Point Comfort as the Surgeon of this Post enables me to bear full testimony to its well known salubrity, and the reputation it has heretofore enjoyed in its exemption from the ordinary forms of disease, especially those of a malarial or febrile nature, usually prevailing during the spring or autumnal months in other sections of the country and neighborhood.

The records of the military hospital for years past further confirm my own experience, not only in this fortunate exemption from that class of disease ordinarily arising from malaria, but in the less frequency as well as diminished severity of those epidemics that have, from time to time, prevailed in almost every portion of our country.

I remain yours, very respectfully,

JOB. SEGAR, Esq., Roseland, Va.

N. S. JARVIS, M. D., Surgeon U. S. A.

— RICHMOND, August 7, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: Your favor requesting my opinion as to the general healthiness of Old Point Comfort, is received, and I hasten to reply.

I resided at Old Point, as Post Surgeon and as Physician, upwards of twenty years, and I have no hesitation in saying, that there are few, if any localities in the United States, more healthy at all seasons of the year.

I know of no place more exempt from bilious diseases, and I have never known a case of intermittent fever to originate there.

In fine, I consider visitors from any climate as safe from disease, at Old Point Comfort, during the autumn months, as they would be in the mountains; or any where at the North.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., Old Point Comfort.

E. ARCHER.

— HAMPTON, August 18, 1856.

DEAR SIR: It gives me pleasure to comply with your request to state my opinion of the salubrity of Old Point Comfort, during the summer and autumn.

Having practiced medicine for the last ten years among the residents and visitors, and having been frequently employed to attend the Garrison, I am entirely satisfied that the place is entirely exempt from bilious fevers of all kinds—the very few such cases which have fallen under my treatment, having been clearly traceable to exposure at some notorious miasmatic locality.

Visitors at Old Point are as perfectly safe, at any season, from intermittent, and remittent fever, as they would be in any mountainous region. Patients suffering in such regions from bronchial affections, particularly asthma, are uniformly benefited by a visit to Old Point.

I can also state that several army surgeons have informed me that the sick reports show less sickness at Fort Monroe than any military post in the Union.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., Hygeia Hotel, Old Point Comfort.

G. WM. SEMPLE, M. D.

— HAMPTON, August 28, 1856.

DEAR SIR: Yours of yesterday's date, asking my opinion of the health of Old Point Comfort, is before me.

I have been practicing medicine in Hampton and Old Point for 15 years, and consider it as healthy a place as any that I know on the face of the earth. I do not remember having seen there a case of remittent or intermittent fever that was not contracted elsewhere.

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., Hygeia Hotel.

Very respectfully, S. R. SHIELD.

— HAMPTON, August 29, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: In reply to your queries contained in your note of the 7th inst., it gives me pleasure to state that, in my opinion, Old Point Comfort is as healthy a locality as any on the Atlantic coast.

Persons from any part of our country may remain there through the entire year with perfect safety. The endemic diseases of all this region, I may add, have become very much modified of late, as any one at all familiar with the causes which produce them, might, upon the slightest observation, perceive. An ordinary case of bilious fever seldom requires more than two or three days' treatment.

I have not, during a practice of more than five years in this vicinity, seen a case of intermittent or bilious fever which originated at Old Point.

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., *Roseland*.

Yours truly,
JESSE P. HOPE.

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., *Hygeia Hotel*.

NORFOLK, VA., August 25, 1856.

DEAR SIR: In regard to the health of Old Point, I have only to remark, that having been familiar with the place ever since my boyhood, I speak confidently when I declare it to be among the healthiest spots on the Continent of America. Bilious and ague fever are unknown there, while in all our epidemics it has escaped unharmed. I would sooner take my chance at Old Point to avoid those diseases in summer and fall than the mountains, or even at the White Sulphur. For eight years I resided in the vicinity of Old Point, and for the remainder of my life in Norfolk, thus affording me ample opportunity of ascertaining the fact in question. Since 1819, when the extensive public works were commenced, Old Point has contained quite a large population, made up of the military and persons connected with the Engineer Department, to say nothing of other citizens and visitors. These have enjoyed, at all seasons, an unexampled share of excellent health.

The United States Government has, on several occasions, sent troops to Old Point from other stations to recruit their health, and with the desired effect. What induced this was, doubtless, the favorable reports of the Army Surgeons as to the sanitary character of the place. We cannot account for tastes, nor can we control fashion; but it has always been a matter of surprise to me that visitors should leave the Point just at the time when it is most pleasant. The latter part of August and the whole of September are among the healthiest and most agreeable periods to remain at Old Point; for the air is bracing and yet mild during the day, and at night you sleep comfortably under a blanket. Hog fish and oysters are of much finer flavor than in July, and the fishing far better than in the extreme heat of the summer. No one within the broad limits of the Old Dominion can have failed to appreciate the beauty of our Indian Summer (so called). This, while it endures some few weeks in other localities, lasts the whole fall at the Point, commencing about the 20th of August. I can give no stronger proof of the earnestness and sincerity of my convictions on this head, than by declaring that if the authorities would grant me permission to erect a cottage on the beach, I would gladly avail myself of the privilege with a view to residing there all summer and fall with my family. But I will not enlarge on this topic. There is, and there can be, no dispute on the subject, since all who know the place will endorse every word I have uttered. The health of Old Point, and its exemption from the fall diseases of our climate, are facts too well established to admit of cavil or doubt; indeed, to quote the words of a conspicuous politician, it is a "*dead fact*."

Very respectfully, your obedient servant, F. MALLOY, M. D.

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq.

NORFOLK, August 24, 1856.

DEAR SIR: Having spent my school-boy days in the immediate vicinity to Old Point, and somewhat familiar for many years with the hygeic condition of the people—residents and guests, who annually assembled there, I am enabled to answer your inquiry with entire confidence in the correctness of my own conclusions. This experience has satisfied me that no locality in our latitude can be more healthy. Unconnected with the "main," save by a narrow strip of beach land, which is only partially covered with a stunted vegetation, its sources every where washed by the salt ocean wave, and without a single sunken spot where vegetable humus can gather, it seems to me utterly impossible that malaria can be generated there, or that noxious airs can reach it from my portion of the adjacent country. Come from whatever point of the compass the winds may, *they are sea breezes* still, and could scarcely waft a poisonous exhalation from the *distant* shores abroad.

In my estimation, fevers of a bilious, remittent or intermittent type might as soon be expected to originate on the highest peak of the Blue Ridge, as on the clean, barren sand plane on which the Hygeia Hotel is built.

Yours truly, J. J. BINKINS.

HAMPTON, VA., March 30, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR: I have received your letter requesting my opinion of the general healthiness of Old Point Comfort, and particularly as to its exemption from bilious diseases.

In reply to your inquiry, it gives me pleasure to state, that I know of no place in Virginia which Old Point Comfort will not, in that respect, favorably compare; and I do not remember ever to have seen a case of bilious fever which originated at that place.

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., *Roseland*.

Yours, respectfully,

WM. E. VAUGHAN, M. D.

ALEXANDRIA, August 25, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: In reply to yours of 20th instant, I can only say, that the healthiest spot I have ever known is Old Point Comfort; and this I say after a residence there of eight or nine years. A very mistaken notion prevails as to its health in August and the fall months, and there are persons who deem it unsafe to remain there at such times. My own experience teaches me that, for comfort and health, Old Point is far more desirable in August and the fall months than ourlier. Fish and oysters are in greater perfection, and no climate can be purer, or more delightful, or healthier. At any season of the year, Spring, Summer, Autumn, or Winter, I would as soon take my chance for health there as at the White Sulphur Springs, or any watering place in America.

Yours, very truly,

JAMES S. FREENCH.

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., *Roseland, Elin. City Co., Va.*

DE BOW'S REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1857.

THE RIGHTS, DUTIES, AND REMEDIES OF THE SOUTH.

The following views were presented by the Editor of the Review to the Southern Convention at Knoxville, Tenn., on the 10th day of August last :

Scarcely perceived in its advances, yet not the less surely and steadily, has been going on in the last half century of our national existence, that consolidation of parties within geographical lines, which it was the earnest endeavor of the founders of the Republic to prevent, and against which the "Father of his country" himself solemnly admonished on an occasion that will ever be regarded memorable.

"You have," said he, "in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts—of common dangers, sufferings, and successes. The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expanded, while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase," etc., etc.

It was twenty-five years afterwards, when Mr. Jefferson, from the retreats of Monticello, referring to the circumstances, which, in utter disregard of these solemn admonitions attended the admission of Missouri into the Union, declared that it was "the most portentous question that had ever threatened our Union," and that "in the gloomiest moments of the Revolutionary war, he had never had any apprehensions equal to that which he felt from this source."

In another quarter of a century representatives from every one of the slaveholding States, convened at the National Capital, are

constrained by the existing peril to unite in an address to their constituents, in which "acts of aggression and encroachment" are narrated "numerous, great, and dangerous, which threaten with destruction the greatest and most vital of all the interests and institutions of the South, and will, if unchecked, at no distant day, end in emancipation." "A change of place and condition," says the address, "would be the result to the white and black races of the South—a degradation greater than has ever yet fallen to the lot of a free and enlightened people, and one from which they could not escape, but by fleeing the homes of themselves and their ancestors, and by abandoning their country to its former slaves, to become the permanent home of disorder, anarchy, poverty, misery, and ruin."

Struggling thus into life from the feeblest and most contemptible beginnings, the party of agitation and disorganization which was unable, in 1848 and 1852, to carry a single State, though reaching an average popular support of about a quarter of a million of votes, had, in the accessions from every source, which begun from that time to flock to its standards, become so emboldened, so inflamed by passions and prejudices, by timid counsels and concessions, rendered so entirely frantic by an act which restored the Constitution to its fundamental purity, as to be prepared to emerge from the Presidential canvass of 1856 with nearly a million and a half of votes, and with the electoral support of eleven of the States, including the influential and powerful States of Ohio and New York.

As boldly and openly proclaimed, the purposes of this active, energetic, and disciplined organization, are such an absolute and unconditional assault upon the constitutional rights and privileges of the other members of the Union, as in any other country, not crushed by despotism, would be met by open and sanguinary revolution. These are—

1st. The right of regulating their own affairs—of administering property and enjoying the fruits in such manner as shall prove acceptable without external let or hindrance.

2d. The right of expansion and development—of establishing property and of carrying it under due protection of law, wherever the rights of citizenship necessarily protects the person, and of occupying with it, and thus maintaining, the political strength and consideration so essential to all the parts of a confederation, and which it was the especial purpose of ours to secure—the unsettled territories purchased by the common blood and treasure.

Proclaiming, everywhere, the decree which emanated from the Convention that assembled in Philadelphia on the 18th of June, 1856, "*it is both the right and the duty of Congress, to*

prohibit in the territories, those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery”—every other existing party organization was at once effectually beaten down and trampled under foot, and the standards of victory firmly and triumphantly erected on the capitols of all of the non-slaveholding States, with unimportant exceptions, from the St. John's to Lake Erie, from the waters of the Alleghany to those of the Nebraska. It is a part of the history of that struggle, that but for the success of its opponents in an election immediately preceding, won by a majority little stronger than a Corporal's guard, and upon local issues perhaps, aided by the arguments to State pride, and the personal advantages accruing from them to one of the candidates, our present distinguished chief magistrate, irrespective of his political predilections and affinities, in all human probability the contest would have been determined in the election of a party and a President, bound by its antecedents, its platforms, and its pledges, to carry out these exclusive and wicked designs.

It is unnecessary, perhaps, at this time, after the immediate emergency has passed, to argue the question as to how far the South would have submitted, or if, as some have seemed disposed to teach, she might have consoled herself in the faith, that all the experiences of the world would, at once, be reversed in her favor, by this overwhelming and seemingly unscrupulous power, in the very arms of victory, turning a pliant ear to the words of argument and conciliation, stepping hurriedly backwards, abandoning its outposts, recrossing the Rubicon, re-establishing the guarantees it has wantonly broken down, and rendering us again a free, equal, and happy people.

The question is not, however, in regard to the past, for which there is no remedy, but the future

"To be thus is nothing,
But to be safely thus—
* * * * * Our fears in Banquo
Stick deep."

There is a loyalty and an affectionate regard for the Union existing everywhere at the South, the result of Revolutionary struggles, and honors encountered and won by her people and her statesmen, of republican instincts, of generous faith and confidence, and of self-sacrificing devotion, so intense that it has supported her through every hour of darkness and of gloom, and nerved her heart continually for new and higher sacrifices and efforts. This sublime and uncalculating faith has been so little understood or appreciated by her enemies that they have received from it rather encouragement in their nefarious designs, arguing and believing it to be without limit, and that concession, compromise, and *submission* must follow

inevitably from decade to decade, in proportion as the pressure is great or the danger of disruption would seem to be imminent.

What say we then, citizens, are the great questions of sectional agitation settled, or after all our struggles and our hopes, our loyalty and our faith, do we believe, in the ordinary course of things, that they can be settled, short of an absolute surrender in the next quarter of a century, perhaps in one-fourth of that time, of everything that the South has contended for upon the subject of slavery? Can any intelligent Southern man, placing his hands upon his heart, declare that he sees any evidence of a reaction in the ranks and purposes of our opponents; that he believes another slave State will ever be admitted into the Union, should such present itself, from the Northwest or the Southwest; that the principles of the Constitution will ever be carried out any better than they now are in relation to the rendition of fugitive slaves, or that it will be found convenient again, in any National Convention, to take up for the Presidency an uncompromising representative of the South? With the rapid increase of free, and the utter impossibility of any more slave States, how long will it be before the three-fifths representation of the South will be struck contemptuously from the Constitution? Bound thus, hand and foot, what feeble barrier can be interposed to the proclamation from the National Capital like that which was made from the French Assembly, or the British Parliament, of *universal and unconditional emancipation*? It is unnecessary to believe that our enemies intend this much at present, and, without impropriety, we may admit their protestations to the contrary. It may be that they see the end without daring openly to avow it, for only by cautious steps can great revolutions be effected. It may be that they do not see it, for how seldom is it given to the ignorant and fanatical to look beyond the immediate matter before them and see its remote and inevitable consequences. Was ever fanatical moderation heard of in fanatical successes? Was ever a power accomplishing an unlawful and tyrannical purpose, and capable of taking another step, known to hesitate? "Wilmot provisos," "Missouri compromises," "free soil," "no more slave States"—have they any other but one meaning to every intelligent person, so that he that runs may read; and does any man in the Convention believe that that meaning is anything else than slavery extinction—unqualified extinction—North, South, East, and West, wherever the federal power and the federal numbers legitimately or illegitimately can be made to effect it!

Are we then prepared to give up slavery? The slaves of the South, at the present time, constitute from one-third to

one-half, and in some cases more than one-half of the entire population of the several States, and considering the climate and other circumstances, perhaps three-fourths or four-fifths of its industrial capacity. It is the extinction of this population and of this capacity, and nothing else than that is demanded—of population, because all experience has shown, that in a state of freedom the black races will not increase, but on the contrary do, from natural causes, rapidly retrograde, which result comes also from the pressure of a superior race upon them and from unavoidable exportation—extinction of industrial capacity, because the world has afforded no example of a region situated like the Southern States, ever having been developed by free white labor or of black races in a state of freedom, ever having been induced to submit to the discipline and undergo the physical labor necessary to productive development. View the fertile fields of St. Domingo, where tyranny, vice, and want, have substituted healthful government and unbounded wealth, or turn the eye to those once fair and garden Antilles, sacrificed by a false philanthropy, deprived of every source of development, and now, after twenty years of disastrous experiment, imploring a restoration, in even any modified form, of the slave-trade itself. Compare Texas with Mexico, Cuba and Brazil with the States of Central America. European labor colonization in all of these regions has ever failed, and must ever signally fail. Disease and death go hand in hand with it. Over half a million of Europeans, in the cities alone of the South, have paid the forfeit with their lives, of attempting to reverse the course of nature, by assuming to undergo the exposed and exhausting labor, which experience has assigned in this latitude only to the blacks. The rice, the cane, the sugar, and the cotton fields show the same melancholy results wherever the experiment is tested. Only insane men act upon theories which contradict experience. The existence of the South as an inhabitable, productive region and all of its great powers to grow the staples which make up the commerce of the world, depend upon the resources of black labor, and there can be no other black labor than slave labor. Are we then prepared to surrender up this labor to the theorists, the pseudo philanthropists, the socialists, and agrarians, and their selfish, unscrupulous, or deluded followers?

“This glorious Union,” this wide extending Union, this world feared Union, its stars and its stripes, “it must be maintained.” “Perish the colonies but save this principle.” “Liberty and Union—now and forever—one and inseparable.” So have pæons been sung, and so are they now sung at times by oppressed and oppressor. But are these the ebullitions of virtue and of patriotism when springing fresh from the South-

ern heart, and in view of all the circumstances of the present Southern condition? Who will dare to utter them upon the floor of this Convention or at any hustings from the Bay of Delaware to the banks of the Colorado, confessing the servility which is involved? Is there a divine right of government proclaimed, and a divine injunction to unconditional obedience, and are liberty and manhood and its rights grown so cheap that they are not to be mentioned in the same breath hereafter with the sentiment of "union?" Must the shadow be clung to if the substance has departed? Union, because acceptable with the living man, must it needs be with the festering corpse? Union, because acceptable and advantageous with those who shared in our perils, who sympathized in our hopes and our fears and respected our feelings and our rights, and considered us as their equals and their brothers, must it perforce be acceptable and supplicated for, with earnest entreaty, with those who in their pulpits, in their press, at their hustings, in their parlors and schools, on their streets, in their legislative halls, on the floors of Congress, menace us with insurrection and civil war, denounce us as cowards and robbers, wearing the civilization of the dark ages, unfitted to share with them in christian communion, and so cut off from the pale of sympathy as to be warred upon in our industry and our rights, and to be excluded from every future avenue of national growth and aggrandizement. Union of the South American colonies with old Spain. Union of Texas with the Mexican Confederation. Union of the revolting colonies with George the Third! "*Give me George the Third or give me death.*"

"Thou shall not force me from thee,
Use me reproachfully and like a slave.
Tread on me—buffet me.
I'll bear it with all patience,
Till wounded by my sufferings thou relent."

The Federal Union (and this is the language of the bold and the free) has the same sanctity as any other of the thousand governments that have had place in the annals of the world. It is to be maintained by every patriot exertion, whilst impelled by the principles of equity and justice and a proper regard to the rights of all of its members. It is to be crushed by these same patriot exertions whenever it assumes to be otherwise, without hope of restoration, and degenerates into acts of open and palpable tyranny; for

"Not even the high anointing hand of Heaven
Can authorize oppression,
* * * * * Tyranny
Absolves all faith."

It is thus that Southern men should feel and speak and think, and speak *unanimously and on all occasions*. We

have strengthened the adversary by sentimentality. This bold and united position taken twenty years ago by the South might have saved the Constitution. It may do so yet, if the front of defence be unbroken, embracing, without discordance of sentiments, without local jealousies and hostilities, the whole of the proscribed section; or, if broken, if the guilty are held up to public scorn and public punishment as traitors and Tories, more steeped in guilt than those of the Revolution itself. It may not be too late at least to try the experiment. If it does not succeed, the Southern unanimity and association, which has been engendered, will be exactly what is wanted to fit us for the emergency, that will then have arrived.

Let us be talked to no longer of Southern party organizations, and of tariff, and bank, and internal improvement, or other discussions to divide and separate us and chain us to the car of this leader or that leader of national politics. The day for all of these things has passed. There is room now but for one party at the South, a "hearth and home party," a "wife and children party," a party which shall interpose hereafter its united breasts against the sure strides of the power which threatens and promotes servile insurrection, the laying waste of fields, the paralysis of industry, the recession of civilization, the damming up of all the outlets of population and escape. This is my party. High and protective tariffs, lavish expenditures for internal improvements, national banks, magnificent national extravagance, exclusion of foreigners, religious intolerance, let them be adopted or abandoned; they are but means of ordinary oppression which sometimes a minority may be required to endure. They but inflict taxings and tithings, leaving the sources of wealth and of existence undisturbed. Slavery restriction and slavery extinction, on the other hand, like the Egyptian task masters, continue to demand the tale of bricks while taking away the straw with which they are made, resolving the South back, at a single step, into worse than barbarism.

National parties and national politicians, if we place our faith exclusively in them, may ask us for a few more concessions, a little more compromise here, a small surrender there, something that will enable us to fight in Maine, or to save ourselves in Kansas, and pray what have we to give? Are our charities so large that we can abandon our safety for their repose? Brothers, there is nothing to give up now unless it be honor and existence. If the Constitution be not good enough for Maine, or for Kansas, we can but lament it. Our people stand upon that rock. If there are to be concessions it will do no harm for them to come now and then from the other side. We are grateful to your national and conserva-

tive men, who, in every contest, have entered the breach and contended manfully and nobly with us, and we shall never fail to reverence and honor them; but events have shown that you are not adequate to the protection of the citadel in the crushing and overwhelming power which surrounds you. It is not upon you then that we now rely. Danger has taught us union which will bring strength. It will be in our power, as it will be in our right, to demand terms as well as to receive them. Though we may have all confidence in the wisdom, firmness, and patriotism, of the men who are now at the head of affairs, there are guarantees for the future required, which are of vastly greater importance than present security.

On all of these accounts, and on many others, will the importance of the periodical assembling of this Convention in the several Southern centres be appreciated. It is a very common mode of preparing the people for great emergencies. It was resorted to before the revolution as the conventions at New York and Albany will indicate. Conventions have been the successful means of aggression on the part of our enemies. They are peculiarly adapted to the South, whose scattered population renders the power of the press less effective than in other quarters. At these gatherings the patriotism and intelligence and eloquence of the people are represented, and in the cordial interchange of sentiment, it is perceived how little there is in reality to separate and how much to unite us. Homogeneity in pursuits, tastes, inclinations, manners, modes of life, render our brotherhood indissoluble. The Olympic games brought not greater blessings to Greece. If these conventions have not stayed our enemies, they have strengthened the hearts and the purposes of ourselves. They have stimulated or been the exponents of discussions, which, for ability and demonstrative power in behalf of ourselves and our institutions, have scarcely a parallel in history. We have strengthened the vassallating and given faith to the doubting. Our statesmen and publicists justify and apologize and deprecate for us no longer upon the plea of necessity, but having thoroughly investigated, make their stand and defence upon right and the Constitution.

Admit that in practical results the Convention has fallen short of the fond expectation and hopes of many, and that it has built no railroad, equipped no steamship, nor established a factory or a college, as many of its enemies have exultingly asserted, though without foundation in truth, if the history of the past ten years be examined, it has yet prepared us to understand the importance of all these matters, and when the time shall have fully come, they will not be wanting. There-

fore, without discouragement should the Southern Convention continue its appeals, teaching the people—

1. That they have rights more to be valued and defended than any theories or sentiments about Union, and a thousand times more important, because involving everything for which Government or Union is at all to be valued.

2. That they have resources, which, though adequate to render them an important member of the Federal Union, are at the same time sufficient to enable them to exist without that Union, and to maintain the rank of a first class power whenever it shall be deemed necessary, to establish a separate confederation, and that it is the duty of the people of the South, to develop these resources, and to increase this sense of independence, security, and power, by opening up the avenues of intercommunication, by stimulating agriculture, by promoting commerce, by steamships, and by steam-mills, and more than all of these, by a system of home education, which shall save our children from the poison which infects the springs from which they have hitherto been in the habit of drinking.

Nor let it be forgotten, that *all* of the great republics of ancient times, were the growth of the South, and went hand in hand, with the existence of slave institutions. The Southern slaveholders of Greece and Rome, carried the civilization and the arts and the arms of antiquity over the world, and with them all the refined notions of liberty, of law, of public polity, and taste which have come down to modern times. The Savior of the world found and left it slaveholding.

The ten millions of inhabitants that constitute the present slave-holding States, and the four millions of slaves, make up an aggregate as large as that of Great Britain when she contested the revolution, or struggled against Napoleon and the armies of Europe; it is five times the population of the United Continental Colonies, very nearly equals the strength of Prussia, is three times that of Sweden and Norway, and about the same as Belgium, Portugal, Holland, Denmark, Switzerland, and Greece combined, whilst its territory falls little short of that of the whole of Europe, excluding Russia and Turkey.

In productive wealth, the means and resources of the South are perhaps not excelled by those of any other nation in the world. With a variety of climates and soils adequate to the production of every article adapted for the necessities or the luxuries of life, whether in food, clothing, or ornament, and actually producing the raw materials of them, not only in quantities sufficient for the home consumption, but to constitute in our relations with foreign countries, from three to

four-fifths of the whole American commerce; employing the shipping and the merchants of our neighbors, feeding their looms and their spindles, adding wealth and opulence to their marts, and rendering indissolubly connected with us the greatest powers of Europe. It is the cotton bale that makes the treaties of the world, and binds over the nations to keep the peace. No other competitor with us has been able to stand for a moment. We have capacious ports and harbors, unlimited inland navigation, mountain country, and valley country, exhaustless resources of coal and iron and other valuable minerals, a contented, active, prospering, and increasing laboring population, directed by those whose enterprise and capacities are exhibited in the results they have accomplished, and whose virtues remain uncorrupted by want, by the pressure of rival interests and competition, by the steady influx from European lazaretos, by the irreligious and impious isms which springing up in other quarters, teach the overthrow of all laws and government, and the reconstruction of society itself. In every time of peril or of sacrifice, it has been ours to supply to the national councils or to the national armies, the genius which could conceive, combine, and direct, and the power which could as fearlessly and triumphantly execute. Jefferson in the Convention, Washington and Jackson and Scott and Taylor (the leading captains that America has had) in the field, where always the South supplied her men and her means, in the Revolution equally with the rest of the Union, and in all later wars in much the larger proportion.

Though, then, I am unwilling to make any more of the kind of sacrifices which are asked for, to save the Union, and have been forced by high and imperious necessity, to become reconciled to the idea of letting its enemies, if they will, consummate their mad purposes and force upon us the virtuous and patriotic purpose of dissolution, I yet yield to no one in my estimate of what the Union was capable of becoming, and of what blessings it might have conferred upon mankind, if administered according to the intentions of our Fathers who formed it, and left it as our inheritance—the Washington's and Jefferson's, Hamilton's and Jay's, and Rutledge's and Madison's. I have gloried in its arts and its arms, its astounding progress, its rapidly increasing villages and towns and cities, its fleets and navies, its giant works of intercommunication, its heroic struggles with man and nature, and the influence and power of its flag throughout the world. I shall glory in them again, and take a generous part, as will all of us, in aiding the accomplishment of so great a mission, if recognized and respected, and treated in every respect as co-ordinate members, no where inferior, but in all things equal. It is a Union to which we

give as much as is received, and it would be easy to demonstrate many times as much.

From no considerations of sectional interest or sectional fear can it be said for a moment, that the South has been found clinging to the Federal Union, to which she has been (in many respects) but a tributary, conveying not unwillingly, her wealth in unequal contributions, to maintain its progress and its state. Whilst she has not had the majority to tax, she has had the broad shoulders to bear the burden of protective taxation, and of navigation laws, which are building up feudal palaces throughout New England, and sending fleets of merchantmen from her ports.

Let the South but assume her stand among the nations, and these palaces and fleets and navies shall, with the rapidity that marked the burnishing of the Arabian's lamp, be found to have transferred themselves a thousand miles away, and have taken their seats among the mountains of Virginia, Tennessee, and Carolina, or in the harbors of the Chesapeake, of Charleston, Brunswick, Savannah, Mobile, and New Orleans. Great interior towns will spring up as by enchantment and great sea-coast cities and the arteries of communication between them reticulate the whole face of the country. The mammoth European steamship line, would at once plough the waters of the Chesapeake, as other lines would bring into frequent communication our ports with each other and with Europe. Our trade would be made free, and all the world invited to participate in it. "Where the carcass is there will be the eagles." With \$200,000,000 to \$250,000,000 of exportable products, and an equal demand for the productions of other countries, adequate revenues for all the wants of the most imposing government, would be had from duties, almost nominal in comparison with what at present exist, and an abundant basis would be supplied for the wisest treaties and the most liberal diplomacy. All the world by their necessities and interests would be bound to keep the peace, and nations are alone ruled by their interests. The North would find us a profitable neighbor, at her door, ready to trade upon just and fair terms, or if these be denied, ready and willing and able to carry that trade to another quarter. To make war upon us would be still more to cripple the channels of her industry, to add to her impoverishment, and undertake that which the genius, the instincts, and the education of her people have unfitted her. Our border property would be protected as much, and as sacredly as is now the common property on the Canadian line. Her dreamers and theorists would imagine themselves no more responsible for our institutions than they are for those of Cuba or Brazil, and the whole power of the

Northern government would be exercised in sending back our slaves, under rendition treaties, the moment that they touched her shores, which would be preferable to paying for them, as England did, under the provisions of the treaty of Ghent. The danger of border wars could be no greater than in Europe, whose states have often but imaginary boundaries, and would be much less from the peculiar characteristics of American life. We have no border wars with Canada. Reciprocal treaties would be the interest of the Northern and Southern governments, offensive and defensive, against the rest of the world, for the reasons that the United States would have gone into convention with the South American States, for the maintenance of the integrity of the continent against the balance of power systems of Europe. England ever ready to forget her theories and her sentimentality, in the dictates of lordly interest and of empire, would unite herself in lasting diplomacy with a country which already supplies five-sixths of her industrial material, and would become a larger and still larger consumer of her wares. France has few ships, and could not, if she would, conduct a war three thousand miles distant, and with Russia and England at her doors, she will have little time for such adventure. The Mississippi and other great rivers would be made free to all requiring their navigation upon the principle that the great rivers of Europe are now free. Population will crowd in upon us from all sources. We shall have the men of intelligence, of enterprise, and capital, the artisans, of Europe and the North, in the new and boundless field that will be presented. If wars must come, despite of all the causes which seem to render them improbable, and the most strenuous efforts of the patriot, the South is protected against invasion by the causes which destroyed in a single campaign a score of general officers, and with them nearly the whole of the army of French who undertook to operate in 1803 in the West Indies. Upon her soil she will prove to be as invincible as the Macedonian phalanxes. Her system of labor will enable her to spare more men, in proportion, from the industrial pursuits, to take the field, than any other powers, and her semi-military system of society has at all times raised her martial character to the highest possible rank. Neither in the war of the Revolution, nor in 1812, though her slaves were as numerous in proportion as now, did she experience the least embarrassment from them, although at times the enemy's ships were in sight of her shores, urging them to insurrection. The Continental Congress ordered a legion of two thousand slaves to be raised, and a battalion of this population served hand in hand with the whites at the battle of New Orleans. Against the North the South would at least be a match, at any and all times, and

against one or all of the European powers, *the common interests of America would dictate her security.*

Free thus in her industry and her enterprise, the growth of the South would be commensurate with the extent of the regions and the inclinations of the peoples who surround her. Mexico, Central America, Cuba, the West Indies, generally, would properly, in the remote future, become parts of a system which assimilated so much in its necessities with their own. Slavery, in its natural increase, or by the reëopening of the slave trade, if it pleased, (for we should find the world in time willing enough on that subject,) will supply to us the labor that will be the indispensable agent in this great development.

These, it seems to me, are the views to which we should accustom ourselves, inculcating them upon our children, discussing them in our gatherings, and proclaiming them from our Conventions. They will fit us the better for those broad and national duties which become us, as citizens of the Federal Union, should its behests again, through the interposition of a higher power than that of man, be exercised consistently with our security, repose, and honor, for they, only, can be worthy and effective constituencies who both know and dare maintain their rights. When this manly feeling shall be extinguished in a single one of our States, the knell of American republicanism will indeed have been truly sounded.

Let us proceed then with our discussions and mature our plans for the development and strengthening of the South, morally, politically, industrially, and intellectually, for they are all measures of peace, good will, and duty, and would be incumbent upon us, as well in the profoundest political repose and security, as in any hour of peril. We have clearly much to cheer and console us, although much to embarrass. A better disposition undoubtedly rules in the South with reference to these matters. Its shipping interest and direct trade are augmenting, and at a public dinner in Charleston, a short time since, three gentlemen, whose names I could mention, counted up twenty-two ships that were owned between them. The great internal improvement works of the South are being pressed with vigor, and but lately the marriage of the Mississippi and Southern Atlantic was imposingly celebrated. These roads are climbing the mountains of Virginia, Carolina, and Tennessee, opening that magnificent country with its abundant granaries, its inexhaustible mines, its invigorating and health-giving waters. At the extreme South the work of a Southern Pacific railroad is being vigorously prosecuted, with the demonstrative certainty of success. Conventions at Bristol and at Old Point, representing millions of capital, have given endorsement to a great steamship line, and agents are now at work at home

and in Europe to consummate it. Abundant crops, with the highest prices, are enriching the South, and our factories are fast increasing in number and in dividends. Patriotic men, a few days since, convened at Nashville, and matured their plans for a great Central Southern University, and the local institutions in all of the States, exhibit a prosperity to them hitherto unknown. In the newspapers of the day it is announced that the University of Virginia, that glorious monument erected to Mr. Jefferson, will have applications the coming season from eight hundred students. Our boys and girls are being called home from the North, and the former have often not waited for the summons, but taken matters in their own hands, determined that they would not submit to the associations which Northern schools required. The spirit of the boys has taught patriotism and virtue to the fathers. A growing preference is now manifested for Southern teachers over Northern ones, and in a notable instance it was found to be impracticable, to retain at the head of a great institution of learning, in one of our States, a gentleman, whose virtues were not to be questioned, but whose nativity was beyond Mason and Dixon's line. Southern school books are being prepared and printed and used, and Southern literature begins at last to receive a portion of encouragement. Our citizens are embellishing their sea coasts and interior retreats, and fashion, beauty, and opulence are finding at them all that was sighed for and not enjoyed at the Newports and Saratogas. A little more enterprise among our merchants and traders is perceptible, though it, alas, has been at the lowest ebb. Amid such encouragement let us persevere. It is impossible to say how much the history of this Convention may have had to do with these gratifying results. Advance! Encourage individual and State efforts, demand an equal federal consideration, insist upon a revenue tariff, or direct taxation, upon equal mail facilities, equal bounties, if any, to our steam service, justice and the Constitution in Kansas, a fair distribution of the public arms and proper protection in forts, light-houses, and navy yards for the Southern coasts, the repeal of the navigation and coasting laws, the recall of the slave-fleet from the coast of Africa, protection to the Tehuantepec route, and a proper modification of the neutrality laws.

Let us be cheered gentlemen, by the reflection that posterity will recognize and be benefited by our exertions; and that in reference to occasions like these which bring us annually together, when their full fruition shall come, it will happen in the language of Henry V, at Agincourt, that many

—“now abed
Will hold their manhoods cheap, while any speak
That fought with us,” &c.

TEXAS—A PROVINCE, REPUBLIC, AND STATE.

We proceed, in fulfillment of the pledge, which was made in the August number of the Review, to submit an abstract of Texas, historically and politically, and shall analyze for that purpose the work of Mr. Yoakum, but lately issued from the press,* and such others as are within our reach.

It is unnecessary to run back further in this sketch than to the landing of La Salle in Texas, when in quest of the mouth of the Mississippi in 1685. A full account of the explorations of that Commander has already been prepared by us, and may be consulted by the reader on reference to the volumes of the Review for 1856.

Spain, who claimed Texas as a part of Mexico, heard with much anxiety of the movements of La Salle, and immediately dispatched a detachment in pursuit of him. It was successful only in capturing a few straggling members of his party, the rest having perished on the way or passed into Louisiana. Colonies were also sent out from Mexico to make sure of the country, but they faded away; and as late as 1694 the province was without European settlers. Alarmed afterwards by the visit of St. Denis, sent out by Gov. Crozat of Louisiana, it was determined, without delay, to establish missions in the territory, the first of which begun in 1715. This period may be then fixed upon as that of the permanent occupancy of Texas by Spain.

Mr. Yoakum inclines to the opinion that the name of Texas is derived either from the appellation of some petty tribe of Indians, or that it is of Spanish origin, referring to the light structures of the Indians on the Neches. This latter is a suggestion of Mr. Gayarré, the historian of Louisiana. Another theory is that the word was applied by the Indians to the early settlers, and signified in their dialect *friends*. The country was, however, long known in official reports as the "New Phillipines." La Harpe, in 1719, first uses the name of Texas. In the same connection it may be noted how the several names attached to the largest river of Texas are accounted for. The river was

* History of Texas, from its first settlement in 1685 to its annexation to the United States in 1846, by H. Yoakum, Esq., 2 vols., with extended appendix. New York: Redfield. Mr. Yoakum seems to have collated with great care all the existing material, with much that has never yet appeared in print. All contemporary accounts, personal narratives, private correspondence, individual reminiscences, newspaper statements, and official documents, are called into requisition. The work, though wanting in system and condensed expression, is still of very great interest and value, and is deserving of general study. The author was evidently an enthusiastic admirer of Gen. Houston. He was an eminent lawyer, and we regret to learn is lately deceased.

discovered at different points, and supposed to be different streams. Those who saw it at Santa Fé in the north knew it as the "*Del Norte*;" when seen at *Presidio*, where its width is very great, it was the *Rio Grande*; but seen at Reynoso, among the fiercest and most warlike of the Indian tribes, it was the *Rio Bravo*.

Despite of all the ardent efforts of the missionaries, and of the Government, Texas did not prosper. Its population increased little, if any, between 1722 and 1744, on account of Indian wars and the steady prohibition of commerce with Louisiana. It seemed rather to be the policy of Spain to preserve it as an unsettled frontier, and a barrier against the encroachments of the Europeans of the North. Its whole white population did not then exceed 1,500 souls.

France having ceded Louisiana to Spain in 1765, in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of the English, an intercourse immediately sprung up between that province and Texas. Says Mr. Yoakum:*

"Texas had, it is true, but little to sell; yet, as the neighbor of Louisiana, she was, to some extent, the merchant of that colony and the internal provinces of Mexico. She had, of her own production, horses, cattle, and sheep: with these articles of trade she supplied the Louisianians, in exchange for manufactured goods. The precious metals sent from Chihuahua, Coahuila, New Leon, and even from New Mexico, passed through her territories to New Orleans, as the nearest wholesale market, in exchange for the various manufactures imported thence from the parent state. These transfers were made on mules, travelling generally in caravans, with a guard deemed sufficient to protect them from the Indians." (Vol. I, p. 96.)

The United States having come into possession of Louisiana in 1803, by purchase from the French, very many interesting questions at once arose in regard to its western boundaries, leading to long continued negotiation and debate, to which reference will hereafter be made. During the Spanish possession, Philip Nolan, who had been engaged in trade between San Antonio and Natchez since 1785, set out in the year 1800 from the Mississippi with a band of twenty Americans, crossed the Trinity, reached the Brasos, and was received everywhere with much kindness by the Indians. His camp was,

* In the debate upon the purchase of Louisiana, Mr. Uriah Tracy, of Connecticut, said in the United States Senate, "We can hold territory; but to admit the inhabitants into the Union, to make citizens of them, and States, by treaty, we can not constitutionally do; and no subsequent act of legislation, or even ordinary amendment to our Constitution, can legalize such measures. If done at all, they must be done by universal consent of all the States, or partners to our political association. And this universal consent, I am positive, can never be obtained to such a pernicious measure as the admission of Louisiana—of a world, and such a world!—into our Union. *This would be absorbing the Northern States, and rendering them as insignificant in the Union as they ought to be, if, by their own consent, the measure should be adopted.*" (Vol. I, p. 121.)

however, attacked by 150 Spaniards. Nolan was killed, which caused the command to devolve upon Bean.* The fight was long and brave, ending in a treaty of peace, upon condition that the Americans should leave the country. They were betrayed by the Spaniards, notwithstanding, and marched as prisoners into Mexico. Says Mr. Yoakum :

"At the close of 1806, Texas was in a more flourishing condition than it had been previously. The introduction of new settlers, the marching and display of so many troops, the presence of so many distinguished generals, and the introduction from Louisiana of considerable wealth, brought in by the immigrants hither in consequence of the transfer of that country to the United States—all these causes seemed to impart life and cheerfulness to the province. The regular military force in Texas was little short of a thousand men. Four hundred of these were stationed at Spanish Bluff, the contraband crossing of the Trinity; a hundred more at Robbins' ferry, on the same river; a hundred more at Nacogdoches; and nearly four hundred at San Antonio." (Vol. I, p. 136.)

A few Americans had settled along the San Antonio road, on both sides of Nacogdoches, and the society of that town improved very rapidly; parties, dinners, and dances, being of common occurrence. San Antonio was in a flourishing state with about 2,000 inhabitants—the whole population of Texas being about 7,000. The principal commerce was with Mexico via Monterey and Montclova, and with New Orleans, contraband, via Natchitoches. Many of the Spanish settlers were from the best society of old Spain or of Mexico, and the priests were usually men of classical learning and address.

The Republican party in Mexico had in view at this time a revolution, and the establishment of a federative system like that of the United States. Col. Bernardo Gutierrez visited Natchitoches, where he formed an acquaintance with an American officer named Magee, who was young, bold, and ardent, and from some incursions he had been making into Texas, had already begun to dream of conquering it to the Rio Grande, and setting up an independent state, to be made a part of the American Union. He was a graduate of West Point, born in Massachusetts, but full of the fire of "fillibustering," to use a later designation, for what, when successful, is always known as generous sympathy with the oppressed. The young officer gave a willing ear. Bernardo could bring over the Mexican population of Texas, and would be *nominally* commander-in-chief. Magee would bring over the freebooters of the neutral ground. Some agents would secure the entire Indian coöperation. Col. Davenport, a man of wealth, would supply the means. One hundred and fifty-

* Bean was then a youth of 17. His subsequent career, both in Mexico and Texas, constitutes one of the most interesting records of the age, and rivals the pages of the romancers.

eight Americans speedily repaired to the rendezvous on the Sabine, under a call for raising the Republican army of the north. Victory followed upon victory. Most of the inhabitants east of the Trinity joined the ranks of the Americans. Kemper was chosen Major, and Magee Colonel, and the forces, at least 800 in number, carried everything before them, took Bahia, and in front of its walls contended with great bravery against the combined forces of the Spaniards. In the final struggle, under the lead of Kemper, the enemy were put to flight with immense loss. They were pursued in the direction of San Antonio, and a few miles from that town a sanguinary conflict ensued. The Spaniards, 2,500 strong, were opposed to about 1,300 Americans, Indians, and Mexicans, but gave way with the vigorous charge, flying to San Antonio, their commander selling his life most heroically. Nearly a thousand of them were killed and wounded. The surrender of San Antonio soon followed. This achievement was succeeded by another in which the Americans, under Perry, won a complete victory, leaving a thousand of the enemy dead, wounded, or taken prisoners.* Don Bernardo giving dissatisfaction to the troops, was substituted by Toledo, a Cuban of distinguished Spanish family, and an ardent republican. He had been in Louisiana engaging recruits. On assuming the command Toledo set to work to restore order in Texas, appointing Alcaldes and other necessary officers. On a third rally of the Spaniards, however, under Arredondo, the deficiencies of Toledo exhibited themselves, and the jealousies to which his appointment had given rise. His forces sustained overwhelming defeat, and but a handful of the Americans succeeded in reaching Natchitoches. The victory was the signal for the most horrid barbarities to the citizens of San Antonio. Humanity shrinks from recording the shocking scenes that followed. Toledo eventually united himself with the royalists.

"The victorious party in Texas pursued with vengeance every friend of the republican party. The town of Trinidad, at Spanish Bluff, was utterly desolated. Those of the inhabitants who did not make their escape were cruelly butchered at a hill a few hundred yards west of Robbins' ferry, known as the *Loma del Toro*, or Bull's hill. The republicans of Nacogdoches fled to Louisiana. The survivors of the *neutral ground* returned to their old haunts, and formed a nucleus around which subsequent revolutionists might rally." (Vol. I, p. 175.)

Mr. Yoakum refers to the extraordinary conduct of Col. Magee as altogether inexplicable. Though the head and front of the expedition, yet when victory was almost in his hands at La Bahia, he had proposed, after an interview with the

* Poor Perry, after exhibitions of energy and valor, finding himself overpowered and his men entirely destroyed, imitated the unfortunate Magee in taking his own life.

Spanish commander, Salcedo, to capitulate on condition of being allowed to leave the country. Finding that his men with unanimity refused to comply with the terms, he is said to have retired to his tent, and on hearing of their successes, perhaps from mortification, committed suicide.

Meanwhile the sympathy of the Americans for their republican brothers of Mexico continued, and large reinforcements were sent into the country. Several Mexicans were indicted at New Orleans for a violation of the neutrality laws. Galveston Island, which had remained unsettled since the days of La Salle, increasing in size perhaps from the recession of the waters of the gulf, because the head granters of Aury, who, under Herrera, minister of the Mexican patriots, commanded a fleet of twelve or fifteen small vessels, in the service of the Republics of Mexico, Venezuela, La Plata, and New Grenada. These vessels conducted successful privateering against the gulf commerce of Spain, and after a while privateering degenerated into actual piracy. When slavers were taken, their live cargo was either landed at Bazou, Lafouche, Louisiana, or marched overland to Alexandria, in the same State. The traffic was highly remunerative, and large numbers of slaves were no doubt thus introduced, in violation of the laws of the land. The price of a negro at Galveston was a dollar a pound! On the abandonment of this point by Aury it was taken possession of by Jean Lafitte, one of three brothers, natives of France. His first privateering was from Carthenega, from whence he often visited the United States. The embargo in 1807 favored his operations. The Island of Barrataria, on the gulf, became the resort of the lawless of all nations, who had been driven from their homes by wars or the instincts of plunder. At the head of such men Lafitte soon took conspicuous place, keeping as agents in the business his two brothers at New Orleans, and interesting in his fortunes many of the largest merchants of that city. On this resort being broken up by Commodore Patterson, Lafitte offered his sword to the Americans, and did good service at the battle of New Orleans. He afterwards received a Mexican commission as a cruiser, and was soon at the head of the establishment, which, as was said above, was now transferred to Galveston Island.

It is worthy of remark that notwithstanding the notoriety of all these facts and their being within the personal knowledge of so many living persons, a writer at New Orleans some years since, having the advantage of connection with a leading press, maintained with zeal the idle story that this renowned freebooter and privateer, Lafitte, was only a plain blacksmith

of that city, who had no knowledge whatever of navigation or of war.*

"Lafitte was a well-formed, handsome man, about six feet two inches in height, strongly built, with large hazel eyes, black hair, and generally wore a mustache. He dressed in a green uniform and an otter-skin cap. He was a man of polite and easy manners, of retired habits, generous disposition, and of such a winning address, that his influence over his followers was almost absolute. He located his town on the ruins of Aury's village, built him a house, which he painted red, and threw up around it a fort. Very soon many other houses were erected. His followers, who had wives or mistresses, brought them there, and society at Galveston, whatever may be said of its morals, began to have all the elements of permanency. Through New Orleans they were supplied with building-materials and provisions; a 'Yankee' boarding-house sprang up; and, to complete the establishment, they constructed a small arsenal and dockyard." (Vol. I, p. 196.)

The establishment at Galveston Island in 1817 had increased to 1,000 men of all nations, refugees from justice or oppression, acting under commissions from the revolted colonies of Spain, and committing havoc upon the commerce of the mother country. In consequence of similar attacks on American vessels Lieut. Kearney, of the navy, was sent against the island and caused it to be evacuated in 1821. What became of Lafitte afterwards is uncertain, though it is said that he died in Yucatan in 1826. During the occupation of Galveston, another American expedition under Gen. Long, of Maury county, Tennessee, went overland into Texas. It departed from the vicinities of Natchez, but ended disastrously with the death of the commander and the most of the party.

We come at last to the first legitimate colonization of Texas. Moses Austin, a citizen of Connecticut, but for twenty years a resident of Missouri, obtained a very liberal grant from Mexico in 1821, but died before effecting any action under it. The charge, therefore, devolved upon his son Stephen Austin, and the colonists, by this grant, were to be Louisianians of the catholic faith, who should swear fealty to Spain, &c. They were to be entitled to receive 640 acres of land to each man, 320 to the wife, and 160 acres to each child, 80 acres to each slave. Other grants being unjustly pressed upon Mexico, Iturbide, who had forcibly usurped the Emperor's crown, caused a general colonization law to be passed, most liberal in its provisions, but providing against the sale or purchase of slaves, and for the freedom of all slaves at 14 years of age who were born in the empire. On the overthrow of the usurper by Santa Anna, and the proclamation of the Federal Constitution of 1824, this law was repealed, but the grant to Austin was on several occasions solemnly confirmed. A new

* For many of the papers to which this controversy gave rise, see the earlier volumes of the Review, particularly Vol. XI, 372, Vol. XII, iii, and 222, Vol. XIII, 102, 204, and 422; see also Vol. XIX, p. 151.

and liberal colonization law was also enacted. The colony of Austin, meanwhile, entered Texas in 1822 for Red river and passed to the Brasos, others settling on the western bank of the Colorado. Colonists came in flocks, suffering much at first on account of deficit provisions, and the attacks of the Indians. San Felix de Austin was laid out on the banks of the Brasos. Says Mr. Yoakum :

"Although Austin's powers were almost absolute, he governed with parental mildness. His soul was absorbed in the great business of the successful completion of his enterprise. He was esteemed by each colonist, not so much as a ruler, as a father and friend. By example and precept he inspired them with a love of order and industry. True, he was often annoyed by bad men, intruders in the colony; yet his forbearance, even in such cases, was great. When he found it necessary to use strong measures, and inflict wholesome lessons of punishment or restraint, he did it, but with regret." (Vol. I, p. 228.)

"These were rough times among the Texan pioneers. Yet they were engaged in a good work, and met and overcame difficulties with manly firmness. They had no other luxuries than such as were afforded in beholding the loveliest natural scenery, and in taking part in the stirring adventures of the chase. The common dress of the men and children was made of buckskin, and even the women were often obliged to wear a like dress. Rarely were they able to obtain from some strolling pedlar a piece of 'domestic,' or calico, at the high price of seventy-five cents per yard." Vol. I, p. 229.)

We pass over the unfortunate events which followed upon the attempt of Hayden Edwards to establish, under his grant, eight hundred families in Texas. The grant covered ground already occupied, which led to angry discussions, and finally to its repeal. Against this the colonists protested as an act of usurpation, and erected the standard of revolt. Thus as early as 1826 began to break out those disorders which eventuated in revolution and independence. "The colonists were invited to a country free, under the constitution of 1824, and they were determined to keep it free, not only from Indian cruelty, but Mexican tyranny."

In Austin's grant things went on more harmoniously. De Witt's settlement began, and that also of Martin De Lon, at Victoria. Burnet received a grant which covered some part of that which had been Edwards'. A constitution was about the same time adopted for Texas and Coahuila, but the Texans continued to keep aloof from Mexican politics, mixed little with the other race, and adhered to their hereditary religion, morals, and politics. Affairs in the central States between the monarchists and republicans continued unsettled. Mr. Poinsett, the American Minister, incensed the former very greatly by some exhibitions of sympathy with their opponents, and by installing Masonic lodges under other rituals than those in ordinary use. Texas, also, continued very poor, though during 1827 and 1828 new immigrants crowded in, laying off the town of Gonzales. Indian troubles intervened, and companies were raised to keep them in check.

Congress met and prohibited debts which antedated the colonists arrival from being collected during twelve years, and protected his lands forever against such debts. It also regulated peonage, secured the wages of the peon, and provided for his punishment, which should embrace confinement and shackles, but not extend to the whip. This last restriction was, however, repealed. Masters were freed from the responsibility of burying their servants who died in their debt. None of these laws extended to the slavery which existed among the Americans, which was otherwise regulated, and the constitution and decrees aimed with little effect at its extinction. Another revolution followed upon the close of President Victoria's term, and the United States began to make some endeavors to recover by treaty its boundary of the Rio Grande, which had been lost by the bad management of Mr. Adams. The colony at Goliad was formed in 1829, and also colonies on the Texan side of Red river. Education and religion were at a low ebb. A Mexican decree abolished slavery in the Republic, but was modified in its application to Texas. The Mexicans, for their purposes, preferred peonage, believing it to be more profitable, as the employers under it were without the necessity of supporting the peon. Bustamente, succeeding to the Presidency, enforced the slave decrees, and forbid further colonists from the United States. This unwise policy, interfering with vested rights, excited revolutionary feelings in every quarter. The rights of religion were also interfered with, martial law attempted, arrests and imprisonments made, and property taken without consent or consideration. These were some of the grievances of which before 1830 the Texan colonists complained. "It was not," says the historian, "the entertainment to which they had been invited."

Meanwhile the tyrannies and usurpations of Bustamente had terminated in a revolt, instigated and led by Santa Anna, in whose success all Texas sympathized. Finding himself deserted by his followers, and pressed by the revolutionists, Bustamente resigned authority and fled from Mexico. Immigrants continued to arrive in Texas, disregarding the decrees of extinction, and great apprehensions were felt in Mexico that the United States would, in some manner, set up and support a claim to the territory.* Hence the rapid introduction

* Mr. Poinsett had been instructed to offer \$4,000,000 for the boundary of the Rio Grande, and a proportionate sum for the Lavaca, Colorado, or Brazos. In the despatch of Mr. Clay, in 1825, it was said: "The line of the Sabine approaches our great western mart nearer than could be wished. Perhaps the Mexican government may not be unwilling to establish that of the Rio Brasos de Dios, or the Rio Colorado, or the Snow mountains, or the Rio del Norte, in lieu of it.

"Among the reasons assigned by Mr. Clay for making the purchase are the

of troops, the interference with land titles, the imposition of taxes, the prohibition of merchandize, etc. A meeting of citizens, held at Brazoria, in consequence of these matters, determined upon resistance, at least, to the decree closing the ports. Soon after, Colonel Johnson, at the head of sixty Texans, demanded the release of prisoners from Fort Anahuac; Captain John Austin took Fort Velasco after a signal victory, whilst at Nacogdoches, under Bullock, the Texans fought with gallantry, intent upon compelling the Mexican forces to declare for the Constitution of 1824, and the plan of Vera Cruz. A general rising of the Texans was stopped by the intelligence that the State of Coahuila and Texas had come into this plan, whereupon all the towns submitted, and the people returned to their homes. Texas had been divided into two districts, the line of separation being the dividing ridge between the Trinity and the Brazos, the eastern having Nacogdoches, and the western (San Antonio) Bexar as its seat of political power.

Emboldened by their successes, won with the aid and countenance of powerful Mexican factions, and convinced that the union with Coahuila was at the bottom of much of their troubles, the Texans felt convinced that the time had arrived for the establishment of a separate State, which they claimed as a right under the Federal Constitution of 1824. A convention for this purpose met at San Felipe, in October, 1832, and afterwards, with a fuller representation, in April, 1833. Among the delegates, were Archer, Austin, Burnet Austin, Sam Houston, Miller, and Wharton; the last of whom was elected President of the Convention*; a committee was appointed to carry up the constitution and the memorial to the supreme central government, but disturbances which prevailed

following: 'The great extent and the facility which appears to have attended the procurement of grants from the government of the United Mexican States, for large tracts of country to citizens of the United States, in the province of Texas, authorize the belief that but little value is placed upon the possession of the province by that government. These grants seem to have been made without any sort of equivalent, judging according to our opinions of the value of land. They have been made to, and apparently in contemplation of being settled by, citizens from the United States. These emigrants will carry with them our principles of law, liberty, and religion; and, however much it may be hoped they might be disposed to amalgamate with the ancient inhabitants of Mexico, so far as political freedom is concerned, it would be almost too much to expect that all collisions would be avoided on other subjects. Already some of these collisions have manifested themselves, and others, in the progress of time, may be anticipated with confidence. These collisions may insensibly enlist the sympathies and feelings of the two republics, and lead to misunderstandings.' (Vol. I, p. 277.)

* In 1850 nine-tenths of the Americans in Texas not born there were born in the slave States of the Union, only one-twentieth were born in the Northern States, and one-tenth in the Northern and North-western. Of the sixty who signed the Texan Declaration of Independence, 48 were from the Southern slaveholding States, and but 5 from the free States.

there, prevented for a long time a hearing to Austin, the only one of the Committee, who repaired to Mexico. Baffled in this way, Austin wrote to the municipality of Bexar, recommending that all of the municipalities should unite in organizing a State, and by union and harmony, prepare for a refusal of their application by the supreme government. For this action the empresario was arrested, and subjected to a close and protracted imprisonment. Relieved at last, he received from Santa Anna the ultimatum, which was favorable in some respects to Texas, but which peremptorily denied the privilege of separation from Coahuila. At this time, 1834, Almonte returned to Mexico from Texas, and made a report attributing its rapid advances to industry and the absence of civil strife. He estimated the population at 21,000 souls, though there were, perhaps, 30,000; and the negroes at 1,100, though it was believed they numbered 3,000. The whole foreign trade of Texas he estimated at \$1,680,000.

Santa Anna assumed supreme power, trampling under foot the Constitution of Mexico, and putting to death all who opposed his infamous purposes. The power of the National Congress was thenceforward to be unlimited, or whatever might be the wish of the dictator. Texas was to be overrun by troops, custom-houses established, emigrants since 1830 driven away, and all proscribed persons arrested and tried. The slaves, too, were to be freed and raised to the class of citizens! Even the corrupt and effete legislature which regulated the affairs of Coahuila and Texas, warned the central power that reforming would be dangerous in this quarter, seeing that it bordered on a flourishing sister republic, and was settled by those with whom such changes would never accord. For this offence Gen. Cos was ordered to disperse the body at Monteclova, but instead of preparing to defend itself and the country, this imbecile body occupied its last days in making large grants of land, and sustaining invalid land titles. *Thus Texas was without a Government, and must either establish one for herself or submit to the tyranny of Santa Anna.* Committees of safety were at once formed in all the municipalities, and Commissioners were sent to Gen. Cos, then on his march to Texas, who demanded as the only condition of peace that Zavala, Johnson, Williamson, Travis, and others, should be given up to him. The Commissioners had no power in the premises, and their mission expired. In July and August over 1,500 Mexican troops were within Texas, or on the march towards it. A large public meeting was held at San Augustine. A series of resolutions declared—

“Their adherence to the *Acta Constitutiva*, and the Constitution of 1824; that the arrest of Governor Viesca and the members of the legislature, and the in-

tended introduction of an army into Texas, were evidences of tyranny, dangerous to liberty, and a violation of the terms on which the colonists had been invited hither; and that there was no legitimate head to the state government, the governor being imprisoned, and a creature of Santa Anna's being placed in his stead—in the exercise of powers unknown to the constitution. The resolutions further provided for negotiations with the Indian tribes, for raising and organizing the militia, and for appointing a committee of safety. They also declared that those who should fly the country should forfeit their lands." (Vol. I, pp. 350, 351.)

A revolution had indeed commenced, which was to be conducted with such success to the arms of Texas, and eventuate in her liberty as a republic, and afterwards, a State of the American Union. The news of an affair at Gonzales about the possession of a cannon, spread far and wide, and a company was raised at San Augustine, in which were enrolled Houston, Rusk, and Johnson. In every direction circulars were dispatched, proposing to take Bexar and drive the Mexican soldiers out of Texas. San Felipe was adopted as the centre of action, and Stephen Austin, by general consent, looked up to for orders and advice. The Mexicans being on the march from Bexar to Gonzales, volunteers hastened in that direction; and on the 11th October, Stephen Austin was elected commander-in-chief of the Texan forces. A march was at once determined on against Bexar, and also, the capture of Goliad, which last was effected by a few of the planters of Caney and Matagorda, and brought military stores to the value of many thousand dollars, large supplies of arms, some artillery and interrupted the Mexican communication between Bexar and the Gulf which was never again restored. The general consultation, consisting of 32 members, met at San Felipe, but the civil government of the State was in the hands of the central council, consisting of one member from each of the committees of safety. The battle of Concepcion was a brilliant victory won by Fannin and Bowie, with the loss of but one man, the Mexicans having sixty killed and as many wounded. Says Mr. Yoakum:

"The Texan government—that is, the council—had much to do. The correspondence was immense; the authority of the councillors limited by the precarious tenures of their offices. But they had willing co-operators. The union was complete. With their slender resources they managed to send a weekly mail through Texas to Fort Jesup, thus keeping up a regular communication with the United States. Messrs. Baker and Borden had established a printing-press at San Felipe, which sent out the weekly 'Telegraph,' and *extras* without number. The people of eastern Texas were also about establishing, at Nacogdoches, 'The Emigrant's Guide.' Thus the elements of civilization and progress were mingling with the ravages of war.

"During the brief existence of the council, that body appointed Sims Hall army-contractor; it sent an able address to the people of the United States; it appointed T. F. McKinney an agent to contract a loan at New Orleans of a hundred thousand dollars; it granted to several persons letters of reprisal." (Vol. I, pp. 378, 379.)

A new consultation assembled on the first of November, 1835, at San Felipe, consisting of fifty-five members, and committees were appointed to make declaration of the causes which impelled the taking up arms, and also to submit a plan of provisional government. The declaration, which immediately followed, was not of independence, but simply of adherence to the Constitution of 1824, though, without doubt, independence was in the minds of all. The Provisional Government consisted of a Governor, Lient. Governor, a Council of one from each municipality, a provisional Judiciary, and a Commander-in-Chief. Henry Smith was elected Governor, and Sam Houston Commander-in-Chief; Archer, Austin, and Wharton, Commissioners to the United States. Assistance in men and money flowed liberally in from New Orleans, Mobile, etc. Gov. Smith sent in a message to the Council recommending military preparation, the granting of letters of marque, the blockade by foreign aid of the Mexican ports, the equipment of a corps of rangers, the appointment of foreign agents, tariff, and other revenue and postage matters, etc. Meanwhile, the army had won a glorious victory over Gen. Cos at San Antonio de Bexar, investing the town, and afterwards carrying it by regular storm, fighting from street to street and house to house. Col. Milam, who volunteered the assault, was killed, and the command thereupon devolved upon Frank Johnson. Burleson, who had the general direction of the forces, received the flag of capitulation, permitted Cos and his officers on their parole of honor to retire from Texas, taking also their soldiers beyond the Rio Grande. The parole excluded them from taking up arms in the future against the re-establishment of the Constitution of 1824.

Angry quarrels now occurred between the Government and the Council, bringing scandal upon the cause, and paralyzing for a long time all military movements. The Council seemed disposed to supersede Houston, or at least to set up Fannin and Johnson, with equal and independent powers. Great diversity of opinion began also to prevail in regard to the propriety of a march upon Matamoras, and an attempt to stir up the neighboring provinces of Mexico against the Central power. Events, however, proved that no co-operation whatever could be expected from that quarter. Santa Anna, with Urrea, Cos, Sesma, Wool, etc., and an army 6,000 strong, occupied the Rio Grande, and such was the paralysis upon the Texans that scarcely any steps were taken for their reception. Past successes had emboldened the minds of the people, aided by exaggerated reports of the number of volunteers from the States, who had repaired to their standards. Exhaustion from the toils of the previous year, and the dissensions between the

Governor and Council were also producing their effects. Santa Anna presented to the Mexican Congress the course to be pursued towards Texas after her conquest, so certain to him seemed at this time the event.

"His plan was as follows: to drive from the province all who had taken part in the revolution, together with all foreigners who lived near the seacoast or the borders of the United States: to remove far into the interior those who had not taken part in the war; to vacate all sales and grants of land owned by non-residents; to remove from Texas all who had come to the province, and were not entered as colonists under Mexican rules; to divide among the officers and soldiers of the Mexican army the best lands, provided they would occupy them; to permit no Anglo-American to settle in Texas; to sell the remaining vacant lands at one dollar per acre—allowing the French to buy only five millions of acres, the English the same, the Germans somewhat more, and to those speaking the Spanish language without limit; to satisfy the claims of the civilized Indians; to make the Texans pay the expenses of the war; and to liberate and declare free the negroes introduced into the province." (Vol. II, p. 65.)

A convention of the people of Texas met on the 1st March, 1836, at Washington, on the Brazos, and declared her a free, sovereign, and independent republic, provided for the enrollment of an army, of which Houston was appointed Commander-in-chief, adopted a republican constitution, and elected a provisional government, of which David G. Burnet was made the President, and Thomas J. Rusk, Secretary of War. The enemy concentrated upon Bexar and Goliad. The Texans at Bexar retired to the Alamo, where under Travis, Bowie, and Crockett, one hundred and eighty men resisted a siege for thirteen days, which was conducted by several thousand Mexicans under Santa Anna. A more glorious struggle has, perhaps, never been recorded in ancient or modern times. The little garrison, overwhelmed by the number of the assailants, perished to a man, whilst fighting in the last ditch. The leaders fell with piles of the enemy's slain around them, excepting Bowie, who was murdered on a sick bed. No quarters were allowed. We quote from Yoakum :*

* The address of Travis, to the Texans in this emergency, is worthy of Leonidas:

"COMMANDANCY OF THE ALAMO, BEXAR, February 24, 1836.

"FELLOW-CITIZENS AND COMPATRIOTS: I am besieged by a thousand or more of the Mexicans under Santa Anna. I have sustained a continued bombardment for twenty-four hours, and have not lost a man. The enemy have demanded a surrender at discretion; otherwise the garrison is to be put to the sword, if the place is taken. I have answered the summons with a cannon-shot, and our flag still waves proudly from the walls. *I shall never surrender or retreat.* Then I call on you in the name of liberty, of patriotism, and of everything dear to the American character, to come to our aid with all despatch. The enemy are receiving reinforcements daily, and will no doubt increase to three or four thousand in four or five days. Though this call may be neglected, I am determined to sustain myself as long as possible, and die like a soldier who never forgets what is due to his own honor and that of his country. Victory or death!

"W. BARRET TRAVIS, Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding."

"Thus fell the Alamo and its heroic defenders; but before them lay the bodies of five hundred and twenty-one of the enemy, with a like number wounded. At an hour by sun, on that Sabbath morning, all was still; yet the crimson waters of the aqueduct around the fort resembled the red flag on the church at Bexar! The defenders of Texas did not retreat, but lay there in obedience to the command of their country; and in that obedience the world has witnessed among men no greater moral sublimity." (Vol. II, p. 81.)

The fall of the Alamo was but the fearful complement of another bloody and infamous tragedy enacted by the Mexicans, which aroused against them the sympathies and the abhorrence of the civilized world. The battle of Coleta had left Fannin undisputed victor, after a contest attended with great slaughter, between 275 Texans against 1,800 Mexicans under Urrea. The enemy, soon after, being largely reinforced, renewed the fight. A capitulation was the result, which stipulated, in the most solemn manner, in favor of the prisoners, that the uses of civilized warfare should be observed—that the officers should wear their side-arms, and be paroled and returned to the United States, and that the soldiers should at once be sent in the same direction. Notwithstanding this sacred treaty, an order was received from Santa Anna, and immediately executed, requiring the prisoners to be taken out and shot. Death, marked with the utmost cruelty and brutality, was therefore inflicted at Goliad upon 330 out of 445 prisoners. The men were marched out in separate divisions, under different pretexts, and without any apprehensions of their impending fate. The wounded were dragged out and butchered. Fannin died last. He seated himself on a chair, tied the handkerchief over his eyes, and bared his bosom to receive the fire. Many young men shouted "huzzas for Texas," and flourished their caps as they received their fate. Young Fenner rose on his feet and exclaimed—"boys, they are going to kill us, die with your faces to them like men." We quote again from Yoakum:

"The 'public vengeance' of the Mexican tyrant, however, was satisfied. Deliberately and in cold blood he had caused three hundred and thirty of the sternest friends of Texas—her friends while living and dying—to tread the winepress for her redemption. He chose the Lord's day for this sacrifice. It was accepted; and God waited his own good time for retribution—a retribution which brought Santa Anna a trembling coward to the feet of the Texan victors, whose magnanimity prolonged his miserable life to waste the land of his birth with anarchy and civil war!" (Vol. II, p. 101.)

The panic which ensued upon the news of these bloody events extended to all classes, and the instincts of self-preservation produced one general flight. Men, women, and children, and servants in wild disorder, alone, or carrying with them their goods and stock, depopulated the more exposed settlements, and escaped towards the Colorado or the Sabine. It was believed that promiscuous slaughter awaited all. The

militia and volunteers were paralyzed in their anxiety for the safety of their families, and for a time it seemed as if the fate of Texas was fixed. President Burnet issued an appeal to the people, urging them to disregard all idle rumors, and to remain at their homes, in order that others might repair to the standard of their country. The Secretary of War, Col. Rusk, advanced to the field of action in person, after using the most herculean efforts to obtain and furnish the necessary supplies.

The Texan army, under Houston, during this time, had fallen back upon the Colorado, and afterwards upon the Brazos, which latter stream being crossed, they formed an encampment near the banks of the San Jacinto, the enemy fortifying themselves about three-quarters of a mile distant. A council of war was held to determine if the enemy should be attacked in his position, or if an attack should be awaited from him. General Houston decided upon the former course against the wishes of the majority of the officers. It was three o'clock in the afternoon of the 21st April when the Texans formed the order of battle, which they could do without observation. The Mexicans were dull and weary, many of the leaders, and even the chief, Santa Anna, being asleep, after the fatigues of the march, and in a condition readily to be surprised. The Texan cavalry advanced with rapidity, the artillery opened suddenly its fires, and the whole line precipitated itself upon the foe with cries of "remember the Alamo"—"remember Goliad!" There was no pause in these dreadful advances, and the enemy were speedily paralyzed with fear. In fifteen minutes after the first charge they were seen to give way precipitately at all points, and the pursuit became general, which was arrested only by the appearance of night.

Thus was fought the famous battle of San Jacinto, which may almost be said to have decided the fate of Texas, and which crowned with such well-earned laurels, Houston, Rusk, Lamar, Burelson, Sherman, Somervell, Millard, and others of the noble little army. In particular it established the reputation of Houston, which, it would seem, there had been causes at work calculated to affect.

The Texans had in the field 783 men; the force of the enemy was between 1,400 and 1,500; but whilst only eight Texans were killed and five wounded, the enemy had 630 killed, 208 wounded, and 730 made prisoners! Santa Anna himself was taken on the following morning, disguised as a countryman, and concealed in the grass. He was treated much better than he had any right to expect, but was required to issue orders directing Filisola to withdraw towards the Rio Grande, the forces of Ganona and Urrea. This he did readily upon the allegation of his defeat and of an armistice with the prospect

of peace. The dictator then entered into two treaties, providing for the cessation of hostilities, the retirement of his forces beyond the Rio Grande, and the protection or restitution of property. A secret treaty at the same time bound him to prepare matters in Mexico for the entire independence of Texas. In consequence of Houston's having received a wound which sent him to New Orleans for treatment, Gen. Rusk succeeded to the command of the army and Lamar was made Secretary of War. The greatest enthusiasm in Texas and throughout the United States followed upon these brilliant successes.

News of the defeat of Santa Anna having extended to the other divisions of his army, a hurried retreat commenced towards the Guadalupe, and eventually the Rio Grande. The reinforcements which were promised from Mexico did not arrive, and General Gaines in command of the forces of the United States which had been ordered to the Sabine, occupied Nacogdoches, as it was claimed under the treaty between the United States and Mexico, which bound the parties mutually to restrain by force, all Indian hostilities against the white settlers. Mexico, it was known, was inciting the Indians to hostility. This occupation caused the withdrawal of the Mexican Minister from Washington, and soon after, Mr. Ellis, the American Minister in Mexico, having failed to procure a satisfactory adjustment of long standing claims, demanded and received his passports. Within four months the United States had recognized the independence of Texas, given audience to its Ministers, and appointed Alcee Labranche Chargé d'Affaires to that Republic. The question of annexation was received unfavorably in the existing relations, but left as an open one with the American people.

President Burnet on attempting in good faith under the armistice to allow Santa Anna a free return to Mexico, was resisted by the army and the people, who seemed disposed to place him before a court-martial, and in retaliation for his many crimes, inflict upon him the punishment of death. From this fate he was in all probability saved by the powerful appeals of General Houston and General Jackson, upon the grounds of humanity as well as of sound policy. After still further imprisonment he was sent to the United States under charge of several officers of the army, who conducted him to Washington City, whence, after receiving many kindnesses, he embarked by the way of Norfolk on a public vessel for Vera Cruz.

The reception of Santa Anna in Mexico was without enthusiasm. The power of the dictator had departed. He had been publicly attacked and denounced there as a monster of

iniquity; and in one pamphlet it was said: "If it were possible to pile one upon the other the bodies of the dead, whose untimely end has been promoted by General Santa Anna, they would doubtless form a mountain higher than that of Popocatepetl! and we would say to his flatterers, '*Behold a monument erected to humanity and the protector of religion!*'"

The Texas army now numbered in force 2,300 men, but inactivity and dissention soon reduced it to half that number. Lamar had been appointed commander-in-chief, which was very distasteful to the soldiers, who seemed to see in this movement a disposition to supersede the claims of Houston and Rusk. It was alleged by Lamar, however, that Houston had forfeited his claim by leaving for New Orleans without furlough, and that Rusk, himself, had asked for the appointment of a major-general. To this Gen. Rusk replied that he had at that time expected to visit his family, but the enemy being now looked for in force, it would be disgraceful to abandon his post and his letters under such different circumstances, were but a flimsy pretext for the appointment. Finding the opposition which was respectful to him in person, not likely to be appeased, Gen. Lamar handsomely withdrew. The account of these proceedings is from Gen. Felix Houston who had but lately reached the army with his command. This gentleman, on the appointment of Rusk to the Cabinet, became for a time, commander-in-chief; the Congress, by joint resolution having offered the post to Gen. James Hamilton, of South Carolina, who was compelled on account of domestic matters to decline.

A general election resulted in the adoption of the new constitution. General Houston was elected President, and Mirabeau Lamar, Vice President, over Stephen Austin and Henry Smith. The first Congress assembled on the 22d October, 1836, adopting many wise and salutary measures with great unanimity and spirit. The population of the Republic was thus estimated:

| | |
|----------------------|--------|
| Anglo-Americans..... | 30,000 |
| Mexicans..... | 3,470 |
| Indians..... | 14,200 |
| Negroes..... | 5,000 |
| Aggregate..... | 52,670 |

Says Mr. Yoakum:

"The president's house was a log-cabin, consisting of two rooms or pens—the one having a puncheon-floor, and the other a floor of earth. Yet in that humble dwelling the representatives of the republic and a large number of visitors, among whom were the British agent Crawford, sent to look at the country, and the distinguished Audubon, attended the *Exposé*." (Vol. II, p. 214.)

During the latter months of 1837 heavy emigration poured into Texas, consisting of substantial farmers, with abundant means. The Mexicans were beyond the Nueces. Treasury notes had given relief to the national finances. Commerce increased the import duties. The value of lands improved, and the cotton crop alone was estimated at \$2,000,000. Galveston began to exhibit much life and activity in the arrival of vessels and departure of steamers to the interior. In the first quarter of 1838 her imports reached over a quarter of a million of dollars. The Potomac was the only naval vessel afloat, but the French fleet on the coast gave sufficient employment to the vessels of the enemy, and left those of Texas undisturbed. Near the close of the year the navy was augmented and established by the purchase in Baltimore of one ship, two brigs, and three schooners, all fully armed and furnished. Some Indian hostilities, which were chastised by General Rusk, near the Trinity, alone disturbed the reign of order in Texas. Mirabeau Lamar was elected second President, and David G. Burnet, Vice President.

Indian hostilities began now to be renewed with great ferocity, induced by the action of the Mexicans, as well as by the often mistaken policy of the Texans themselves. In these contests many brilliant victories were won. Rusk, Burleson, and McCulloch covered themselves with imperishable honors. In a great battle near the Neches the Indians were signally defeated with the loss of their distinguished chief Bowles, who had been the cause of much of the mischief.

The federal party seeming to be in power in Mexico, Barnard Bee was sent thither with the view of negotiating a treaty of peace and independence. The movement was unsuccessful, and the Texan Minister at Washington, in pressing the matter upon Senor Martinez, spoke of extending the western boundary of Texas to the Pacific, so as to include the fine harbor of San Francisco. The federal Mexican republican party, under Canales, with about one hundred and fifty Texans, set up the "Republic of the Rio Grande," crossed its stream and carried the war into the adjoining Mexican provinces. Betrayed by the Mexican allies, the handful of Texans achieved a signal victory over many times their number in front of Saltillo.

Commercial treaties were about this time formed with both England and France through the exertions of the Commissioner, Henderson, and on the 25th September, 1839, the independence of the Republic was finally acknowledged by France. A loan of \$280,000 was offered from the United States Bank, but nothing could prevent the rapid depreciation of the paper issues of the State, which, in 1840, were worth

but fourteen cents on the dollar. General Hamilton was despatched to Europe for the purpose of negotiating a loan of \$5,000,000, and for other purposes. To his active exertions Texas owes it, in great part, that her independence was immediately after recognized by England, Holland, and Belgium.

"To the friends of Texas it was gratifying to see the growth of her commerce, and the interest felt therein by foreign nations. During the first quarter of 1840, ninety-two vessels arrived at the port of Galveston. There was a corresponding increase of arrivals at Velasco, Matagorda, and other points. Many of these vessels were from Europe, and brought merchandize to exchange for cotton. This increase of trade, though rapid, was natural, and did not exceed the increase of population induced by a constant stream of immigration. The town of Houston, situated at the head of Buffalo bayou, a river navigable at all times, had already become the centre of a considerable trade with the interior. This trade had extended up the Brazos, the Trinity, and even the Colorado; for it was found to be a cheap market for purchases, and transportation thence to the state capital was not higher than from Linnville. An extensive and quite an increasing trade was carried on through the outlet of Red river; and this traffic was the more profitable, because the importers were not so particular about paying the duties." (Vol. II, pp. 311, 312.)

General Hamilton having the proposal of the bankers Lafitte & Co., of Paris, and the promised aid and protection of the French Government, considered a loan of \$7,000,000 as already effected, and so wrote to New York; but in this he was destined to grievous disappointment, as the Government favor, on account of some diplomatic misunderstanding, was withdrawn. A National Bank, with large capital, was to have been a part of the operation, of which Mr. Jaudon, late agent of the United States Bank, was to be the President. Baffled in France, the indefatigable and able negotiator repaired to Belgium, where a quasi agreement was formed for the loan, on terms which the Texan Congress, however, did not accept, it having previously repealed all laws authorising the particular loan. Had the money been received it is difficult to imagine what would have been the result. Mr. Yoakum thinks that Mexico would have been invaded by an army of at least ten thousand men, thus anticipating the necessity afterwards forced upon the United States. Certain it is that President Burnet had declared Texas proper as "bounded by the Rio Grande, Texas as delivered by the sword, may comprehend the Sierra del Madre," and the Texan Congress afterwards extended the boundaries of the Republic (vetoed by Houston) so as to include New Mexico, Sonora, Chihuahua, both of the Californias, etc., embracing two millions of inhabitants, and two-thirds of the Mexican territory.

It was about this time that the famous Santa Fé expedition was fitted out, commanded by General McLeod, with whom were about 350 persons, including 270 volunteers doing duty. Its object was to endeavor to prevail upon the people of New Mexico to submit peaceably, to incorporate with those of

Texas, and acknowledge the authority of that State. The expedition, it was said, had been invited by citizens, and the commander was forbidden to exercise any coercion or violence should the New Mexicans be unwilling to change their political relations. The men were armed to defend themselves, and the articles of traffic they carried against the savages on the route. After great hardships of every sort, the whole force, betrayed and deceived, surrendered itself without a blow to the forces which were brought to meet them, embracing almost the entire population of the country. The captives were, with great indignities and much suffering, marched away towards the Central States, and were only released at last after the most active exertions of the Government, aided and strengthened by that of the United States. General Waddy Thompson was dispatched to Mexico with instructions from Mr. Webster to demand, unconditionally, the release of such as were American citizens, and also that the Texans should be treated with humanity.

Gen. Houston was again elected President of the republic, and the application was renewed for annexation which had been withdrawn during Mr. Van Buren's administration. The correspondence on the subject between Mr. Forsyth and Mennean Hunt, will be remembered. Mr. Tyler was found to be favorable.

"Since the battle of San Jacinto, the annexation of Texas had been more or less discussed by the people and press of the United States, and all men of discernment saw that it must take place, and that its consummation was only a question of time. The vast emigration to Texas, following the achievement of her independence, excited and hurried on this feeling in the popular mind. Mr. Tyler saw it, and had too much penetration, and was too much in need of friends, to permit the performance of an act so glorious to pass into other hands. He spoke freely to the Texan minister on the subject. 'I am anxious for it,' said he, 'and wish most sincerely I could conclude it at once.' 'The president would act in a moment,' wrote Mr. Reilly, 'if the senate would assent.' But, as matters then stood, it was deemed best to mediate with Mexico. Accordingly, instructions were sent out to Waddy Thompson to use his best efforts to bring about a peace between Texas and Mexico." (Vol. II, p. 347.)

Santa Anna again at the head of affairs in Mexico, seeing the progress made towards the annexation of Texas, determined to remove the chief pretext, which was, that the war had been terminated. An invading army was therefore dispatched to the line, which was met on the part of the Texans by the embodiment of a force of 3,500 men. The troops were intensely anxious for the invasion of Mexico, and were only prevented by the order of President Houston. Said Gen. Burleson, the Vice President, "I feel no hesitation in believing that if my orders had authorized me to cross the Rio Grande, by this time five thousand more men would have been west of said river inflicting a chastisement, which would result in an

honorable peace." President Houston however thought otherwise, and vetoed the resolutions of Congress, providing for an active invasion of Mexico. A portion of the troops strayed off from General Somervell's command, against orders, descended the Rio Grande, and made an attack upon Meir, on the opposite bank. After heroic efforts, they were induced to capitulate, and the prisoners, after being decimated, were marched to the city of Mexico, and sharing the customary cruelties and privations. Thus had Santa Anna violated his solemn pledges, reviving at the same time the inhuman policy of the earlier campaigns. He found occasion not long after, it seems, to grow very virtuous and indignant over a proposition made to him by Gen. Hamilton, provoking a withering reply from that gentleman, and an exposé from President Houston, which created a wide impression at home and abroad. Mr. Yoakum, in regard to the course of Gen. Somervell, refers to a letter of Memucan Hunt, who was present at the time. General Somervell did good service to Texas in the field, and in the council, and was an estimable citizen.

Commodore Moore being at New Orleans with the Navy of Texas, for the purpose of making repairs and refitting, some anxiety was manifested by the Government on account of the delay, and he was ordered home to make explanation. A secret act of Congress, at the same time, authorized the sale of the vessels, and Commissioners were appointed to conduct the matter. To these movements the Commodore objected, and seemed inclined to hold the vessels, under a certain construction of his rights. It was his intention to go in pursuit of the Mexican fleet immediately, blockade the whole coast, and levy contribution to the extent of near a million of dollars, half of which would be for the benefit of the treasury of Texas. A proclamation from President Houston gave notice of the suspension of Moore, disallowed his acts, and requested all nations, in amity with Texas, to seize and bring in the vessels to the port of Galveston. The Commissioners, however, proved as refractory as the Commodore, and the vessels entered immediately upon a successful cruise, winning some gallant rewards.

"In the meantime, the president, finding that his commissioners as well as Captain Moore had disobeyed his orders, and that one of them had actually gone out with the navy, and was advising and directing its operations—and that new arrangements had been entered into with Yucatan, without his orders—and also ascertaining that his proclamation had been disregarded, and not published—took immediate steps to publish it himself. It reached the public eye, and in due time the coast of Yucatan, and brought the wandering commissioner and captain in command of the navy to the port of Galveston, where they arrived in July." (Vol. II, p. 383.)

An act for the protection of the western frontier was passed by a two-thirds vote over the veto of President Houston, and

General Rusk was *elected* to the high office of Major-General, created by the act.

Meanwhile a joint mediation between Texas and Mexico was solicited by the Government from the three great powers of Britain, France, and the United States; but the former was so intent upon her selfish ends of excluding slavery, and thus interposing a barrier to the growth of the United States, that she preferred a separate mediation. Lord Aberdeen said that such a course would be better on all accounts, and Mr. Webster declared that, unless Mexico in a short time made peace with Texas, or showed a disposition and an ability to prosecute the war with a respectable force, the United States would remonstrate in a more formal manner. Santa Anna began himself to advance some propositions of peace, making use at first of one of the Mier prisoners, and afterwards of the British Charge, Mr. Doyle, and Mr. Elliott, the representative of the same court in Texas. It is at this point Gen. Houston began those singular diplomatic manœuverings, which seemed to have for their object the establishment of British influence in Texas, but which he afterwards explained as simply coquetting in order to obtain the most favorable terms from the United States, with whom the people sincerely desired amalgamation. Every one will recollect the passings and repassings of the agent, and of the English war vessel between Galveston and Vera Cruz. Much anxiety and ill-feelings was of consequence engendered in the United States. "Texas saw the feeling of jealousy (we are using the words of Mr. Yoakum) between the United States and Great Britain, and *took no pains* to dissipate it. She saw that the contest was for the mastery of the Gulf of Mexico—involving the Monroe doctrine; and that, in the final issue, she had in her own hands the disposal of this great inland sea, with all its potent commercial and maritime influences."

Commissioners were soon after appointed to meet those sent by Santa Anna on or near the Rio Grande, to agree upon an armistice during the negotiations for peace, which were about to open. The Commissioners were also to stipulate for the appointment of others who should meet in the city of Mexico for the establishment of permanent peace.

At this moment the annual message of Mr. Tyler appeared, which carried with it the liveliest hopes to the people of Texas, and at the same time struck with apprehensions the representatives of France and England. He said that "the Creator of the universe had given man the earth for his resting-place, and its fruits for his subsistence. Whatever, therefore, should make the first, or any part of it, a scene of desolation, affected injuriously his heritage, and might be regarded as a general

calamity. Wars might sometimes be necessary, but all nations had a common interest in bringing them speedily to a close."

We copy from Mr. Yoakum the following passage, which gives some interesting particulars in regard to the inception and progress of the idea of annexation:

"To return to the causes that disturbed the negotiations for an armistice. It is scarcely necessary to inquire who first proposed the question of annexation. We have already seen that it was predicted in general terms by the Spanish minister of foreign affairs, immediately after the American Revolution; and that it was alluded to more definitely by Captain Pike, in 1806; also that it was named by General Houston, directly, after the battle of San Jacinto, and formally presented by the government of Texas, in 1837. Afterward, in 1842, it was officially intimated as a question having vitality. But on the 6th of July, 1843, the subject was suspended by order of the Texan government. On the 18th of September following, that government was notified, through its *chargé d'affaires* at Washington, that Mr. Secretary Upshur brought up the subject in all his official interviews, stating that 'it was the great measure of the administration, and that he was actively engaged, under the instructions of President Tyler, in preparing the minds of the people for it, and in learning the views of Senators on the subject.' He further informed Mr. Van Zandt that President Tyler contemplated early action upon the subject; and requested Mr. Van Zandt to make the same known to his government, in order that, if Texas desired to treat on that subject, she might clothe her representative with suitable powers. On the 16th of October, Mr. Upshur made a formal proposition to treat on the question; and Mr. Van Zandt transmitted it to Texas, asking the advice of his government." (Vol. II, pp. 422, 423.)

The Texan Commissioners at Washington completed a treaty of annexation on the 12th April, 1854, which was signed by them and Mr. Calhoun, the Secretary of State. This treaty was rejected in the Senate, much to the mortification of Texas and of the true friends of the measure, which embraced a large majority of the American people. The question at once entered into the platforms of the Presidential parties, then organizing, and was distinctly and unequivocally endorsed in the election of James K. Polk—the cry of Polk, Dallas, Texas, and Oregon, acting electrically with the masses. Anson Jones was elected President of Texas.

In this state of feeling in both countries little remained to be done. Joint resolutions of annexation were immediately offered in both branches of Congress, and passed by handsome majorities, receiving the official sanction of President Tyler.

We close our article in the language of Mr. Yoakum, which describes the progress made by all of these events in Texas:

"President Jones was inaugurated on the 9th day of December, 1844. Neither the president, nor the ninth Texan Congress, which adjourned its session on the 3d of February, 1845, said anything on the subject of annexation. Both parties probably believed it was in as good a condition as they could desire it. In the meantime, another change had occurred in Mexico, and General Herrera, who belonged to the federal and peace party, came to the presidency. He released Colonel Navarro, the only remaining Texan prisoner in the republic, and gave other indications of his desire for peace. At length, the Mexican Congress authorized Herrera to open negotiations and conclude a peace with Texas, on condition that she would not be annexed to the United States. This arrange-

ment was brought about through the agency of the British and French governments; and, on the 19th of May, the preliminary articles were signed by the Mexican government, transmitted through the French minister in Mexico to Captain Elliot, the British *chargé d'affaires* in Texas, and by him laid before the Texan government on the 2d day of June. On the 4th, President Jones presented these facts to the people by his proclamation, at the same time declaring a cessation of hostilities between the two countries. On the 15th of May previous, he had called a convention of sixty-one delegates, to meet on the 4th of July ensuing, to consider the propositions for annexation; also an extra session of the ninth Congress, to meet on the 16th of June, in order to give the consent of the republic to the anticipated convention. The Congress, by a joint resolution, approved June 23, 1845, gave its consent to the joint resolutions of the American Congress; also to the convention, as called by President Jones. The latter body assembled, ratified the act of annexation, formed a constitution as a State of the Union, and submitted the whole to the Texan people. It was approved by them; and the lone star of Texas, after a struggle of ten years, was gathered under the folds of the glorious banner of the Union." (Vol. II, pp. 443, 444.)

The length to which our remarks upon Texas have extended, precludes the insertion, in the present number, of some interesting and valuable material in relation to the steps which attended annexation, and to the character and services of many of the prominent men of that State. It will form the subject of a separate chapter in the October number of the Review.

THE RIGHT OF GOVERNMENTAL TOLERATION.

I have been induced to make the following observations from the perusal of the first article in the June number, 1857, of this Review. In that article the writer says—the article is headed "One of the Evils of the Times"—that religious toleration by civil laws is not inimical to the constitution of the Romish Church. His words are—"nay, more, under their united auspices was first announced, clearly and emphatically, the sublime creed of perfect religious toleration, untrammelled by the interference or control of government. The eminent glory due to the primary embodiment of *this great principle of freedom* unquestionably belongs to George Calvert, one of the Catholic founders of Maryland."—*Review*, p. 567.

The question that I wish to discuss, is, what is the character of "this great principle of freedom?" There are very few persons who take the trouble to probe this principle to its foundation.

Most men in this country say that civil or governmental toleration of *different forms* of worship is right, because the Constitution of the country so provides. But, then, no civil tribunal is *intrinsically* right, and it is therefore possible for the government to be wrong. Who knows?

There are very few persons in this country who do not admit that the Scripture has instituted a mode of worship, and that this mode, whatever it may be, is both infallibly right, and a unity in its operation.

It is impossible, philosophically, to discuss the right of government to sanction a multitude of modes of dissimilar character, without taking into the consideration the facts above stated.

Reasoning logically, we are compelled to infer, if the Scripture has indeed infallibly prescribed a particular mode, that all departures from that mode must be infallibly wrong; and hence, if government sanctions a multitude of modes of dissimilar character, it is logically compelled to sanction things that are infallibly wrong. This is the logical difficulty in the case, and we must meet it or deny the authority of reason. I do not wish it to be understood that I oppose the exercise of the legislative authority, by way, or religious toleration—I certainly approve it. But what I wish to say here is just this, that because any particular government may, by constitutional provision, allow an indiscriminate latitude of religious practices or modes of worship; that it does not, *therefore*, follow, that such legislative action is right, because a human legislature is quite as liable to act upon a mistaken *principle* as individuals.

What we are to seek for is a *rule of right*, existing in nature, in philosophy, in religion, or anywhere else, by which we are to *judge the civil tribunal*.

It becomes important for reasoning men, who regard the christian mode as only right, and hence, necessarily, that all departures from it only wrong, to give some satisfactory or consistent reason upon which the civil toleration of a multitude of dissimilar modes may be justified.

What I wish to ascertain, is, how honest and consistent persons, who conscientiously believe that there is but one right mode, whose observance can only answer the end sought by all, how they can justify the government under which they live, and for whose existence they are in a measure responsible, in sanctioning the most preposterous and glaring departures from it?

The reply is not difficult, in my judgment, but how few can consistently make it!

I wish to be distinctly understood on this subject. It is no part of my purpose to justify or condemn the Catholic Church, or any other. With particular churches I have now nothing to do. I am only inquiring into a principle. In this inquiry I may, I think, state what I take to be the position of the Catholic Church—a position, as I shall state it, which none of her advocates will, I am persuaded, gainsay or deny.

She holds that, with respect to the proper mode of religious worship, she is not liable to fall into any errors of faith—that she is protected from such lapses by the principle of infallibility inherent in her. Whether right or wrong this is her acknowledged position.

Now, consistently with this position, she is of *logical necessity*, forced to regard all protestant modes, *essentially different from hers*, as infallibly wrong. Hence, were she to applaud the civil ruler who gives sanction to *these modes*, she would be responsible for the ruin that would ensue, to the extent of her approval.

It is obvious that she is placed in a very painful attitude. She is compelled either to deny her own infallibility or to bear the reproach of sanctioning the civil ruler in a conduct that must, in her judgment, infallibly lead men to perdition. Her honesty and her humanity are both pledged against promoting an undue latitude of *dissimilar* modes.

Did she sanction them she would sanction the perdition that would, in her judgment, infallibly follow.

If, therefore, George Calvert, as a Catholic true to his faith, sanctioned protestants in their departures from the ritual of his church, or, if you please, the faith and practice of his church, he most unquestionably preferred some temporary advantage to the eternal well-being of the citizens of his province.

Is it not, therefore, a very poor compliment to his humanity, and a still poorer one to the honesty of his faith, in the religion he possessed, to attribute to *him* the *origin* and the *cause* of the heresies that prevailed (in Catholic eyes) in the dissimilar modes of protestant worship which *his* presumed initiation of toleration necessarily engendered. You cannot charge, upon a sincere Catholic a more grievous reproach than to say of him that he sanctions, by his conduct, the eternal perdition of his fellow-men, when he so sincerely thinks that the bosom of his church will save them all infallibly and finally. He is too humane a man to be guilty of such gross folly.

But I do not wish to discuss the Catholic, but Protestant position on this point. This, I think, I can do the more freely, because I am a protestant myself.

It is extremely important to know, philosophically, what protestantism really means, for it is, by no means, confined to religion.

There may be protestants in government, in morals, in philosophy, &c.

Evidently, then, protestantism means one thing, and the *right* of protestantism quite a different thing.

What I understand by protestantism is *any kind of protest against any kind of authority*. Were I to protest, for example, against the authority of Bacon, in philosophy, or that of Paley, in morals, I would, in each case, be properly a protestant, and would be right in it, just as it happened to turn out upon investigation that I had for my protest a *ground in reason to sustain me*. I regard the patriots of our Revolution as practical protestants against the authority of the British Government, and whether they were *right*, or not, depended upon the proper interpretation of *the rights of nature*, to which they appealed. Protestantism of itself, that is to say, aside from the ground of right or reason, is *prima facie* wrong, for all existing authority is to be considered *right* until the contrary be shown.

Now, if any authority be right, and have reason and truth to sustain it, all protestants against it are logically and unavoidably in the wrong.

A protestant in religion is one who says that the Scripture is the *rule of right* in matters of faith and practice. Whoever holds to this belief, and also thinks that all human beings are liable to err from it in the modes of adoration, is logically compelled to protest where any human authority in religion departs, in practice, from the practice of the rule.

But if a protestant were to refrain from crying out against any authority at issue with this rule, whether the authority or tribunal be civil or ecclesiastical, he would be a traitor to his allegiance to the authority of the rule.

A protestant is, therefore, one who cannot protest against the au-

thority of the *rule*, but who is logically compelled to protest against all *human authority* which departs, in any particular, from the rule.

Here is a wide distinction between protesting against the authority of the Scripture and the authority of *human* interpreters of it.

Now protestants hold that all men are fallible, whether they direct their attention to the rule in question, or to philosophy, morality, or politics. It is upon this principle that all reforms take place in government or in philosophy.

A protestant is one who says, that as long as we have an infallible rule, and no infallible interpreter of it, the *right of protestantism* must consist in conformity to the rule rather than in conformity to any interpreters of it.

This makes a protestant, uniformly and consistently, tolerant of human mistakes, whether they occur in interpretations of the rule in question, or in respect to the rights of nature or of philosophy.

All protestants meet upon a common platform, and that platform is, that the Scripture, as transmitted in writing, and committed to writing by infallible penmen, is the right rule of faith and practice in respect to the adoration of the Creator, and that all human beings are inherently of fallible judgment. Hence, all protestants are satisfied to leave, by constitutional provisions, the interpretation of the Scripture to the judgment of individuals, knowing, at the same time, that many will interpret it wrong.

But they consistently prefer this inconvenience from two considerations:

1st. From the fact that the earliest efforts to propagate this faith were directed to the attention of private persons occupying the private relations of life, rather than to any public judgment.

2d. From the fact, as they take it to be, that that inconvenience is not of so dangerous tendency as committing to any public tribunal the task of interpreting for individuals, as their final resort, with the power to enforce its decisions by pains and penalties.

There is less danger to social enjoyment to leave to *individuals* to settle their religious practices as they see proper, (the government in the meantime only conserving the public peace,) than to leave it to a *public* tribunal, for the one will produce much private collision of mind—much discussion—much social unkindness of a private nature—great variety of modes, but yet general progress: the other will produce, at the expense of the lives of the boldest and best thinkers, a dead calmness of opinion, with infinite dissimulation and hypocrisy, and no progress.

Hence, protestants, in their governmental opinions, are disposed to be tolerate, because they do not believe that any soul will be finally lost who sincerely makes the Scripture, in its faith and practice, the rule of his faith and practice to the best of his fallible judgment, however deplorably ignorant and superstitious he may be.

Protestants do not like protestantism merely for the sake of the social disorder it is inevitably calculated to produce, and ever has produced. They like it only as a choice of evils. They like it only because it is preferable to the other only possible alternative—that is, to

submit all matters of faith and practice to some fallible tribunal, with power to inflict pains and penalties, in order to prevent the exercise of private judgment, to which men of thought and education are so prone; they like it because, in the conflict of opinion, of argument, and of reason, the truth is evolved—that men, in such a strife, rise in the scale of being. In such a school they not only, as a general rule, (allowing of course for exceptions,) become wiser, but better men. They think that the more you investigate any doubtful truths, the more you disentangle them from error, the better they become generally understood and generally appreciated; that investigation is not intrinsically wrong, but only wrong when attended with unkindness, bitterness, or foul thoughts or language.

If the reader will turn his attention to the back numbers of this Review, he will find that I have justified the institution of domestic slavery upon precisely the same ground upon which, in this essay, I defend protestantism, viz: that it is a choice of evils.

I regard protestantism and slavery both as a choice of evils.

Protestantism, like slavery, grows out of the relative imperfections of the human character. There would obviously have been no protestantism had there not been in the past history of the church, men, who mistook error for the truth, fallible men, men liable to wander, in their faith and practice, from the true rule in such matters.

Had the true rule been *constantly observed*, it would be constantly observed now, and hence, no occasion could arise or have arisen for the appeal to the rule to show departures from it. There would have been no departures from it, and hence, the conformity being exact, the conformity would be right, and any opposition or protest would have been wrong. It cannot be otherwise than wrong to protest by a contrary faith or practice against the true faith and practice.

Slavery is not intrinsically right, it is only right circumstantially—right under a set state of circumstances.

The right rule is freedom, but slavery is an exception to that rule; and if right, right as all exceptions are, *according to the circumstances which surround it*.* And so of protestantism.

CONSEQUENCES OF ABOLITION AGITATION.

NO. II.

SINCERE AND HYPOCRITICAL FANATICISM—CAUSES OF SOUTHERN SUPREMACY IN THE PAST WAR AND DISUNION SYNONYMOUS. BY EDWIN RUFFIN, OF VIRGINIA.

The picture which has been sketched of the ruin of the South, which will surely result from the present and continued efforts of our "northern brethren" and fellow-citizens to extinguish negro slavery, has nothing in it to moderate or discourage any abolitionist of the fanatical school of Garrison, Giddings, and Beecher. Fanaticism has no moderation, no reason, no mercy. The true abolitionist—an abolitionist for

* Against which argument the editor, as before, protests.—See Review, 1856.

the sake of conscience and what he deems religion—would welcome all the evils and horrors that would come, if these were the necessary consequences of the consummation of his great measure and object. But these men, the only sincere and honest members of the great anti-slavery party, are comparatively but few, and they are but the tools of the more selfish and cunning and baser Sowards, and Sumners, and Greelys, who know full well the folly and falsehood of their professed doctrines, and who advocate them merely to acquire political power or personal gain. These and all of the most intelligent leaders, and the greater number of their followers in the abolition party, are not in the least actuated by the alleged sufferings and sorrows of the "poor slave," or by the other evils generally imputed to the institution of slavery. These charges are but pretences to delude their own followers, and induce their obedient following and zealous support. Many of the more candid men of the party admit that they are not deceived, or directed by sympathy for the "poor slave," whose condition they know to be better than it would be if the "poor slave" were made free. But they say (and truly) that notwithstanding the larger population and vote and decided majority of the North, and its greater wealth and more extended education and intelligence, (as claimed,) still that the Government of the United States has been, and still is, generally directed by men of the South, or by men and measures of their choosing. This greater influence of the South is denounced as the "slave power;" and to overcome and prostrate this "slave power," and transfer its rule to the North, is the true and great object of the political and hypocritical abolitionists who now lead the great northern party.*

It is true, (and almost the only great truth that the abolitionists have yet arrived at,) that the intellect of the South, in most measures of high importance, has influenced and directed, and controlled the much greater numerical power of the North. And it is also true, that this superiority of influence is a direct consequence, and one of the great benefits of the institution of domestic slavery. In the United States, it is only where negro slavery exists that many men of the rural or agricultural population can have enough of leisure and opportunity to cultivate their intellect, and especially, by social intercourse and the instruction thence derived, so as to become qualified to teach and to lead in public affairs, instead of being mere "hewers of wood and drawers of water," (slaves, in effect, politically,) to a few of the better instructed of their fellows. In the Southern States, the greatest men who have been sent to Congress, or who have occupied still higher public stations, were, for much the greater number, always residents of the country. Washington, Henry, Jefferson, Mason, Bland, Lee,

* Even Mr. Benton, with all of his Northern proclivities, is compelled to admit:

"And this becomes more apparent by contrast—the caucus or rotary system not prevailing in the South, and useful members being usually continued from that quarter as long as useful, and thus with fewer numbers, usually showing a greater number of men who have attained distinction." *Works*, vol. 2, p. 207.

Mr. Benton walks tender-footed here, as usual, when speaking of Northern matters, or instead of saying merely "greater," he would have said a ten-fold number, etc.—*EDITOR*.

Calhoun, Cheves, and hundreds of other able statesmen, were all slaveholders and country residents. For any such cases of representatives of distinguished talents that can be stated of the rural portions of the non-slaveholding States, in recent times, the South, from its much scantier numbers, can adduce fifty of equal or greater political knowledge and ability. In cities, the case is different. In all great cities there are operating inducements and also facilities for mental culture and improvement, much greater than any where in the country, or than we can have in the Southern States, where there are very few large cities, and none to compare in these respects with Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. Therefore, in the great cities of the North and especially in the learned professions and scientific pursuits, there are more of highly educated and scientific professional men, than are to be found in the Southern States. But even of these shining lights of learning and science, but few seem to be fitted for, or at least are entrusted with political offices and duties, by the votes of their fellow-citizens. Even the great cities of the North, with all their learned and able men to select from, more frequently elect representatives of the lower than the higher order of education and intellect. Still, almost the only distinguished statesman who have appeared from the North have been the representatives of cities. Of all the far greater number of Northern members of Congress from the strictly rural districts, and even including in such the villages and small towns, scarcely any deserve to be distinguished for superior education, talent, or statesmanship. This is notoriously the fact. And though the workings of the caucus or convention system, (a political iniquity and curse borrowed from New York) and also of the evil changes of State constitutions, (in regard to suffrage and popular elections,) have served to lower the grade of the representation of the South, yet, even now any ten Southern representatives, taken at random, will probably possess more political talent than one hundred from the rural districts of the old Northern States, where the stultifying operation of the absence of slavery on an agricultural population has had the longest time to show the sure consequences. Under these different circumstances, it necessarily follows, that the greater superiority of intellectual power, more than the mere brute power of greater numbers, will govern in most questions of statesmanship and profound national policy. And such has been the case in this Federal Government for a long time, and such will be the case, and increasing in degree, so long as one portion of the confederated States enjoy, and the other is without the refining operation of slaveholding on the superior race.*

* A very marked statistical illustration and evidence of my position has come under my eye since writing the above. It is a passage in the noted abolition article in the number of the Edinburgh Review for October. This infamous piece of elaborate calumny on the South is doubly a fraud in its source and authorship, besides being a tissue of inventions in its general statements and argument. It appeared in a British publication as if by a British author. And when this fraud was exposed, and it was known that the author was an American both by birth and residence, it was as falsely claimed that he was a Southerner, because he was born of Northern parents during their sojourn in

But though the superior Southern intellect has generally guided the national councils in important matters, it has only been, and can only be, in questions of general policy, requiring great abilities to investigate, and in which the pecuniary interest of members, or those of their constituents, are not concerned. In all questions in which self-interest or sectional aggrandizement is supposed to be involved, the highest intellectual power must be governed by the power of numbers—and even by the most obtuse understandings, if of greater numbers who have, or believe they will have, their personal interests affected by the decision. In questions of foreign relations and policy, of war or peace, or in the selection of chief magistrates, and in supplying or choosing subjects for other high offices, the South has had the main direction of the Federal Government. But in all questions of money, or the means for acquiring gain, by Northern members or their constituents—as by protective tariffs, bounties, direct or indirect, to navigation and commercial interests, pensions, construction of public works, wasteful, or corrupt expenditures from the treasury, bribery, &c., &c., the Northern members have always exerted and enforced their greater numerical power. Thus, Southern intellect was generally free to direct all matters of policy for the public good alone. But in legislative contests between Southern and Northern interests, the South has had to submit to a fixed numerical majority, and to any degree of injustice and outrage which that irresistible majority was interested in inflicting. It is on this ground, and by this latter power, that the great question of slavery, and all minor questions incident thereto, have been judged and decided—because the great body of the Northern people have been so deluded by their unprincipled leaders, as to be made to believe that their personal interest would be promoted by extinguishing slavery in the Southern States. If they knew the truth of the reverse proposition, then the Northern people would quickly become as indifferent to the existence of slavery, as those of the city of New York are to the continual fitting out, in that city, of vessels to carry on the African slave trade in all its present horrors. This enormity, and infamous breach

the South, though he is a Northerner in education, residence, and principles. This writer, to prove the supremacy of the "slave power," adduces these facts: that of the sixteen successive Presidents of the United States, eleven have been slaveholders; and that for five-sixths of the duration of the Government, Southerners by birth, or Northern men elected by Southern votes, have occupied the presidential office. And of the other higher federal offices, there have served from the Southern States,

"Seventeen out of twenty-eight Judges of the Supreme Court;
 Fourteen out of nineteen Attorneys-General;
 Sixty-one out of seventy-seven Presidents of the Senate;
 Twenty-one out of thirty-three Speakers of the House;
 Eighty out of one hundred and thirty-four Foreign Ministers."

Now, it is very true that high official position, even in a free or popular government, is not often obtained by the greatest fitness for the service. But, when so much the larger proportion of the highest offices of Government have been, during a long time, filled from the South, there can be no stronger proof of the fact, that in the scanty population of the South, there was a very far greater amount of political talents of high order, than in the more populous Northern States.

of both moral and statute law, is a matter of notoriety, and frequent occurrence ; but which seems neither to shock nor disturb the Greeleys and Tappans, and the other numerous abolitionists or fanatics—and indeed seems to be of no concern to but a few of that community.

If, then, as is here charged, the people of the North are so much governed by self-interest, it may well be asked, why do they oppose the institution of negro slavery in the South, in the products of which they are so deeply concerned ? It has already been said, that the great body of the northern people are deluded by their leaders. But that is not sufficient. It still is required to be explained why any of the great northern party, if knowing the truth, should still advocate a policy which, if carried out, would be destructive to northern interests ? To this question, there are different answers for different portions of the great abolition party. As to the few honest fanatics, of course, they neither consult reason, nor regard consequences. Of the politicians, such as Seward and Hale, they merely aim to join in, and to get the full benefit of the popular clamor against slaveholders, to promote their own personal advancement and gain. Such men would oppose, as injurious to the North, the working of their own present measures, if these measures did not promise still more to serve their private ends and interests. Further—the political leaders of the party would not be willing to meet the consequences of their own complete success, if they expected complete success, and intended to go so far. But they, and all the people of the North, have been taught, by the long submission of the South, to believe that no repetition or increase of oppression by legislation will induce the South to secede, or to offer any other effectual resistance. Some renegade Southerners have, in substance, re-asserted this opinion, and thereby established it in the confidence of the North. Our heretofore and our expected future submission are imputed to our dread of certain ruin, in the destruction of slavery, as a result of separation and war. Therefore, our enemies deem that their best policy, for the purpose of ensuring our submission and complete humiliation, will be continually to threaten and to encroach, but still to withhold entirely from striking the final and fatal blow. It is also a general belief at the North that the southern people, by their inferiority of numbers, and the supposed enfeebling operation of the institution of slavery, are too weak to resist, and too timid to incur the risk of the hostile and warlike action of the stronger North. Hence, impelled by these different considerations, the North supposes that it may vilify and wrong the South to any extent that interest or passion may invite, without danger to the North. And, therefore, the leaders and the most powerful of the party, (who, in opinion or principle, are not abolitionists at all,) may push the movement as far as necessary to attain their personal ends, and crush the political power of the South, (which stands in their way,) and yet stop short of that extremity of injury to the property of the South which would react disastrously on Northern interests.

Southern men have met all past violations of their rights by threats of resistance or separation, and then submitted, until no such threats are believed, or will be believed, unless unmistakable action shall have

commenced. This well-founded incredulity is the secret of all the recent and present abolition movements and designs. And even if, by possibility, and when driven to desperation, the insulted and oppressed South should secede, it is confidently believed by the North that its own stronger military and marine force, and greater wealth, would serve, speedily and easily, to subdue the Southern States. Never was there a greater mistake, or one which, if acted upon, will be corrected more effectually. It is only this mistaken idea of Southern weakness, together with the absence of all military preparation in the South, that can possibly produce war, as the direct and immediate result of separation. If, when separating, we shall be, as now, unprepared for defence, we may surely expect to have war. But due preparation for war will as certainly ensure the maintenance of peace.

It is assumed by most persons that war between the separated portions would be a necessary and immediate consequence of separation. Even if no other ground for war existed, one certain and unavoidable cause is apprehended in the fact of the separate ownership, by the separated communities, of the upper and central waters of the Mississippi, and of its lower waters and their outlet to the sea. And one great consequence of war, (as generally believed in the North, and by very many also in the South,) it is supposed would be, that successful insurrection of the slaves would be invited and produced by war and invasion, and thus their general enfranchisement effected in the mode most disastrous and afflicting to the whites. Sure and sufficient reasons have already been offered to show, in reference to other and general grounds, that war would not be either a necessary or probable result of separation. Other reasons will now be offered to invalidate this particular cause of war, and afterwards will be considered the particular and worst possible consequence which has been anticipated.

War, in any mode, is an enormous evil, which it is far from my intention to depreciate. And war between separated portions of the same people, and previously long of the same community, would be the most deplorable and calamitous of all wars. A war between the Southern and Northern States, embittered by every growing cause of hostility and mutual hatred, and if waged to extremities with such balanced alternations of success and defeat as might be expected between foes so nearly equal, would be scarcely less destructive to the ultimate conqueror than to the conquered party. The prosperity, wealth, and as yet happy condition of both powers, would be engulfed in one abyss of complete industrial and political ruin. The possibility of these awful consequences should be well considered by all. But, as admonition and warning of the most solemn import, it is for the aggressive and offensive party to heed, and by stopping and restraining its course, to avoid these consequences, and not for the aggrieved and heretofore always yielding party. The South, if still remaining in the Union, can do nothing except to submit entirely and unconditionally to every present and coming measure of aggression, which will be but another way to reach certain ruin. Rather than entire submission, we should prefer any hazards of war and its consequences. For all the calamities of war should be risked, and met, if necessary, by freemen

who deserve to enjoy freedom, rather than to yield their freedom without struggling, to the last ground of hope, in its defence. If, then, we are such men, the threat of war, with all the necessary and horrible consequences, will have no influence to induce the South to purchase peace by entire submission.

The supposed inducement, or necessity for war in the geographical character of the Mississippi river, is as groundless as any other of the anticipated causes for war, in the incidents of the separation of the present Confederacy. Moreover, this result from this particular cause of divided possession of the course of a navigable river, is opposed by the laws of nations and the usages and experience of the whole civilized world. As, however, the fallacy in question has met with very general admission, it may be necessary to examine and expose it at more length than its importance would otherwise require.

This will be attempted in the next number.

ELWOOD FISHER ON THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

NO. III.

It was but the other day that we had an extract from the Report of the Commissioner of Patents, published in all the papers, which undertook to give an estimate of the wealth of the respective States. On an examination it is found to assume population as the basis of wealth. An average is made of the wealth of each man in a few States, and that is multiplied by the number of men in each State. By this rule Indiana, which is more populous than Massachusetts, has more wealth—and the North, of course, greatly more than the South. The Commissioner of Patents is a northern man; and travels deliberately out of the sphere of his duties to make up and send forth this absurd table—and in thus undertaking officially and officiously to enlighten the ignorance of the people, displays his own.

But whilst I contend that statistical evidence may be sufficient to convince, I am aware that it is not enough to satisfy the mind, particularly when at variance with prevalent opinions. It is a legitimate and laudable desire, even after knowing that a thing is so, to know why it is so. And I acknowledge it is incumbent on whoever attempts to overthrow a popular error to show not only that it is such, but that it must be such, on the recognized principles of human judgment.

The reason then, I conceive, for the great pecuniary prosperity of the South, is, that she is so generally agricultural. About half the population of the old Northern States resides in towns or cities—in the Southern about one-tenth.

Even Ohio, a new State, with greater agricultural attractions, naturally, than any other, has already a town and city population estimated at one-fourth of the whole; the single city of Cincinnati, only fifty years of age, containing more people than ten of the largest towns of Virginia, the oldest State of the Union.

But why is agriculture more profitable than manufactures or commerce? One reason is, that agriculture is more productive or multi-

plying than them; that its products are the principal and the indispensable articles of human subsistence, and are obtained with less of human labor and skill than the others. The fecundity of nature can never be rivalled by art. A grain of wheat when sown will produce an hundred fold, but no fabric of the loom, no cargo of the ship can have its value augmented in the same proportion, without the coöperation of a much greater proportion of labor and skill. Commerce and manufacture are chiefly artificial; agriculturists for the most part the work of nature. It is true that the facility with which articles are produced from the soil, influences materially their value in market, and that the prices of different kinds of labor tend to equality; and it is true also, that prices of commodities are affected by the relations of supply and demand. Hence there is no such difference between the profits of the farmer and the artizan, or merchant, as the relative productiveness of their labors would indicate. But the interchange of commodities between the two classes, is by no means equal, nor is it obedient to those laws of trade. The farmer holds the subsistence, and consequently the property of his civilized fellow-men in his power; and this power he will exercise when circumstances permit, according to the sentiments which the possession of power inspires; according to the prejudices of his class, to the appetite of monopoly—and not according to the wages of labor, and the law of supply and demand. The monopoly of the necessities of life which agriculture confers, has produced some of the most striking social and political revolutions in history. It enabled Jacob to extort from Esau, who was a hunter, his birthright for a mess of pottage. But Jacob himself and his family preferred the lighter labors of shepherd life, to tillage, and hence from a scarcity of corn, became dependent on the granaries of Egypt, and fell into bondage. In wars between agricultural and commercial nations, the former have generally conquered. Athens was overcome by Sparta—Greece by Macedon—Carthage by Rome,—events which indicate the superior resources of the conquerors more than their bravery. In England, whose commerce has been enriched by the monopoly of the trade of colonies in every clime, and whose manufactures have been expanded by the most stupendous inventions of genius, agriculture still maintains pre-eminence in wealth and political power, although it comprehends only about one-third of the population. The agriculture of the South produces a greater variety and abundance of the staple articles of human comfort and subsistence than that of any other region. Besides such breadstuffs and provisions as the North affords, the South has by the superior genius and energy of her people acquired almost a monopoly of the cotton culture. The South thus controls an extraordinary proportion of that food and clothing which the world consumes, and hence makes a corresponding progress in wealth.

Whilst agricultural life is so much more productive than other avocations, it is vastly less expensive or consuming. Almost all other pursuits resort to towns and cities, where the style of living is costly and extravagant. It is very rare to find farmers or planters residing in palaces of marble or granite. It is seldom that even public buildings in the country are constructed of such materials. But in cities they

are not unusual in private dwellings with those who have the means—whilst the great number of public buildings, churches, banks, offices, &c., are of corresponding magnificence. The style of building affords a fair criterion of the other elements of expense in city life, diet, clothing, and amusements. It is well known that in the largest cities, the expenditure of the wealthy class of families amounts to some eight or ten thousand dollars a year. Now among the planters of the South of equal wealth, in the country, it would be hard to find a mere domestic expenditure of such an amount; perhaps rarely more than half of it. In the country, the inducement to build such habitations is not so great. There are not so many to admire and to praise in a rural neighborhood as through the streets and avenues of a large city. Nor is there to be found in the country the over-grown millionaire to set the example, and to fire the pride and vanity of his poorer neighbors, their wives and daughters with a desire to emulate and imitate.

In a city the temptation to indulgence is incessant, because almost every object of desire is in market, and desire itself is inflamed not only by opportunity but by rivalry.

It is this great display of wealth and luxury in cities, which has caused the popular error that they are the peculiar abodes of wealth and prosperity; and that the States where they abound, are more flourishing than others. The world is a great believer in appearances. But it is curious that the very circumstances which have given to cities a character for riches, should be the causes of that poverty, whose actual existence has been proven. For the practice of extravagance is not confined to the rich, but extends to every class of city life. For in every class there are rivals struggling with each other to make the best appearance, and the distinctions of class are so indistinct as to make each one ambitious of equalling its immediate superior. In a word, the dominion of fashion is far more despotic and oppressive in city than in country life. Even the poor seamstress, who bends over her work during the tedious hours of day, and far into the night, to earn a meagre subsistence, until dimness gathers in her eye, and distortion fastens on her form, pays from her scanty earnings the tribute exacted by fashion, and arrays herself in a costume as conformable to the prevailing mode as her means can make it. But in the country, where people do not live under each others observation and criticism continually, it is otherwise. It is only when visiting or visited that the occasion of display occurs, and the annual expenditure is regulated accordingly. It is true that the average wealth of the inhabitants of cities is generally greater than that of the rest of the people in the State, and almost equals that of prosperous agricultural States. But this wealth is not the product of city employments. It results from the influx into the city of persons who have become rich in the country, and who resort to the cities, because they cannot carry on agricultural operations extensively in the country in free States. This results from the high price of agricultural labor in the free States, and its irregularity. An industrious laborer on a farm, soon acquires enough money to buy a small tract of public land, and emigrates to it. Hence a farmer who acquires some wealth in these States, and finds it

difficult to extend his operations in the country, resorts to commercial operations, and settles in town. Even those who would prefer remaining in the country, and yet desire to enjoy their fortunes in social intercourse, find it difficult to spend their leisure pleasantly in the neighborhood, from the want of associates of equal means, the great mass being the occupants of small farms, without servants, and therefore lack the means of performing the rites of hospitality, without a derangement of their domestic systems. The want then, of society in the country, the opportunity of investing largely in towns, the chances of acquiring great fortunes by speculation, and the facilities for gratifying our various appetites which wealth affords in cities, all conspire to divert the wealth of the country to the town, in free States. Even in Boston, for instance, it appears by a recent enumeration that nearly two-thirds of the inhabitants were not born in the city; nearly one-half are natives of the Union, most of them of course from Massachusetts, and the other New England States. In fact not quite one-tenth of the people of Boston, over twenty years of age, were born there. The total population of Boston in 1825, was 43,298, and in 1845, the native population instead of being double was but 41,076. So that there has been no natural increase of the population of Boston in twenty years. These facts afford striking evidence, not only of the sources of Boston wealth, but of the rapidity with which it is wasted on its arrival. Besides the extravagant and speculative habits of cities, which waste their resources, we must add the enormous taxation to which they are subject. The city of New York, with its four hundred thousand people, is taxed, for the present year, about three millions of dollars, a sum which is about half as much as the taxes of all the fifteen Southern States combined.

But the most disastrous and appalling consequences of city avocations, is the waste of human life. In the city of New York, the deaths last year exceeded 14,000, or one person out of every twenty-eight; and it was a year of no uncommon mortality for that place. The great mortality of the eastern cities is supposed to belong chiefly to the emigrant population. But this is not the case. In 1836, when the deaths were 8,009 in New York, only a little over one-fourth were foreign; and that must have been about the proportion of that population. In 1847 the deaths in the city of New York were 15,788, of whom only 5,412 were foreigners, although the mortality of that year was increased by the ship fever, which was very fatal to emigrants. The deaths week before last were 286, of which 108, or more than one-third were foreign, and the proportion of that population is now much more than one-third. The mortality of New York is much greater than it seems; because being so largely emigrant from the interior and from abroad, the proportion of adults in her population is much greater than ordinary, and among adults mortality is not near so great as among children. New York has 50,000 children less than her share.

In the last twenty years the population of New York has nearly doubled, but its mortality has nearly trebled.

According to an official statement of the duration of human life in

the several avocations in Massachusetts in 1847, it appears that the average of

| | |
|------------------------|--------------|
| Agriculturists is..... | 64.14 years. |
| Merchants..... | 49.20 " |
| Mechanics..... | 46.45 " |
| Laborers..... | 46.73 " |

This is the average life-time in the several occupations, beginning at twenty years. According to this, the three avocations of city life, merchants, mechanics, and laborers, average about 46½ years, whilst farmers live more than 64 years, or one-third longer. This enormous, and I had almost said atrocious destruction of human life, which is continually going on in towns and cities, is enough of itself to account for the superior progress of agriculture in wealth. The loss of so large a proportion of time, in adult years, the expenses of sickness, and the derangement of business, make an aggregate of itself enough to sink any reasonable rate of profit or accumulation in any pursuit. And, hence it is that the South, which is so much exempt from the corrosive action of cities on property and population, has made such rapid progress in wealth.

Thus, then, the superior productiveness of agricultural labor, the great intrinsic value as articles of necessity, of its products, the extravagant style of living in towns and cities, and finally, the ruinous waste of human life and labor they occasion, are reasons enough to account for the fact previously demonstrated, of the triumph of the agricultural States of the South over the more commercial States of the North.

But it is objected that the Northern States are more populous, and that if the average wealth of their individual citizens is less, the aggregate wealth of the State is greater. This, however, is of no consequence to the argument. The aggregate wealth of Ireland is no doubt greater than that of any of our States, as her population is so much greater. And yet her people die by thousands of starvation. I am considering the condition of our people, as affected by their respective institutions and pursuits. And I think this is the great point in which patriotism, and philanthropy, and philosophy are concerned.

But it is asserted that the system of the South is depopulating; that the people of Virginia are deserting her; that the population of Kentucky is almost stationary; and that the whole southern section is but thinly settled, and promises to remain so. If it be meant by all this, that Southern modes of living are incompatible with a dense population, I admit it, and rejoice in it. So far as the concentration of people in towns and cities is concerned, I have endeavored to show that such a thing is not so much to be desired. Nor do I think it expedient to promote the augmentation of numbers within the territorial limits of a State, by a minute subdivision of farms and plantations among a multitude of proprietors or tenants. Such is too much the tendency in the free States, and in other countries, and it has been found fatal to agricultural improvement. It has resulted in France in reducing the average size of farms to an area of three or four acres, held under their laws of descent by distinct proprietors. And in a

part of Scotland, and in Ireland, tracts of a similar size are held by separate tenants. And it is precisely among the peasantry of France, the croftiers of Scotland, and the cottiers of Ireland, that stagnation and desolation have overspread the land, and semi-barbarism and starvation, the people. The division of land for cultivation into very small tracts is destruction of its value. The soil of France is, on an average, of unusual fertility, and its climate so genial as to be favorable to a great variety of productions. Yet there, with a dense population of its own, and in the neighborhood of Great Britain, with its mighty cities, the greatest market in the world, the average value of land is only five or six dollars per acre—is less than in Virginia. In England the average size of tracts, held by the several sorts of tenure, is about 150 acres, which is about as small as can be made profitable; as small as is compatible with the due rotation of crops, a judicious variety of stock, and the prompt adoption of improvements in culture and utensils. In France, the owner of a three or four acre farm, worth only twenty-five dollars, cannot of course afford to buy an improved plough, much less can the renter of such a tract in Ireland. It would cost more than the whole crop is worth. Accordingly a large proportion of French and Irish tillage is performed with the spade, at a great expense of manual labor; and accordingly, it is in England chiefly, where the tracts are large, that the modern improvements in agriculture have been made, and there the soil is more productive and profitable. That some Virginians, instead of adopting some of the new methods of preserving and restoring the fertility of their lands, choose to emigrate to new States, where the soil is already rich by nature, and is cheap, results from a mere calculation and comparison of the cost of the two systems. And if it be found more profitable to remove to a new, than to renovate an old soil, it is an evidence of thrift rather than poverty in the emigrant. And of this the superiority of the new Southwestern over the new Northwestern States, which will appear by a comparison of their property and population is ample proof.*

But the impression exists that the population of the South, as a section, is really stationary, or is declining. And this being assumed, it is regarded as evidence that the people of the South are migrating, either from dissatisfaction with its institutions, or with its progress and prospects, or that the vices peculiar to its system, are unfavorable to the increase of its population, or that all these combine to depopulate her.

But all this is a mistake. If we deduct from the free States the

* In the Kentucky Auditor's report of 1848, we find a table (No. 16) of the distribution of property in that State, which indicates a degree of wealth, and of its equitable allotment, which may challenge any community for comparison.

| | | |
|---------------------------------|--------|----------|
| Without property..... | 7,436 | parents. |
| With less than \$100 worth..... | 42,964 | " |
| " from \$100 to \$400 | 12,844 | " |
| " from \$400 to \$600 | 5,685 | " |
| " over \$600..... | 28,791 | " |

It has been alleged, that in the South, there are only about 300,000 slaveholders. Well, supposing each adult slaveholder to have an average family of six, the slaveholding population of the South would amount to 1,800,000, which is probably as large a proportion as the land-holding population of the North.

foreign emigration, and its offspring, the residue, representing the native population, does not indicate so great a natural increase as the present number of people in the Southern States.

Of the foreign emigrants, no register was kept until 1820. From that year until 1840, it amounted to more than 700,000 persons, according to the returns. But large numbers came by the way of Canada, for which, during a considerable period, the facilities were greater than by the direct route. These have been estimated at half the number registered in the custom-house. Assuming, however, the whole number to be a million, which is the lowest estimate I have seen, their natural increase, in the twenty years, could not have been less than half a million—making 1,500,000. Now the white population of 1840, in the free States, was 9,557,431; deducting 1,500,000, it would be 8,057,431. In 1820 it was 5,033,983, and has consequently had a natural increase of 60 per cent.

The white population of the South was, in 1820, 2,833,585, and is now 4,635,637, which exhibits a natural increase of 65 per cent. I have included all the foreign emigration in the North. A little of it, however, has gone to the South, but not more than the excess of Southern people who have removed to the Northwestern States.*

This evidence of the great natural increase of Southern white population, is an answer to another imputation against it, very current at the North. It has been held that slavery is a degradation of labor; that therefore the white people of the South refuse to work, and live in idleness; and that from idleness they become dissipated, vicious, and violent. But vice is fatal to the increase of population. It destroys constitutional vigor, diminishes the number of children, and afflicts the few that are born with hereditary infirmity and premature death. One fact is disclosed by the census, which is very significant on this point. There is an excess among the white people of the South of 132,072 males. Among those of the North only 178,275. This is about 97,000 less than the proportion the North ought to have to equal the South. But when we consider that the foreign population settles almost exclusively in the Northern States, and contains much more than its proportion of males, it is apparent that the deficit of the North in male population is much larger. Now the vices of civilized society affect males chiefly, young men and boys, far more than any other. And if it were true that the South is more immoral than the North, it would appear in the deficit of male population. But the reverse seems to be the fact.

The explanation of this result is to be found in the same circumstances that determine the relative wealth of the two sections. The South is rural in residence and habits. It does not present the temp-

* It has been suggested that the emigrant population arrive poor, and therefore, when included in the average of individual wealth in the North, reduce its rates. But the foreigner is generally adult if he is poor; and therefore acquires wealth more easily than the native. If, however, the emigrant population be stricken out of the estimate, and the whole property of the North divided among the natives, their proportion will yet be far below that of the South.

tation or the opportunity for sensual gratification to be found in city life. It is to cities that the passions and appetites resort for their carnival. The theatre, the gaming house, the drinking house, and places of still more abandoned character abound in them, and to these the dissipated youth goes forth at night from home, along the high-road to ruin. In the family of the Southern planter or farmer, although wine may be drank, and cards played, all is done at home under parental and feminine observation; and, therefore, excess can never go so far. Of course the sons of planters visit the cities, but those in their neighborhood are trivial in size, and meagre in attractions—those most distant are the more seldom seen. The ancient poets, who thought that the lower regions were the abode of great and good men as well as bad, located the entrance in a remote and solitary place. Thus Homer conducts Ulysses on his visit to the shades of his brother warrior Greeks, to a thinly settled country of dark skinned people.

“When lo, we reached old Ocean’s utmost bounds,
Where rocks control his waves with ever during mounds.
There is a lonely land and gloomy cells,
The dusky nation of Cimmeria dwells.”

There he found the portals of the infernal world. So Virgil conducts Eneas to the sombre and solemn forest of the Cumean sybil. But with our improved conceptions of the character of that place and its inmates, and the most direct avenues to approach it, the modern Epic poet who desires to give his hero a view of it, will have to fix the gateway in the heart of a great city where the vices hold their revels. ‘Tis there

“The gates of hell are open night and day,
Smooth the descent and easy is the way.”

It cannot be said that the excessive mortality among the males of the North is owing to their unwholesome employments. For the females are employed in similar or more destructive avocations. In Massachusetts about fifty thousand women work in factories, and yet in that State there is an excess of 7,672 females, whereas if the natural proportion of the sexes existed among the native population, or such as is found at the South, Massachusetts ought to have an excess of twenty-two thousand males. So that at present she has about thirty thousand females beyond the due proportion. It is true that Massachusetts loses a portion of her male population by emigration to the West, although she is reinforced again by the excess of males in the foreign emigrants that have settled there. But there still remains a large portion who must have perished by the sickness and vices of the towns and cities that contain so large a part of her people—Boston alone, with its suburb towns, having a population of 200,000, or nearly one-third of all the State. So then, the operation of the institutions of this model State of the North, is to violate the laws of nature by a separation of the sexes; to send thousands of her sons away from their happy condition at home, to encounter the hardships of the West; to send multitudes of others to die by dissipation in her cities, and to place her lonely and deserted women, not in convents, but in factories. I have said that there are about fifty thousand women employed in the

factories of Massachusetts. Such is the testimony of the official census of the State in 1845. Those who are thus employed, it is well known, are generally young, unmarried women, as such a vocation would be rather incompatible with the domestic duties of wives. Now, according to the census of 1840, there were but about 57,000 women in that State between the ages of 17 and 25. So that about seven-eighths of the marriageable women of Massachusetts, at a time of life that ought to be sacred to love and courtship, to pleasure and to hope, to home and to society, are sent forth from the parental roof, to labor for years, confined to an over-heated room, containing a hundred persons, each confined to a space five feet square, for thirteen hours a day, under a male overseer, and not permitted to receive a visit from a lover or a relative in the mill, except by the permission of the proprietor's agent, or at the boarding house, except by the permission of the proprietor's housekeeper; for such are the regulations and condition of Lowell. This confinement to factories, postpones the marriage of the women of Massachusetts to an average of 23 or 24 years.* I do not know at what age precisely marriages occur in Virginia, but the census shows that Virginia, with fewer adults, has 100,000 more of children.

In determining the condition of civilized communities, it is generally considered essential to inquire into the state of their pauperism; not only because the paupers themselves usually constitute a considerable class, but because their number affects vitally the condition of the entire laboring class.

In the State of New York the progress of pauperism has been rapid. In 1830, the number supported or relieved was 15,506. In 1835 it was 38,362, according to Chapin's U. S. Gazetteer for 1844. In 1843 or 1844 the number had increased to about 72,000 permanent, and the same number of occasional paupers, making a total of 144,000 as appears from the Journal of Commerce. These were for the whole State, and there was thus, one pauper to every seventeen inhabitants. In 1847 there were received at the principal alms houses for the city of New York 28,692 persons, and *out door* relief was given out of public funds to 44,572 persons, making a total of 73,264. So that about *one person out of every five* in the city of New York was dependent, more or less, on public charity. The total cost that year of this pauperism was \$319,293 88.* For this present year of 1849, the estimate is \$400,000, according to the mayor's message.

In Massachusetts, it appears by the returns, that there were in 1836 5,580 paupers, and in 1848, 18,693. These latter were all in the alms houses. Those relieved out of the alms houses were 9,817, making a total of 28,510, according to the report of the Secretary of State of Massachusetts. And the returns from forty-one towns are omitted. If allowance be made for these, it will be seen that in Massachusetts one person out of every twenty is a constant or occasional pauper. It thus appears that in these two States pauperism is advancing ten times as rapidly as their wealth or population. It has become so great as to include large numbers of able-bodied men, who it appears cannot, or what

* American Almanac.

is worse, will not, earn a subsistence, and if such be the case, what must be the condition of the great mass of people hanging on the verge of pauperism, but withheld by an honorable pride, from applying for public charity.

Now, throughout the greater part of Virginia and Kentucky pauperism is almost unknown. I passed, some time ago, the poor houses of Campbell county, Kentucky, on the opposite side of the river, and there was not a solitary inmate. And I have known a populous county in Virginia to have but one.

It has generally been supposed that the paupers of Massachusetts and New York are principally foreign emigrants. But this is a mistake. In the 5,580 paupers of Massachusetts in 1836, only 1,192 were of foreign birth—but little over one-fifth, which does not probably exceed the proportion then, of that population in the State. In 1845, of 1,016 persons admitted into the alms houses of Boston, 490 were foreign, of whom 382 were Irish; but that was the year of Irish famine. In 1848, of 18,993 paupers received into the alms houses of Massachusetts, 7,413 were foreigners.* We do not know what proportion of the people of that State are foreigners; in Boston there is about one-third.

When pauperism extends to the class that are able to labor, it is evident that the wages of labor are reduced to the cost of subsistence. And hence the whole class must be subjected to the melancholy and terrible necessity of working, rather to avoid the poor house, than of bettering their condition. And the pauper in an alms house is a slave. He works under a master, and receives nothing but a subsistence. And there are already in New York and Massachusetts about one hundred thousand persons in this condition; about an equal number occasionally so, and they are increasing at the rate of 200 per cent., whilst the whole population does not increase 20 per cent. in ten years. In Cincinnati the number of paupers, permanent and occasional, already amounts to two thousand.

Whilst the property of the North is thus compelled to contribute to the support of this great and growing burden, and the labor of the North must not only assist in its support also, but must work in competition with it, they are subjected to another mighty evil, which springs from, or at least, is aggravated by the same causes, and that is crime.

The number of convicts in the three penitentiaries of New York, Auburn, Sing Sing, and Blackwell's Island, is about two thousand. In the penitentiary of Virginia there are only 111 whites and 89 blacks. This indicates four times the amount of crime in proportion to the white population in New York as in Virginia. In Massachusetts there were in 1847 288 persons in the State prison, which indicates more than twice the crime in that State as in Virginia. Taking all the New England States together, their penitentiary convicts are twice as numerous, in proportion to population, as in Virginia, as will be seen by consulting the American Almanac for 1849. It contains sketches of the criminal statistics of the several States, and is New England authority. In Ohio there are 470 persons in the penitentiary, in

* American Almanac.

Kentucky 130, Ohio being 25 per cent. the most, according to population. According to the returns of the Kentucky penitentiary, one-half of her convicts for the last ten years came from the single county in which Louisville, her principal town, is located, and one-third of the whole number were born in free States. So much for the States of the North, agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial, old and new, as compared with those of the South in crime. The results are uniformly and largely in favor of the South.

If we turn to the official reports of crime in the great cities of the North, we behold a state of society exhibited at which the mind is appalled. In Boston the number of persons annually arraigned for crime exceeds four thousand, and of this number about one-third are females. So that one person out of every 14 males, and one out of every 28 females, is arrested annually for criminal offences. There may be some who are arraigned more than once a year, but, on the other hand, there must be many who escape detection altogether.

ENGLISH OPINIONS, COTTON, SLAVE-TRADE, ETC.

At a meeting of the cotton merchants of Liverpool the other day, Mr. Horsfall is reported to have said :

What is the position—what is our position at this moment with regard to our supply of cotton? I believe I am within the mark when I say that we receive four-fifths of our supply from America. Is this politic or is it not? I am not one of those who anticipate an interruption to the good feeling which exists between this country and America, nor am I apprehensive of an interruption which, to take place, would not enable the cotton to find its way to this country.

But there are also other important questions of which we must not lose sight, we cannot lose sight of the fact that in America there are 2,000,000 slaves, and they are the principal cultivators of cotton. And what would be the result, supposing in the possible, I might say in the probable, event of either a legalized emancipation or an insurrection of the slaves? What would be the consequence? Look at our colonies, where emancipation has been legalized, and there is a decrease in their productions; but, imagining a legalized emancipation of the slaves in America, we have a right to assume, and we must assume, that there would be a great falling off in the present supply of cotton. (Hear.) This is a point of view which we must bear in mind, and it is one which, in my opinion, makes it important that we should look and endeavor to discover where the deficiency which must arise can be supplied from. We naturally turn to India; from India we receive a large supply. If improvements which we have a right to expect, were to take place in India; if the land were held under a different tenure; if encouragement were given to growers of cotton; and if encouragement were given to those who desired to invest capital in cotton and for the irrigation of the land, the supply of the raw material would be increased very materially, and supplied to this country of such quality as could well compete with that of America. I have been asked whether a supply cannot be brought from the West Indies? They say it has come from there before—why can it not come again? Circumstances are totally altered since the supply came from the West Indies; but notwithstanding that, I believe now, if the Government encouraged an adequate supply of labor in the West Indies, by encouraging emigration more than they do from India and China, labor must become so abundant as to produce a much larger supply than at present. Look at India and China; the Government allow the principle, but permit a limited supply of labor; they do not allow free trade; they station a Government officer, who

does not permit the collection of Coolies by any one but himself. Let the Government put the matter on some such footing as he should name, for they were afraid of the anti-slavery movement in England. I am opposed to slavery; and I would suggest that the Government should say: "You are at perfect liberty to collect the Chinese and Coolies. We station an officer here and you shall bring them before him; they are going of their own free will."

Now if they adopted that principle, I am convinced that emigration would go on and admit of the growth of cotton in the West India. Then, again, we are referred to Africa; we know that cotton grows very abundantly in many parts of that country. To the credit of Manchester, be it said, experiments have been tried by philanthropists, amongst them Mr. Turner, and in the first year a very good description of cotton was sent home. They were disappointed, however, in many features of the case—one especially—they understood that the cotton was a biennial plant, instead of a perennial plant, and its cultivation was ultimately abandoned; but it established this fact, that cotton could be grown in plantations of a very good quality. The second was a more successful experiment, made by Mr. Clegg, of Manchester. He sent out a large quantity of the cotton seed to be distributed amongst the natives; and the first year he got home some 300 lbs. or 400 lbs.; the next year, 14,000 lbs.; the third, 30,000 lbs.; and he was now expecting getting home 1,000 bales. (Cheers.) Certainly, Mr. Clegg's experiment illustrated the fact, that good cotton could be grown in Africa. We have the testimony of Dr. Livingstone, that cotton grows luxuriantly throughout the interior of Africa, and to a great extent; but I am not one of those who look forward for an immediate supply from Africa, it must be some years first. Still, from our knowledge of India and Africa, we can look for an immediate supply from the former, and at some future period for one from the latter. But I cannot help expressing my conviction that though the Government are in duty bound, and I believe will support an enterprise for the promotion of the growth of cotton, it is to British enterprise and to British capital that we must look for the great instrument in promoting the object we have in view. (Loud cheers.) I beg to propose the following resolution: "That this meeting is deeply sensible of the inadequate supply of cotton to meet the requirements of manufacturing industry, and that such supply being almost entirely derived from one source, is uncertain and precarious in quantity and unduly fluctuating in price, causing thereby loss and inconvenience to the consumer, and endangering the stability of the future prosperity of this country."

The London Times thus speaks out its mind very plainly in regard to colonial productions, the African fleet, and the slave-trade:

This is the end of all our exertions. For this it is that we have quarreled with other nations, or coaxed them, compromising our position or making our names odious. For this a squadron is kept on the coast of Africa at a cost of several hundred thousand pounds yearly, and a family or two in almost every one's acquaintance has had its victim to fever or sunstroke. For this we keep up settlements over forty degrees of latitude, sending out governors and bishops to perish amid the malaria of festering marshes. For this we have societies and subscriptions at home, and sermons about the grain of mustard-seed, and speeches in Parliament about Britain's ægis thrown over the slave. Brazil and Spain care as little for our principles as the naked barbarians who sell their prisoners or subjects to the skippers. The question, then, is, what shall we do! To dispatch cruisers to the African coast to chase slavers has been avowedly a failure. To remonstrate with foreign governments has been equally ineffectual. We have the choice of two alternatives—either to leave the trade to itself, in which case it would be carried on with at least a mitigation of barbarity, since the health of the cargo would be to the advantage of the trader, or to take summary measures to prevent the landing of negroes on any point of the slave-importing coast. To blockade thoroughly Cuba and Brazil is certainly a difficult enterprise, but still it might be effected by the perseverance of diplomacy or the

authority of superior force. There would at least be something of honesty and consistency in such a course, however great might be the risk and the hostility which the act might awaken. But the present position of moderate and hesitating imbecility can effect nothing, *and the sooner we relinquish a policy which supports a preventive squadron on the African coast, without hindering heavily-laden slavers from appearing in the harbors of Cuba, the better it will be for our character as a sincere and determined people.*

In the same connection we have a report of a late interview had with Lord Palmerston with a deputation of gentlemen connected with the West India business. These intelligent gentlemen it will be perceived, make no concealment of the desire to open in a modified form the African slave-trade, though without such doubt in the event the difference between the ancient and modern trade would be the important one between "tweedle dum and tweedle dee."

The points pressed upon Lord Palmerston's attention were the violation by Spain of the treaties with Great Britain, the increase in the trade in Cuba, especially during the last three years, the further impetus to be dreaded from the high price of sugar, the depressing influence on the prospects of free labor, the serious obstruction to the progress of the negro population, *the necessity for negro labor on the plantations, and for the influx of such labor in almost all the West India islands, and, as a consequence, the supply of slave labor to meet such demand, unless free labor of the same quality is provided.*

The following are the suggestions made for abolishing slavery by African emigration treaties:

Suppression of slavery itself, not the trade alone through emigration treaties, by substituting the free black African for the slave.

Emigration must be universal; if restricted to British colonies Britain might be charged with interested motives. If France cannot be joined, she will soon import the free black by herself. To Spain and Portugal it must be shown to be their interest to join.

Emigration must be accompanied or followed by emancipation. Free blacks must not be imported into a slave country, lest, like emancipados, they become slaves.

Emigration may be regulated by a mixed commission in Africa, the objects thereof to be voluntary contracts, free passage and outfit, suitable vessels, return passages, or grants of land.

Emigration in lieu of slavery is for the interest of Cuba. Compare cost of slave, \$700 (£140) with that of free black emigrant, £7 10s. a head, (adults.) Slavery furnishes but a temporary supply of labor by individuals worked to death in ten years, while emigration gives a permanent supply by colonization in families.

How emancipation is to be effected in Cuba. An immediate Spanish law for emancipation in a limited period for purchase of slaves through loans guaranteed as to interest by Britain, if necessary; the interest to be met by a poll tax and annual tax on emigrants, and tax on exports. Emigration to be the bonus for emancipation.

Colonization of the West Indies with free blacks will civilize Africa by constant communication through an emigration highway between the African tribes and civilized nations. The emigration and missionary boards will aid each other. Numerous emigration stations, with a mixed commission and open treaties, will instil confidence everywhere.

Emigrants will tend to put down intestine African wars. The normal state of Africa is war followed by captivity. Commerce and civilization must root out war. Each new emigration will be a bond for peace. The emigrants will be selected from freemen, not captives.

THE COFFEE TRADE—ITS PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OVER THE WORLD.

The cultivation and consumption of coffee have followed very much in the same geographical lines as the cultivation of sugar, and it has become equally important as an article of commerce. Like sugar, from having been first introduced as a luxury, it has become more or less a necessary of life to a large portion of the civilized world. The coffee plant was early known to have been a native of Arabia, and especially in the neighborhood of Yemen, not far distant from Mocha, the port of its exportation; and hence its name of Mocha coffee. The period at which it was first introduced to use in the form of an infusion from the roasted and crushed berries is uncertain, though it is not thought to date farther back than the early part of the fifteenth century. Ancient writers make no mention of its use, nor do modern authors allude to it earlier than the sixteenth century. A German physician, called Leonhart, was said to have been the first European who gave any notice of coffee, and whose work was published in 1573. It was very accurately described by Prosper Albinus, who had seen it in Egypt, when resident there as physician to the Venetian Consul, in his work on the medical plants of Egypt, and which appeared in 1591 and 1592.

A public coffee house was first established in London in 1652.

A Turkey merchant, named Edwards, brought along with him from the Levant some bags of coffee, and a Greek servant, accustomed to make it. His house soon became thronged with visitors, anxious to see and taste the new beverage.

The servant was permitted by Mr. Edwards, soon afterwards, to gratify the increasing public taste, to open a coffee house in St. Michael's alley, Cornhill, where the Virginia Coffee House afterwards stood.

Carraway's, near by the same locality, was the first house of the kind opened in London after the great fire in 1666. This coffee house was still continued in 1841, when it was patronized by the writer of this article, then visiting London.

According to the best authority, coffee was introduced into France between the years 1640 and 1660, and the first house for the sale of coffee was opened in Marseilles in 1671, and another in Paris the following year. Between the years 1680 and 1690, the Dutch first planted coffee beans, which they had procured from Mocha, in the vicinity of Batavia, island of Java. In 1690 they sent a plant to Europe, and the berries which it produced were subsequently sent to the West Indies, and to Surinam, and from which the first coffee plantations in those countries were supplied.

The cultivation of coffee met with great success in St. Domingo, and for many years was the source from which Europe derived its chief supplies—having exported at one time about 38,000 tons, or about seventy-six million pounds; and it was supposed that had not the revolution broken out in 1792, it would in that year have exported 42,000

tons, or about eighty-four million pounds. The devastation by that event caused almost a total cessation in the supplies.

Being driven from St. Domingo, its culture was greatly augmented in Cuba, Jamaica, Surinam, and Java, and was subsequently introduced with great success into Brazil.

As the culture advanced in Brazil, it declined in Cuba, the growth of sugar having been found capable of more rapid extension, and being more profitable.

It was some time after coffee was first planted in Brazil before it became an article of export to any great extent.

In 1774, a Franciscan friar, named Villaso, cultivated a single tree in the garden of the convent of St. Antonio. Brazil was then governed by the Marquis de Lavadio as viceroy. The first fruits of the tree were presented to the Marquis, who distributed them among the most respectable planters, explaining to them the advantages of adding another valuable article to the produce of the country; but being strong in their prejudices in favor of sugar and indigo, few took pains to cultivate it, and hence its progress was very slow. In 1808 Don Joas VI. fled from Portugal to Rio de Janeiro, and soon after opened the port to foreign trade. The annual crop of coffee then did not exceed 30,000 bags, of 160 lbs. each, or 8,000,000 lbs. Although the revolution in St. Domingo had overthrown its culture there, Cuba and Jamaica continued, to some extent, to supply the trader. In 1820 its increase in Brazil had swelled to 100,000 bags. The decrease of supply, by the desolation of St. Domingo, caused it to reach the enormous price of 148s per cwt, or nearly 37½ cts. per lb. in London, in the years 1817 and 1821. This great price stimulated the production in Brazil. The fall of St. Domingo had caused the culture of indigo to be transferred to British India, and its culture was abandoned in Brazil, with sugar for coffee. Hence emancipation in St. Domingo gave the monopoly of the cultivation and supply of indigo to British India, where it has remained ever since.

In 1789, just previous to the revolution, Hayti exported 76,834,219 lbs. of coffee; in 1818 we find the exports fell to about 26,000,000 lbs., and at this time they do not probably exceed thirty or thirty-five millions. The export of sugars in 1789, just before the revolution, reached 140,000,000 lbs. It has now ceased, and the population actually import supplies from Cuba and Porto Rico. In 1834, the year in which the emancipation act went into effect, Jamaica exported to England—

| | 1834. | 1839. |
|-----------------|------------|-----------|
| Sugars—cwt..... | 1,256,253 | 705,078 |
| Coffee—lbs..... | 18,268,863 | 9,423,197 |

We thus find that the exports of coffee fell off the first five years after emancipation about one-half, and sugar nearly in an equal ratio. In August, 1834, the negroes were emancipated by the English Government in Jamaica, which struck a death blow at its culture there, while sugar had measurably superseded its growth in Cuba. These causes combined, with the unrestricted supply of African slave labor, to give its culture a powerful impulse in Brazil. Hence, we find by the year

1830, its crop had increased to 400,000 bags, or 84,000,000 lbs. The slave-trade, by convention with England, was to cease in February, 1830. This produced an enormous import of slaves, which could only be disposed of at low prices and on long credits. This, again, stimulated the planting of new estates, and the crop rapidly increased, so that in 1840 it actually reached 1,060,898 bags, or about 168,600,000 lbs. The cultivation being found profitable, the demand for slaves continued, and notwithstanding the attempts of the British Government to put a stop to it, the slave-trade has been continually carried on clandestinely ever since, the importations from Africa having amounted to from 30,000 to 50,000 annually, the vessels supplied for which having been chiefly built and fitted out in the Northern cities of the United States, and sailing under whatever colors best answered their purpose of concealment.

The increase in the crop since 1840 has been very rapid, and in 1847 reached about 1,804,558 bags, about 288,333,000 lbs. The low prices in 1848 and 1849 had a tendency to check production. The difficulties of importing slaves, under a new treaty made with England in 1845, cut off the supply so far that those which were secretly introduced barely supplied the annual loss, which was 10 per cent., and sometimes more; and should the trade be stopped altogether, as aimed at by England, it will cause the cultivation of coffee to decrease in Brazil, to become augmented in the East Indies, and especially in British India; and should negro slavery be overthrown, coffee would, to a great extent, follow the course of indigo, and become to some extent an article of British production and control. The climate of Brazil is highly favorable to the cultivation of coffee, the trees yielding nearly double those of the West Indies.

The growth of Brazil, by 1854, reached the astonishing quantity of 400,000,000 lbs., while the production in the British West India Islands has rapidly declined since the emancipation of the slaves in 1834, as will be seen from the following table:

| | |
|---|--------------|
| 1848—The British West India Islands yielded.... | \$10,000,000 |
| 1853, '54, and '55 they yielded only..... | 5,000,000 |

Jamaica alone, in 1834, the year the Emancipation act was declared in the Islands, amounted to 18,268,183 pounds.

We see by this the same result as that which followed emancipation in St. Domingo. Coffee, with other tropical products, has fluctuated with the supply and cheapness and reliability of African slave labor.

If coolies can be brought in under a voluntary apprenticeship, why cannot Africans be allowed to come in by the same method, placed under proper regulations and guarantees on the coast of Africa?

The coffee-growing districts of Brazil are divided into the Serra Abaixo, or below the mountains, and Serra Acima, above the mountains. The produce of the former is about one-sixth part of the whole crop, in good years, but is much more uncertain than the Serra Acima, being more liable to injury from drought, which is said of late years to have been frequent. The quality is also inferior, and seldom shipped

to the United States. The trees usually flower three times each year, generally in August, September, and October, and are ready for picking, in favorable seasons, in March, April, and May, varying according to situation, which is considerable. In April small quantities of poor new coffee appear in market. In May and June the quantity is greater, but never abundant until July and August. The trees of Serra Acima bloom later, but the crop is more uniform, enabling planters to gather a crop at a single picking, which is a great saving of labor. Entire cargoes are not generally obtained from the Serra Acima district until August and September. Usually the supplies remaining over of the old crop are first sent to the market before planters clean out the new, and hence it is often as late as October and November before the bulk of the new crop is in market.

The cost of transporting the coffee to market is said to average the planter about two cents per pound, owing to imperfect facilities. The actual cost of production is said to be not much under $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound, and as negroes are decimated by cholera and other diseases, without new importations are required to supply their places, negroes must advance in value and enhance the cost of production.

The first import of Brazil coffee into the United States was made in 1809, which consisted of 1,809 bags, landed at Salem, by the ship *Marquis de Someriluas*. Hence, within the brief period of 47 years, the exports from Brazil have increased to the large amount of 400,000,000 lbs. in 1854, and 320,000,000 in 1853. From 1809 to 1849, or in a period of 40 years, the imports of coffee from Brazil into the United States increased from 1,809 bags to over 100,000,000.

For the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1855, the United States imported from Brazil 135,369,383 lbs. of coffee, of the value of \$11,315,818; other Brazilian products, including some sugars, amounted to \$9,203,117.

| | |
|------------------------------|--------------|
| Total imports..... | \$15,218,935 |
| Total exports to Brazil..... | 4,261,273 |

Balance of trade against the United States.... \$10,957,662

The imports of coffee alone from Brazil in 1854-'55 exceeded the exports of the United States to that country by \$7,553,545.

The total importation of coffee into the United States for the year ending June 30, 1855, amounted to 190,764,259 pounds, valued at \$16,764,259. For the year ending June, 1856, the quantity has been much larger, and as prices have ruled high, the value has been much greater.

The consumption of coffee has rapidly increased within the past twenty-five years, the greatest augmentation having been in the United States, where it has averaged $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, while in Europe it has been $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, or at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum for the world.

We submit the following tables, showing the production and consumption of coffee for the world at different periods:

Comparative Statement of the production of Coffee in the World at different periods—(The production of one year enters into the consumption of the succeeding year.)

| | 1848. | 1850. | 1854. | 1855. |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Brazil, lbs. | 270,000,000 | 280,000,000 | 400,000,000 | 320,000,000 |
| Java | 110,000,000 | 115,000,000 | 140,000,000 | 120,000,000 |
| St. Domingo..... | 40,000,000 | 45,000,000 | 40,000,000 | 35,000,000 |
| Cuba and Porto Rico | 40,000,000 | 30,000,000 | 25,000,000 | 20,000,000 |
| British West Indies. | 10,000,000 | 5,000,000 | 5,000,000 | 5,000,000 |
| Sumatra..... | 10,000,000 | 15,000,000 | 15,000,000 | 15,000,000 |
| Mocha, &c..... | 5,000,000 | 5,000,000 | 5,000,000 | 5,000,000 |
| Ceylon, Ind..... | 25,000,000 | 35,000,000 | 40,000,000 | 50,000,000 |
| Venezuela..... | 20,000,000 | 25,000,000 | 25,000,000 | 20,000,000 |
| Costa Rica..... | 5,000,000 | 7,000,000 | 8,000,000 | 9,000,000 |
| Total..... | 540,000,000 | 565,000,000 | 716,000,000 | 607,000,000 |

It will be seen from this table that the greatest increase in 1855 was in Ceylon, a British East India possession, and where its future growth is to be most largely augmented should slavery be overthrown in Brazil; with regard to which attempts have already been made by a member of the Legislature. A bill was introduced for gradual emancipation, but it of course did not pass. The question arises, if negro slavery in Brazil should be overthrown, where will the cultivation of coffee next take refuge? Java cannot materially augment the supplies. There are but two other points, viz: British India and the west coast of Africa. The tree is a native of the latter locality. But we do not believe that the voluntary labor of Africans will produce coffee any better in Africa than it does in St. Domingo and Jamaica. The consumption of the world in time of peace, and increased wealth from the influx of gold, has overtaken the labor of production. The future consumption in England and in the United States is expected to be materially augmented hereafter.

In France, also, owing to the failure of the vintage for several years, the consumption is likely to be increased. The annexed statement shows the present estimated consumption of the world!

| | |
|--|-------------|
| United States and British Provinces.....lbs | 210,000,000 |
| German Zollverein..... | 110,000,000 |
| Austria and other German States..... | 75,000,000 |
| Holland and Belgium..... | 90,000,000 |
| France, Switzerland, and Southern Europe... | 125,000,000 |
| Great Britain..... | 40,000,000 |
| Denmark, Sweden, and Norway..... | 30,000,000 |
| Russia..... | 15,000,000 |
| Cape of Good Hope, Australia and California. | 15,000,000 |
| Total..... | 710,000,000 |

The question of labor, in the production of this and other tropical productions which have become commercial necessities to the populations of the temperate northern latitudes, which embrace the largest civilized portions of the human race, is becoming one of great importance. The growing deficiency must not only continue, but, in

time, greatly enhance the prices of these products, which have become necessities of life, and tend to drain the money from northern sections, in order to secure them—or, in other words, places them under heavy tribute for articles which are, from habit, necessary to their comfort and well being. England, through her East India possessions, is no doubt anxious to secure as large a share of this tribute as possible, and may, to a certain extent, succeed with indigo, sugar and coffee; but she has failed, and will continue to fail, in the production of cotton. The United States have secured, and are likely to keep, and by the aid of England to back the South in securing this indispensable production to her prosperity, as well as the prosperity of Europe and the Northern States of this Union.

The value of slaves in Brazil—the only South American State which has made any great progress, and that through African labor—has for several years steadily increased.

Prior to 1830, when the slave-trade was legal, slaves were sold at 120\$, or \$66. From 1830 to 1850, when the trade was under treaties with England prohibited, and had to be conducted clandestinely, they advanced to 400\$, or \$220. Since 1850, the trade having been almost entirely suppressed, they have gradually advanced, aided by the decimation of five per cent. per annum, to 1,100\$, or \$605, in 1853. Since then, ten per cent., it is estimated has died from cholera, as appears by a recent statement of the Minister of the Empire, and they are now stated to be worth 1,500\$, or \$825 each. It was the low price of slaves prior to 1830 which stimulated the production of coffee, and caused prices to rule so low, which were, in 1835 to 1840 not much over half the present prices.

It takes four to five years to mature coffee trees after planting them, before they will yield a crop of berries; hence, the sudden rise or fall in prices cannot so suddenly influence production, as is the case with annual crops from new plantations of sugar and cotton. At the present time, owing to the high prices of slaves, no new estates can be formed, and none have been for several years; and it is stated that there are not hands enough left in the country to pick out a full crop.

It may be remarked that the rise and fall of tropical productions have fluctuated with the supply of the only labor suitable for their production beneath a tropical sun, and that is African.

The first introduction of African slaves into the United States (then British colonies) was by a Dutch ship, in 1620. From that period until the prohibition of the slave-trade in 1808, the whole number of Africans introduced into the United States did not exceed about 375,000. Of the first cargo sent over, 91 were consigned to British subjects, 88 to Rhode Island, 10 to French subjects, and 12 to natives of Charleston.

We thus find that the Africans in the United States, from this original small number, have increased to 3,204,313, or in the ratio of nearly 8 or 10 to 1; while in the British West Indies, there are not two persons remaining for every five of the imported and their descendants. This is seen from the following statement: There were imported into Jamaica, previously to 1817, 700,000 negroes, of whom

and their descendants but 311,000 remained, after 178 years, to be emancipated in 1833, the date of the British act.

In the whole of the British West Indies there were imported 1,700,000; of whom, and their descendants, but 660,000 remained to be emancipated. (See "Carey on the Slave-trade," and "Compendium of the States Census, 1850, pages 83, 84.") These facts prove that in no part of the world, and whether free or bond, has the African race increased so rapidly as in the United States, which is an irrefragible proof that they have been better treated and better cared for in the United States than anywhere else.

Yet we find a class of fanatics at the North, who are willing to contribute millions to Cuba for sugar, and to Brazil for coffee, piling up an annual balance of trade in the two places of over twenty millions of dollars per annum, to see the slave-trade clandestinely continued—to see the negroes annually decimated—to see St. Domingo and the British West Indies ruined by emancipation; yet they carry on a reckless crusade against their brethren at the South.

The decimation of over one million of Africans in the British West Indies alone they may pass over in silence, but for their Southern brethren, who will not consent to destroy 3,000,000 of contented and well treated Africans by emancipation, they know no bounds to their rage, though their measures, if carried out, would involve ruin to their own section of the country.

Where has emancipation ever succeeded? Where have the blacks ever been raised by it to the civilized condition of the blacks of the United States? In no part of Africa is the increase of population equal to that of the Southern States of North America.

Mr. McCulloch, in his Geographical Dictionary, speaking of Hayti, says that, "One of the first effects of the revolution which abolished the slavery of the blacks, was the enormous decrease in the amount of agricultural produce. From 1794, the year in which the slaves were declared free by the National Convention of France, to 1796, the value of exported produce had sunk to 8,606,720 livres, only about five per cent. of what it had been; and seven years afterwards the country had become almost a desert, not so much from the waste of civil war, but also from the indolence of the black population."

Mr. McCulloch, speaking of the effects of emancipation in Jamaica, says that "They devote the principal part of their time to the culture of esculents or other necessities on their own patch of ground, or raise arrow-root, ginger, &c., on speculation, and work on sugar and other estates only when it suits their inclination or convenience. Thus, in some districts, they will only work the four first days of the week; and at critical periods of the crops it is necessary to offer high bribes to get them to leave their homes to assist on other days than Fridays or Saturdays." "The great falling off in the imports from Jamaica is hardly greater than was to have been anticipated. We need not here repeat the statement by which we have already endeavored to show that it is nugatory to expect that the blacks, now that they are emancipated, should voluntarily undertake the labor they were formerly compelled to perform."

England has, to a great extent, made herself independent in the growth of tea, sugar, and coffee, but not in cotton. We are independent in the growth of cotton, but dependent upon other countries for coffee, tea, and in a great degree of sugar. To secure the domestic supply of these articles in sufficient quantities can only be done by the acquisition of tropical territory and the increase and extension of labor.

There are some curious facts regarding the preservation of coffee. It is said that the berries readily imbibe exhalations from other substances, and occasionally acquire an unpleasant flavor. Sugar, placed near the berries, it is said, in a short time impregnates them and injures their flavor.

A few bags of pepper on board a ship bound from India to England, spoiled a whole cargo of coffee.

The process of roasting berries requires care and skill. If burnt, the coffee is spoiled, imparting a bad taste, and making it heavy and indigestible when drunk. Again, if underdone, the water fails to extract the nourishing material of the coffee, and its infusion is so weak as to prove unpalatable. In all Cairo, in Egypt, there was said to be but one good coffee parcher. The berries should be roasted until they become of a uniform brown chesnut color.

No family should ever purchase ready ground coffee, which is liable to adulteration with chicory, beans, corn, rye, &c. The berries should be bought green, and parched and ground at home, as wanted.

The article which has been most largely used for the adulteration of coffee is the chicory root, which is a native of England, Germany, and most parts of Europe, and naturalized in the United States. It has a tap root like carrots, and is cultivated something in the same manner, chiefly in Holland, Belgium, and other parts of Germany, where labor is cheap. Females and children are largely employed in its production. The roots on being dug up are sliced and kiln-dried, and afterwards roasted and ground, when it bears a strong resemblance to coffee; and mixed with enough of the latter to flavor it, the deception becomes quite successful. The only resemblance it bears to coffee is in its color, and the only recommendation it has is its cheapness. It is slightly tonic, but contains no nourishment, and only satisfies the appetite by distention when drunk. From Germany the article is extensively exported to other countries, and particularly to England and the United States. Its consumption, through adulteration with coffee, in the United States, especially since the advance in the price of coffee, has greatly increased. We know a single German house in New York which has imported, in a single year, 500,000 lbs., and the present annual importation into New York is not less than from 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 lbs. Strange to say, notwithstanding these facts, not even the name of chicory appears among the imports of the United States. In the official reports of the imports of the United States, arranged under the head of commerce and navigation, its name is nowhere to be met with. How is this? Is it imported in another name, or is it smuggled?

How far it can answer as a healthy substitute for coffee may be gathered from learning the chemical composition of the two. Wood

& Bache call it chicory or succory, or the wild endive or *chicorum Inlyteus* of Linæus. It sends up a stalk one to three feet high, which under cultivation rises five or six feet, and sends down a carrotlike tap root which yields a milky juice. Before being adopted for the adulteration of coffee, it was used as a medicinal mild tonic, and was thought to be good as a mild purge, and in jaundice affections. But, whatever weak medical properties it may possess are probably destroyed by roasting and grinding.

Coffee, on the contrary, is found on chemical analysis to contain a highly nutritious element, known as Caffein. This component part of all good coffee is found to contain a larger proportion of nitrogen than any other vegetable principle, and in this respect equaling some of the most highly animalized products. Caffein does not putrify, however, like animal matter. Thus, chemists have discovered by analysis, that coffee contains an element of nourishment similar to animal matter, or to meat, which renders it nutritious as a drink, and of which chicory is wholly destitute; and hence its useless and injurious character as a substitute for coffee. Tea, also, contains an animal principle known as *thein*, which also renders it nourishing as a beverage when good and pure. See Wood & Bush, American Dispensary. Runge, *Berzelius Trait de Chimie*.

While good Rio coffee sells at $10\frac{1}{2}$ a $11\frac{3}{4}$ cts., and Java at $14\frac{1}{2}$ cts., chicory, roasted and ground, sells at 4 and 5 cts., and in its green and dried state sells at 1 and 2 cts. per pound. Hence the inducement for the perpetration of the fraud on such an immense scale. It has reached such a pitch that we doubt whether there is a coffee roaster or grinder in New York, Boston, or Philadelphia, that does not sell more or less ground coffee mixed with chicory. Good coffee, well roasted, makes a refreshing and wholesome beverage for infirm and weak people and children.

How cruel, then, is the practice of selling them a parched root, possessing no one property in common with coffee, and not only destitute of all nourishment, but positively injurious if long used. Its wholesale use has, probably, in large cities, contributed to the mortality of the people, and especially of children and aged people, besides aggravating the symptoms of dyspepsia and nervous complaints. Congress should levy 100 per cent. duty on it, so as to make it unprofitable to import it in competition with coffee, and protect the people from such a wholesale and poisonous fraud.

We one day met a man driving a vehicle through the streets of New York, offering the "essence of coffee" for sale, done up in small papers, and for which he asked a round price. We asked him to let us examine a package, to which he consented, and which, on examination, we found to be pure chicory. Yet he was retailing this stuff to poor, ignorant people as the "essence of coffee."

Since writing the above, we have been enabled to give the exports of coffee from Brazil more in detail, and to bring them down to the 1st of July, 1856, and to form some estimates regarding the probable amount of deficiency in the supply for the first and second six months of 1856, which will be seen from the following statement:

Comparative exports of coffee from Rio for the first and second six months of each year 1851 to 1856.

| | Jan. 1 to July 1. | July 1 to Dec. 31. |
|---|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1851, bags..... | 1,004,005 | 1,029,738 |
| 1852..... | 828,836 | 1,037,783 |
| 1853..... | 842,114 | 795,549 |
| 1854..... | 788,414 | 1,199,218 |
| 1855..... | 1,144,030 | 1,265,069 |
| Average of five years..... | 921,489 | 1,071,471 |
| 1856, Jan. 1, to July 1.... | 837,776 | |
| Less than average five years. | 83,713 | |
| Less than same period 1855 | 306,254 | |
| July, August, and September are likely to be very moderate in exports, as little old remained, and the new would not be abundant till October. Judging from previous and similar years, the export of these three months will not average over the previous six months, say 139,629 bags, or..... | | 420,000 |
| The means of transportation being lessened, and the high price of labor being considered, an average of 200,000 bags per month for October, November, and December, would be extreme, say..... | | 600,000 |
| Making for the last six months, 1856..... | | 1,020,000 |
| Or less than average of five years..... | | 51,471 |
| “ “ of 1854, and '55..... | | 212,143 |
| Actual deficiency of first six months, 1856, bags..... | | 306,254 |
| Probable deficiency of second six months, 1856, bags..... | | 212,143 |
| Total deficiency, 1856..... | | 518,397 |

THE LOW LANDS OF VIRGINIA.

NO. I.

BY A FARMER OF PIEDMONT.

We are indebted to the author for a copy of this paper, which will appear in this and the next number of the Review.

There is a particular branch of statistics, concerning which it is thought desirable that we should have more accurate information than we now possess. Who would not like to know how much *alluvial land*—"low-grounds," as we term it—there may be within the limits of Virginia? Such special inquiry, it seems, did not come within the scope of the Census Bureau at Washington. Its agents were required to distinguish be-

tween "improved" and "unimproved" land. But under the former designation was included all cleared land of whatever grade of fertility, and much of this in Virginia, we know, has been reduced from its original productive capacity. And had the Department attempted the additional distinction here suggested, the effort would have been attended with difficulty, when we regard the State as a whole. The valleys of many of the minor streams in the trans-Alleghany district, it is presumed, are yet clothed with their native forests, and may have been subjected neither to separate instrumental survey, nor to any other than a conjectural estimate of quantity.

This, however, can hardly be the case with the three more eastern divisions of the State. It is believed that there are many counties in each, concerning which this information might be readily obtained. Nor can we conceive why all might not be included in this category, as ordinary obstacles would yield to a proper division of labor. The knowledge to be sought is, we may suppose, already in the possession of individuals, and were it imparted to some one or more in each county, it could with little trouble be digested into proper form and order for public use.

We desire to learn not only how much of such land there may be on our portion of the great Dismal Swamp and the Ocean and Bay shores, but the separate aggregates on the banks of all our larger streams, whether they be rivers of the first or second grade, or the more considerable creeks. Such portions as lie on the lesser creeks and *branches* might be summed up under a distinct head. The islands which skirt our eastern shore and dot our Bay and larger rivers would form a fifth class.

In the first class we would include the borders of the Potomac, (with the Shenandoah and South Branch,) the Rappahannock, the York, with the Pamunkey and Mattaponi, the James, the Roanoke, with the Dan and Staunton, the Ohio, with the Monongahela, both Kanawhas, and the New and Greenbrier rivers.

In the second would be embraced the larger affluents of those in the first class—as the Rapidan, Chickahominy, Appomattox, Rivanna, Nottoway, Meherrin—all, in fine, that are styled rivers. The third, fourth, and fifth are sufficiently defined.

A document embracing all this information would be interesting to the State at large. But in another aspect, the citizens of each separate county would willingly know how much it offers of such land in the several kinds here designated. Certain counties—as Gloucester, Elizabeth City, Nansemond, Southampton, Mecklenburg, Halifax, Goochland, Albemarle,

Berkeley, Hampshire, Rockingham, Augusta, and some others—would exhibit superior natural advantages in this respect; but in others, again, the balance may have been redressed by favorable circumstances of a different kind.

But, it may be asked, *cui bono?* In what benefit would such an inquiry result? Should the querist think such knowledge more curious than useful, we might briefly respond, that if it be deemed wise in an individual to take special account of his most productive, durable, and reliable property, it surely cannot be unbecoming in a State to do the same. But let us look more narrowly into this matter.

That the territory of Virginia is "well watered," a glance at the map will suffice to show. With the Ocean and Bay on her eastern front, and large rivers on her northern and western boundaries, others but little inferior, with their very considerable affluents, intersect the several districts into which it has been divided by nature. But while the transmontane streams seek a western outlet, those of the east descend to the Chesapeake or the Ocean in lines nearly parallel to each other; and this has been thought to forbid that *unity of interest* which tends to build up marts for concentrating produce and commerce. In this view it has been said, with a degree of truth, that "we are cursed with a multitude of blessings." Unlike New York, which has but one principal stream, to which most of the others are tributary, or the States of New Hampshire, Connecticut, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Alabama, which are somewhat similarly situated, Virginia has from the first had to contend with an inconvenience that has often thwarted the wisest plans of her purest patriots, or led to questionable compromises for their accomplishment. But however unfavorable this may have been to harmony in legislative or social action, it has certainly furnished a wider basis for agricultural wealth and prosperity.

It would be natural to infer that streams so large and numerous must be bordered by much alluvial land; and this we know to be true from other data, as well as general report. But although Virginia has been occupied and explored by the white man for more than two centuries, who among us has any definite idea of the total quantity in each kind, however just may be his estimate of their position and relative values? Tradition or common report may have carried the knowledge of certain favored localities beyond their immediate neighborhoods or districts, and public advertisement may have informed us of the portions of such soil on particular estates when offered for sale, but we want something fuller and authentic in the same kind concerning our whole State.

For neither the length of rivers, nor their volume of water,

nor the general profile of the country they traverse, furnish any sure index of the breadth of their alluvium. Those within our borders show an indefinite variety in this respect. Were streams confined within a sufficient channel, equal throughout in breadth and depth, descending as they do on an inclined plane, they would seek the shortest line to their mouths, and their valleys would remain as originally formed. But inequalities in these respects give their current a direction to either shore, from which it rebounds at an angle, gradually approaching that of its incidence. If the point of resistance is not made of stubborn materials, it is in time worn away both above and below, until the current is met by a bluff or something equivalent, the soil being carried in solution together with much from above to the opposite bank, or else contributing to the formation of islands in the channel. It is thus that in the course of geologic periods low-grounds are formed, and this alternate motion will account for their total absence at certain points, and for their varying breadth and extent at others and on either shore. To this law our Virginia streams offer no exception; but there is scarcely one of the more important which does not present considerable reaches of alluvial soil, of extent and compactness sufficient, with the aid of the higher grounds adjoining, to constitute one or more valuable estates.

These were eagerly sought by the more sagacious and enterprising of our early settlers, and men of like stamp, in the westward march of our population, have not failed to follow their example. These were the men who gave character to our colony and State, and in this view, the enquiry, as illustrating the extent and progressive development of our resources, is of historical as well as economical interest. Theirs were the lands which contributed to the support of pioneer adventurers of our armies in war, and our citizens in peace, and which furnished a principal share of the exports that swelled our trade. There was a time, indeed, when of them it might be said that *they* were our country—certainly its most desirable part; and when this was no longer the case, their peculiar value has still been recognized. The most striking example of this known to the writer, is the fact that the low-grounds of James river have for half a century been rated at \$100 or more per acre, while the adjoining forests or fields other than the curtilage, have averaged from five to twenty; and similar if not proportional differences may be found elsewhere within our limits. Many of these lands, both above and below the head of tide, were originally in the occupancy and cultivation of the natives, and when these were dispossessed, their fields, with others of a semi-prairie character received the earliest labors of our ancestors. Being already prepared for tillage,

it was thus that they afforded subsistence to our people, while attacking the forest with which other plains, both high and low, as yet were burdened. The early settlers, indeed, finding the whole country in this condition, so different from the general aspect of Europe, from this circumstance alone, formed exaggerated estimates of its general and intrinsic fertility, whereas, many a highland plain has been exhausted of its accumulated stores of vegetable mould by constant cropping and left to recover itself as it might until a more scientific husbandry came to its aid. The lower and more durable lands have ever been the chief attraction that lured the pioneers to the frontier, and when once prepared for the plough have rarely or never been permitted to return to their former State. While the area of upland subject to tillage, has annually varied, and from many causes, that of the alluvia has been so far constant that it has never receded; but with the returning season, each acre has either contributed something to our wants, or been gathering force for a new effort.

And reason good there has ever been for regarding them as the ornament and strength of our territory and the richest boon of Providence to the farmer. But more of this in another number.

THE SOUTHERN CONVENTION AT KNOXVILLE.

This body convened on the 10th day of August pursuant to adjournment. A brief account of its proceedings will be condensed from the notes of the reporters. Much additional material will be furnished in our next.

The following delegates appeared and took their seats. The list does not include a large number who arrived on the third and fourth days—others neglected to enter their names upon the record. The whole number probably reached one thousand:

ALABAMA.—Nath. Barker, David Hubbard, Jas. H. Dearing, Peter Martin, Geo. Redwood, jr., Dr. James Rumph, Robert A. Nicoll, Alfred Battle, T. J. Frow, Thos. H. Hobbs, L. J. Hale, John Hart, Jas. B. McDonald, Geo. R. Peck, Edgar Garlic, W. D. Hollowell, Thos. A. Walker, E. C. Wyly, H. D. Smith, Moses Cox, P. P. McRae, Seth Mabrey, Thos. P. Parke, A. W. Starke, B. J. Yarrington, Samuel T. Arrington, Wm. L. Allen, W. J. Bibb, W. C. Bibb, W. F. Bush, Andrew Bogle, F. R. Bell, F. S. Blount, T. B. Bethea, Jas. Battle, J. W. Copeland, B. H. Elsbury, S. B. Brown, M. S. Cleveland, H. H. R. Dawson, J. H. Vincent, J. T. Camp, J. W. Pitts, B. T. Sharp, J. H. Clute, W. D. Lea, A. A. Torbett, E. H. Bernhard, W. L. Cain, Thos. Espy, J. B. Farney, A. C. Gordon, Jno. Donahoe, Barton Dickson, James W. Eckel, J. H. Elsbury, C. R. Farley, Nich. Gachet, J. Camp Goodloe, F. Hargrove, W. S. Horr, J. Hardie, W. B. Haroldson, T. M. Johnson, W. H. Ketchem, M. J. A. Keith, B. B. Lewis, C. S. Lucas, J. W. Lapsley, W. J. Ledgard, W. T. Minter, G. Wattathewa, W. W. Mason, Robt. A. Nicoll, E. D. Nickels, G. E. Wilson, T. Oliver, P. D. Page, E.

Reese, G. W. Tate, H. P. Watson, G. C. Whatley, W. Walker, H. Ware, W. S. Wyman, J. A. Wemyss, J. W. Womach, R. C. Yarrington, J. C. McNabb, J. D. Hoke, Sam'l Jeter, J. A. Jones, R. H. Powell, E. T. Rondall, B. T. Moore, B. L. Posey, J. E. Reese, S. B. Roper, J. W. Suttle, S. B. Sullins, G. S. Malain, T. J. S. Sandford, J. W. Pitta, John Steel.

ARIZONA TERRITORY.—Sylvester Mowry.

ARKANSAS.—E. N. Sanders, J. M. Clay.

FLORIDA.—E. M. Graham, M. A. Long, L. H. Mattair, Gov. Moseley, W. W. McCall, Gov. M. S. Perry.

GEORGIA.—Wm. L. Gordon, Andrew R. Moore, Tolliver Dillard, Robert C. Hardle, R. A. Roberts, Dr. J. N. Simmons, John S. Travis, Jno. Carr Brown, Charles Campbell, J. F. Zimmerman, Edwin Dyer, W. I. Ezzard, H. H. Glenn, Robert Gunby, Thos. R. Greer, T. B. Greenwood, M. A. Hardin, E. D. Hendry, B. F. Hawkins, D. B. Harrell, B. B. Amos, John E. Morgan, J. L. Maddox, C. D. Pullen, M. H. Rachels, Thos. C. Spicer, D. H. Sanders, O. L. Smith, A. H. Stokes, A. M. Sloan, B. M. Smith, T. J. Smith, J. T. Thomas, Geo. H. Thompson, John Thomas, E. Ufford, John G. Whitfield, B. B. de Graffenried, James Herty, J. H. Steele, J. E. Williams, John L. Williams, Robert C. Ward, A. H. Wyche, B. C. Yancey, Y. Z. Anderson, A. Austell, J. Beasley, D. J. Dobbs, Benj'n E. Green, R. F. Moddcox, Frank Moore, R. H. Norris, Wm. A. Pope, W. A. Redding, E. Ufford, Wm. Anderson, A. J. Baggesa, J. Boyle, R. M. Bearden, Thos. C. Bonner, Thos. C. Broaddua, G. W. Bivins, B. S. Brazeal, A. P. Bears, J. J. Collier, A. Carroll, Wm. C. Darden, G. H. Daniel, J. E. DeFord, S. N. Earee, H. Green, J. G. Gibson, E. S. Hains, A. Harris, S. W. Jones, J. K. Kendrick, T. Hyle, E. B. King, O. A. Lochrane, W. H. Lanier, T. A. Matham, R. L. Litchfield, J. Lewis, R. A. McComb, A. R. McLaughlin, B. T. McKay, B. H. Overby, J. W. Payne, W. A. Rogers, J. P. S. Roland, A. A. Robinson, J. W. Shapard, J. S. Stewart, William B. Swann, Wm. S. Stevens, S. Stillwell, J. S. Stevenson, J. P. Smith, William Taylor, W. L. Wadsworth, J. H. White, J. L. Wimberly, J. T. Wimberly, J. F. Zimmerman, J. G. Reynolds, H. H. Hubbard, Geo. J. Howard, G. R. Knabe, W. E. Lassiter, D. B. Ferria, J. B. Lawrence, J. L. Jones, C. W. Mabry, A. E. Mafshall, Alfred Poullain, J. R. Parrott, Lewis Tumlin, W. W. Berrien, Robt. Batey, E. R. Chamberlain, S. C. Elam, E. Fagan, H. P. Farrow, Dr. R. A. Felton, Sam'l Griswold, T. A. Hawkins, S. F. Porter, W. W. Prothro, J. W. Pritchett, W. C. Richardson, E. E. Rayson, R. C. Scott, R. H. Springer, J. C. Skinner, B. M. Willingham.

KENTUCKY.—W. J. Davies.

LOUISIANA.—W. A. Elmore, C. W. Phipps, J. A. Achlen, Jesse A. Bynum, Thos. Cottman, C. deChoiseul, S. E. Vernon, R. Wooldridge, J. D. B. DeBow, Rt. Rev. L. Polk, Hon. John Perkins.

MISSISSIPPI.—T. H. Davis, H. G. Crozier, G. A. Sykes, J. D. Eastin, J. B. McRae, C. A. Williams, G. Frazier, W. R. Cunningham, Thos. Holliday, W. W. Lea, Austin Pollard, R. W. Leigh, R. O. Reynolds, W. C. Richards, C. Sykes, T. G. Blewitt, sr., R. H. Crozier, W. G. Evans, Sam'l Cample, Benj. Griffin, J. B. Tatum, R. S. Gladney.

MARYLAND.—M. W. Clusky, W. Blair Lord, J. F. Anderson, Chas. Webb, Chas. J. Stewart, J. S. Tyson, J. K. Metter, J. S. Bandall, M. H. Umbrugh.

NORTH CAROLINA.—S. M. Murrell, A. S. Merriman, A. Gains, D. Christy.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—J. B. Allston, W. I. Bull, J. H. Baker, G. Buist, W. M. Bratton, E. B. Bryan, B. W. Bradley, J. S. Bowie, W. W. Boyce, A. F. Browning, J. T. K. Belk, I. Coleman, J. R. Critzbug, J. Cohen, J. E. Carew, B. R. Carroll, H. C. Davis, Douglas John, I. M. Dwight, R. E. Ellison, J. C. Edwards, G. P. Elliott, J. S. Fairly, B. M. Force, A. D. Frederick, W. Frederick, D. F. Frederick, A. J. Frederick, A. L. Gillespie, W. D. Gaillard, J. C. Geiger, A. J. Green, Theo. S. Gourdin, F. Gaillard, J. C. Hope, W. F. B. Hainsworth, J. H. Henry, W. D. H. Kirkwood, Sam'l J. Lord, J. A. Meetze, E. C. McLure, J. Morrow, J. Macbeth, D. Malloy, L. M. Montgomery, L. V. Martin, E. C. Mowry, R. S. McCanta, A. M. Moreland, S. McCandless, F. Q. McHugh, F. S. Ogden, T. Oliver, J. H. Porcher, J. J. Pope, jr., W. B. Brother, N. C. Porter, W. R. Robertson, O. Reeder, A. B. Rhett, jr., L. W. Spratt, J. Sleighing, jr., H. H. Williams, J. Waties, W. B. Williams, J. H. Witherspoon, N. C. Whetstone, J. H. Williams.

TENNESSEE.—R. H. Armstrong, M. M. Armstrong, Henry Ault, W. P. Baker, W. G. Brownlow, J. R. Cocke, D. Campbell, Dr. R. O. Currey, C. W. Charlton, J. H. Crozier, J. M. Fleming, M. J. Bearden, F. S. Heiskell, C. W. Jones, A. M. Lea, T. C. Lyon, J. A. Mabry, Wm. B. Reese, jr., Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey, Hon. Wm. B. Reese, P. L. Rodgers, Dr. J. Rodgers, Hon. Wm. H. Sneed, Hon. Wm. G. Swan, C. F. Trigg, O. P. Temple, E. C. Trigg, S. A. White, Col. J. Williams, A. L. Maxwell, J. M. White, J. J. Craig, F. K. Bell, P. H. Coffee, A. M. Piper, J. F. Pearl, J. A. Richardson, F. Titus, T. J. Powell, R. Bond, W. Bond, A. A. Barnes, J. C. M. Bogle, J. Easley, J. H. Cowan, Wm. M. Cocke, S. C. Champman, A. P. Caldwell, Gen. Caswell, Wm. H. Clarkson, Wm. Cross, J. Caldwell, D. H. Cummings, J. W. Dunn, P. Dickinson, J. M. Duff, F. Esperandieu, A. R. Edmonds, L. D. Franklin, J. Fain, J. C. Fleming, G. C. Gray, Wm. M. Gray, G. M. Hazen, R. H. Hodsden, Lewis R. Hurst, H. D. Hall, Matt. Hillsman, J. Jackson, J. James, R. J. Jarnagin, J. W. Kelsoe, H. W. King, H. Liggett, jr., Wm. G. McAdoo, J. Martin, J. H. Martin, J. B. Martin, D. Morris, M. C. Moore, P. M. McClung, H. Maynard, J. L. McDaniel, C. N. Orsway, R. G. Payne, Will Peak, J. M. Rice, M. L. Patterson, C. Powell, J. Ross, O. Rice, S. A. R. Swan, F. A. R. Scott, H. P. Shannon, J. Shannon, Jas. Z. Swan, J. T. Shirley, P. H. Thompson, T. Nixon Van Dyke, J. G. Whitson, J. White, Wm. B. Williams, R. T. Wilson, U. L. Wright, W. H. Whitson, J. R. Brown, F. M. Wyley, D. K. Young, Herman Bokum, H. W. King, J. C. Luttrell, J. Osborne, Rolfe Saunders, Henry Schwing, Anthony S. Camp, J. A. Whitesides, N. G. Warthen, W. M. Churchwell, G. M. Burthu, J. H. Billa, Jas. Britt, J. P. Brown, Frank Bogart, J. H. Brinkley, S. Y. Brown, G. W. Barnett, John Brazelton, S. J. Brown, J. A. Coffee, J. L. Cary, A. R. Crozier, R. J. Chester, C. G. Crozier, H. T. Cox, H. E. Dodson, D. S. Dunn, H. Fain, R. D. Goodwyre, Jas. Goddard, S. M. Gaines, A. B. Graham, J. B. Heiskell, Jas. Henry, R. J. Hays, J. C. Jones, Chas. King, J. T. Lenoir, Benj. Little, W. W. Lyon, C. M. Keith, P. Millett, J. A. McKinney, W. Moulden, J. W. Morgan, J. Netherland, J. Naff, Miles Owen, R. G. Payne, W. H. Patton, Gen. G. J. Pillow, W. H. Polk, E. H. Porter, W. D. Printz, G. B. Peters, A. J. Rose, W. F. Ragsdale, J. C. Warner, J. M. Robinson, A. S. Camp, Will L. Scott, J. P. Senter, G. P. Straley, A. Sarphin, J. Thompson, J. M. Toole, Wm. Upton, J. C. Vaughn, J. C. Young, Pryor Tyol, T. H. Callo-way, Dr. Cunningham, J. H. Dosser, W. Y. C. Humes, Wm. Jack, C. J. McKinney, W. L. Perry, J. M. Rankin, Gen. A. E. Smith, J. W. Gaut.

VIRGINIA.—W. M. Burwell, J. England, J. Jones, W. E. Arnold, G. Bramble, D. B. Chratwood, P. Calhoun, W. W. Bragg, J. R. Branch, R. O. Britton, C. R. Gandy, T. G. Gatch, J. B. Gaddess, R. W. Harrison, J. M. Jarvis, W. R. Johnson, A. J. Leavenworth, C. D. Town, J. L. Mun, A. McDonald, G. Lewton, S. O. Reid, A. A. Ruckner, T. B. Drane, jr., H. B. Reardon, W. M. Semple, A. S. Smith, B. T. Tinsley, W. R. King, J. R. Todd, A. A. Todd, E. Calentine, W. D. White, W. L. Watkins, G. Williamson, J. H. Wilson, A. J. Barnes, G. M. Bain, jr. J. G. Hatton, J. G. Hollady, A. D. Kelly, J. M. Miles, H. V. Wierne, A. Simmons, D. J. Lanier, J. R. Chambless, J. H. Cooper, W. T. Lundy, J. A. Muir, W. H. Walker, J. T. P. Bosseau, E. L. Lumford, N. T. Rives, J. H. Smith, C. Corling, A. Dunn, T. H. Archer, A. J. Barnes, J. T. Anderson, J. W. Anderson, W. T. Bachus, J. Brown, K. Biggs, M. W. Fisher, E. R. Hunter, J. P. Leigh, jr., C. K. Grandy, E. Laconture, C. B. Claiborne, Col. J. L. Carrington, Sam'l C. Bonnan, S. L. Ewbank, J. T. Francis, Thos. A. Hardy, Geo. Hardy, T. H. Johnstone, W. R. Terry, J. H. Everett, A. M. Appling, J. P. Steigh, jr., J. Cocke, L. C. P. Cowper, J. B. Carey, R. J. Echols, D. D. Fiske, W. C. Flournoy, M. W. Fisher, J. Fuqua, C. A. Grier, T. M. Greenway, W. P. Griffith, E. P. Griffith, G. W. Grice, D. Griffith, A. B. Garland, T. C. Gale, W. T. Griffith, H. C. Gibbons, S. E. Goodson, L. J. Gogerty, G. A. O. Gallaher, J. E. Heath, A. L. Hill, G. Henderson, E. A. Hatton, T. Hunt, jr., P. E. B. C. Henritze, E. T. Hardy, T. Hoggard, J. H. Johnson, T. F. Jones, A. D. Kelly, H. A. Lepage, W. Lamb, A. G. T. Litchfield, W. H. Lemorin, M. Meyers, C. Y. Morris, B. B. Minor, R. A. Pryor, G. W. Peete, J. P. Reynolds, W. Roland, jr., J. R. Ricks, T. Scott, J. Schoolfield, R. M. Starke, L. W. Smith, W. A. Thomas, T. Tabb, L. W. Webb, U. Wells, J. L. White, D. S. Walton, E. M. Watts, S. Bonsal, S. H. Webb, J. T. Young, M. P. Young, J. Lyons, S. R. Borum, S. M. Brooks, W. H.

Briggs, J. B. Dupuy, Saml C. Donnan, A. K. Moore, S. R. Namsun, H. C. Robb, Jas. R. Scott, J. B. Watkins, W. A. Smith, L. A. Borgia, M. C. Daughtry, J. T. Martin, W. G. Mann, J. A. Turner, W. D. Wood, G. W. Starke, W. R. Terry.

The Mayor of Knoxville called the Convention to order, and moved that JAMES LYONS, of Virginia, be appointed temporary Chairman. Mr. WM. M. SEMPLE, of Virginia, was appointed temporary Secretary.

The following committee was appointed to report permanent officers and rules for the Convention :

Col. O. Lochrairie, A. A. Robinson, Georgia; J. A. S. Acklen, J. M. Vernon, Louisiana; John S. Tyson, W. Blair Lord, Maryland; W. W. McCall, Hon. M. S. Perry, Florida; A. S. Merriman, A. Gaines, North Carolina; Hon. W. J. Bull, B. R. Carroll, South Carolina; John W. Womack, C. S. Lucas, Alabama; Thomas H. Davis, R. O. Reynolds, Mississippi; O. P. Temple, John Martin, Tennessee; R. A. Pryor, Jefferson T. Martin, Virginia; William Saunders, Col. M. G. Clay, Arkansas.

A communication was then read from Gen. Gadsden, of South Carolina, recommending to the Convention the admission of Lieut. Sylvester Mowry, from Arizona, as a delegate from that portion of the Mexican purchase.

The Convention then adjourned until 4 o'clock, p. m. On assembling in the afternoon, the committee on organization reported the following Officers, which report was unanimously adopted:

FOR PRESIDENT,

J. D. B. DeBow, of Louisiana.

FOR VICE PRESIDENTS.

Hon. Wm. H. Sneed, of Tennessee.
Col. T. A. Latham, of Georgia.
Col. T. G. Blewitt, of Mississippi.
Gov. Wm. D. Mosely, of Florida.
A. S. Merriman, of North Carolina.
J. M. Vernon, of Louisiana.

W. R. Robertson, of South Carolina.
Col. Jno. R. Chambliss, of Virginia.
Col. M. J. Clay, of Arkansas.
J. S. Tyson, of Maryland.
Col. S. L. Arrington, of Alabama.

FOR SECRETARIES.

B. B. Degraffenreid, of Georgia.
D. Gray, of Tennessee.
O. L. Smith, of Georgia.
P. D. Page, of Alabama.
R. W. Leigh, of Mississippi.
M. Whit Smith, of Florida.

A. Gaines, of North Carolina.
C. W. Phillips, of Louisiana.
B. W. Brady, of South Carolina.
W. Lamb, of Virginia.
Wm. Saunders, of Arkansas.
W. Blair Lord, of Maryland.

Mr. DeBow, on taking the chair, addressed the Convention at some length.

[The positions taken by him, and the argument made, are identically such as will be found in the opening paper of this number of the Review, though the lateness of the hour prevented him from going through every part of the subject. He prefers that the paper should go out as the speech that was intended, entire, and that no other synopsis should appear in this place except that which was made by one of the reporters, as follows:]

He remarked, that if there could be a moment in his life prouder than another, it would be that in which he was called upon to preside over a body comprising the intelligence and patriotism of the South. He alluded to the

able manner in which the retiring President (Mr. Lyons) had presided over the deliberations of the body, and his remarks were received with loud applause. These conventions, he said, had fixed the vacillating and given strength to the doubting. Our statesmen no longer deprecated and apologized; but, conscious of the justice of their cause, threw themselves upon their rights in the Constitution. It was true that large practical results had not flowed directly from these meetings, but the deliberations had given spirit to the South, which was manifesting itself.

The 10,000,000 of whites and 4,000,000 slaves in the South make as large a population as Great Britain possessed at the time of the Revolution; and our area is equal to that of all Europe, excepting Russia and Turkey. What, then, do we lack? We have that potent power, the cotton bale—that power which makes the treaties of the world, and binds them fast. Our commerce is increasing, and, as an evidence of it, the speaker said he had recently met three gentlemen in Charleston, S. C., who could name twenty-two vessels owned by them, and engaged in the foreign carrying trade. The great chain of railroad between Charleston and Memphis is completed. The Pacific railroad is being rapidly completed at the South; two conventions, at Bristol and Old Point, backed by millions of capital, have recently endorsed schemes for Southern ocean trade, and everything is looking towards an awakening among our people.

Southern literature and education, too, are progressing. That great institution, the University of Virginia, it is said, will, next session, have 800 students from the South within its walls. Let us, then, encourage every enterprise which conduces to our benefit; demand an equal distribution of the mail service from the General Government; ask that the fleet be recalled from the coast of Africa, for the protection of the Tehuantepec route; use unceasing, untiring energy, and we will become what nature destined us for.

Mr. MASON, of Alabama, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That all editors and reporters of papers friendly to the objects of this Convention, and none other, be invited to take seats on this floor.

Mr. LAFLEY, of Florida, moved to amend the resolution, by striking out the words "and none other."

Mr. MCCALL, of Florida, moved to lay the resolution and amendment on the table.

Mr. LYONS, of Virginia, moved to strike out all after the word "resolved," and insert, in lieu thereof, a request to the editors and reporters present to take seats on this floor.

The question then came up on the motion to strike out, which was lost.

The original resolution, as amended, was then up for the vote.

Mr. ROGER A. PRYOR rose, and spoke of the conduct of the Northern press, which, but a few months ago, were supporting Fremont, and villifying and abusing the South and her institutions. He was opposed to paying the representatives of these papers a compliment, by placing them in the same position with the Southern reporters, and would move to lay the resolution on the table. If these persons chose to report the proceedings of the Convention, they could do so; but he was opposed to paying them the compliment of inviting them to do it.

The motion to lay on the table was carried.

A resolution was adopted that, in voting on all questions, each State be entitled to the number of votes it has in the electoral college.

It was ordered that a committee of three be appointed, by each State represented, as a Committee of Business.

The Convention then adjourned to 9 o'clock the following morning.

SECOND DAY.

Convention opened by prayer from the Rev. Mr. MARTIN, of Tennessee.

The following members of the Committee on Business, as nominated by their respective delegations, were appointed by the Chair:

Alabama.—Wylie W. Mason, W. J. Ledgard, and T. B. Bethea.

Louisiana.—Bishop Polk, J. A. S. Achlon, and C. W. Philips.

Maryland.—John S. Tyson, Charles Webb, and M. Herbert Umbaugh.

Mississippi.—John D. Eastin, Columbus Sykes, and R. O. Reynolda.

North Carolina.—A. S. Merriman, T. W. Murrell, and D. Christy.

South Carolina.—L. W. Spratt, E. B. Bryan, and James H. Williams.

Tennessee.—W. R. Caswell, A. R. Crozier, and F. Titus.

Virginia.—James Lyons, Myer Myers, and J. T. Anderson.

Mr. E. B. BRYAN, of S. C., submitted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention the eighth article of the treaty of Washington, ratified on the 10th of November, 1842, ought to be annulled, under the provision of the first clause of the eleventh article of said treaty.

Resolved, That a copy of the above resolution be sent, by the President of this Convention, to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from each State here represented, with the request that it be laid before the legislatures of their respective States for their consideration.

(The eighth article above referred to provides for the keeping of a squadron on the coast of Africa for the suppression of the slave-trade; and the eleventh article provides that after five years from the ratification of this treaty, it shall continue in force until one or the other of the parties shall signify a wish to terminate it.)

Mr. GRICE, of Va., moved to lay the resolution on the table, but withdrew his resolution at the request of

Mr. BRYAN, who moved to refer them to the Committee on Business.

Mr. REESE, of Tenn., renewed the motion to lay upon the table.

Upon this motion, Mr. BRYAN called for a scale vote, which was ordered.

The question was then taken by States, upon laying the resolutions upon the table, and it was not agreed to as follows:

Yeas.—Kentucky, 12 votes; Tennessee, 12; North Carolina, 10; and Maryland, 8.—42.

Nays.—Alabama, 9 votes; Arkansas, 4; Florida, 3; Georgia, 10; Virginia, 15; Mississippi, 7; South Carolina, 8; and Louisiana, 6.—62.

Mr. LYONS, of Va., presented a communication from John B. Jones, in relation to the maintenance of a Southern press in the city of Philadelphia, which was read and referred to the Committee on Business.

Mr. MARTIN, of Tenn., offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That no member of this Convention be permitted to speak longer than 20 minutes on any question, and not more than twice upon any question.

Mr. SMITH, of Ala., moved to amend by inserting at the end of the first clause of the resolution, the words, "unless by the consent of the Convention," which amendment was accepted by the mover.

After some discussion, on motion of Hon. Wm. H. POLK, of Tenn., the resolution was laid upon the table.

Mr. ELLIOTT, of S. C., offered sundry resolutions in relation to the expediency of fortifying the harbor of Port Royal, in South Carolina, and making it a coaling station for the larger steamers of the United States.

Mr. BLOUNT, of Ala., moved to amend by inserting the name of Mobile, Alabama, which was accepted by the mover.

The resolutions were then referred to the Committee on Business.

Mr. YANCY, of Geo., offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That editors and newspaper reporters from States, represented in this Convention, be invited to seats in the Convention as reporters.

Resolved, That all other editors and newspaper reporters present, from States not represented, may apply for the privilege of admission as reporters by means of a resolution introduced by some member applicable to each particular case.

Mr. YANCY said that he offered these resolutions as a compromise. It admitted Southern editors and reporters at once, and while it did not exclude those from the North, it required that each individual name should be presented and decided on according to its merits or demerits.

Mr. BOYCE, of S. C., suggested that under the rules of the Federal House of Representatives, which had been adopted for the government of the Convention, the presiding officer was authorized to admit such reporters as he should deem proper.

Mr. YANCY considered that only those rules relating to Parliamentary law had been adopted, and not the special rules of which that in relation to the admission of reporters was one.

Mr. BLOUNT, of Ala., offered the following substitute:

Resolved, That the President of this Convention be authorized to admit editors of newspapers and reporters to seats upon the floor of this Convention.

Mr. B. said, that in selecting an officer to preside over the deliberations, it was to be presumed that he was capable of performing the duties of his station, and fully understood the interests confided to his care. He had perfect confidence in their officer, and as this duty was confided to the presiding officer of the Congressional House of Representatives, he was in favor of, in like manner, confiding it to the presiding officer of this Convention.

Mr. PRYOR, of Va., was in favor of the resolution without amendment. He was willing to consider the fact that a newspaper was published in the South was *prima facie* evidence that its editor and reporter were friendly to the leading objects of this Convention. But it was unfortunately the fact that editors and reporters of the North, were to be considered as unfriendly to the South, and, therefore, he was for having each individual stand upon his own merits. If any member desired to have a Black Republican editor attend their meetings, let him take the responsibility of proposing him.

The amendment was not agreed to.

Mr. J. T. MARTIN, of Va., offered the following substitute:

Resolved, That the reporters of Southern presses be requested to occupy appropriate seats in this Convention, and to report accurately and truly its proceedings and deliberations.

Mr. YANCY accepted the amendment.

Mr. McRAE, of Miss., offered the following as a substitute:

Resolved, That the members of the entire press of all the States of this Union, and of any other country, be admitted as reporters of the proceedings of this Convention.

Mr. McRAE did not wish to shackle the press; there was a press in the South able and ready to defend her interests against the attacks of Northern abolition presses, and he was willing to trust to them to present the truth to the country.

Mr. COCKE, of Tenn., endorsed the sentiments of the gentleman from Miss. He was confident that nothing would be said or done in this Convention which they need be ashamed to hear reported in any of the Northern or Southern papers.

Mr. YANCY said it grated harshly upon his ear to hear a delegate of the gallant State of Mississippi favor the extension of civilities by the Southern Commercial Convention to a Black Republican editor. He was willing to trust the President of the Convention in this matter, as he knew him to be true to the South. But he did not desire to have the Convention extend this civility to the editors of the Black Republican papers. He had accepted the substitute of the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Martin,) as a mere provision, and hoped it would be adopted.

Mr. BROWNLOW, of Tenn., said, that having been alluded to in this discussion by name, he felt it incumbent upon him to respond in a few words. He was in favor of admitting any and all reporters. If his satanic majesty were to send a reporter let him be admitted.

The question was, upon the amendment of Mr. McKay, of Mississippi, to allow all reporters and editors to attend the sittings of the Convention.

The question being taken, the President announced that the amendment had been adopted.

A member from Virginia called for a vote upon the amendment.

The President decided that the result had been announced by the chair. Mr. Yancy, of Georgia, appealed from the decision of the chair, and upon that question called for a vote by States, which was ordered.

The question was stated to be—Shall the decision of the chair stand as the judgment of the Convention?

The question was then taken, and the decision of the chair sustained. Yeas 85, nays 19, as follows:

Ayes.—Arkansas, 4; Tennessee, 12; Mississippi, 7; Louisiana, 6; South Carolina, 8; North Carolina, 10; Maryland, 8; Virginia, 14; Florida, 3; and Kentucky, 12—85.

Nays.—Alabama, 9; Georgia, 10—19.

The resolution as amended was then adopted.

Mr. CHURCHWELL, of Tenn., offered a resolution that the Convention recommend to the Governor of each of the Southern States to appoint five delegates to present the subject of the steam ferry as proposed by A. Dudley Mann, and which was endorsed by the Convention at Savannah, to the people of the Southern States, and solicit stock for the same, which stock should be represented in a Convention to be held for the purpose of electing officers to manage and control said company at such time and place as said delegates may select.

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Business.

Mr. BORCE, of S. C., offered a resolution in relation to the repeal of duties on imports, and the establishment of a system of direct taxation.

Referred to the Committee on Business.

Mr. MOWAT, of Arizona, offered a resolution asking that the Convention would endorse the application of the inhabitants of that portion of the Gadsden purchase known as Arizona, for a territorial government, &c. Referred to the Committee on Business.

Mr. PRYOR, of Va., offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Legislatures of all the slave-holding States to pass acts exempting one or more slaves in the hands of each slaveholder from liability for debts contracted after the passage of said acts.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of Va., moved that the resolution be adopted, and spoke at considerable length in its favor.

Mr. UMBACH, of Md., was in favor of the resolution, but was opposed to the establishment of the precedent of acting upon such matters without their being considered by a committee. He therefore moved the resolution be referred to the Committee on Business, which was agreed to.

— EVENING SESSION.

The Convention re-assembled at four o'clock P. M., and was called to order by the President.

Mr. STARKE, of Ala., offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That as a means of raising a sufficient fund to defray the expenses of publishing in pamphlet form the full proceedings of this Convention, each delegate of the Convention be and is hereby requested to contribute the sum of one dollar for that purpose.

Resolved, That a committee of five be straightway appointed by the chair, charged with the duty of collecting these contributions from the members; also to complete the necessary arrangements for the prompt publication of the report.

The resolutions were adopted.

The President announced the following as the members of the committee:

Messrs. Starke, of Alabama; De Graffenried, of Georgia; Pryor, of Virginia; O. L. Smith, of Georgia; and Fleming, of Tennessee.

The President also stated that the chairman of each delegation would confer a favor by collecting the contributions from their several delegations, and handing the same over to the committee.

Mr. Fuqua, of Va., offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Committee on Business be instructed to take into consideration the navigation laws of the U. S., and report to this Convention what changes therein are necessary to place the commercial marine of Europe upon the same footing, in the coasting trade of our country, with our own.

Referred to the Committee on Business.

Mr. J. B. ALLSTON, of S. C., offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That this Convention suggests and recommends to the merchants, capitalists, and commercial men of the South the importance, alike political and commercial, and the great advantage to be derived from establishing and increasing the direct trade between the ports of the South, France, and the Mediterranean, and those of the principal Southern States of this Union.

Referred to the Committee on Business.

Mr. W. C. FLOURNOY, of Va., offered the following resolution:

Be it resolved by this Convention, That the scheme of Mr. A. Dudley Mann, to establish a steam ferry line for the transportation of persons, produce, and manufactured goods, between the waters of the Chesapeake and Milford Haven, be approved by this Convention, and we hereby pledge ourselves to use our best exertions to accomplish the objects thereby indicated.

Mr. FLOURNOY said, that as he was compelled to leave the Convention after to-day, he was anxious to place himself upon the record of the Convention in favor of the scheme of Mr. Mann, and, therefore, he would ask for the immediate consideration of his resolution. Mr. M. then proceeded to argue at length in favor of the proposition of Mr. Mann.

Mr. BLOUNT, of Ala., spoke at considerable length in opposition to the resolution.

Mr. FLOURNOY replied.

Mr. HUNTER, of Norfolk, Va., moved that the speech of Mr. Mann, delivered in the Old Point Convention, be referred to the Committee on Business, which was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. DEAN, of Va., the resolution was referred to the Committee on Business.

Mr. LYONS, of Va., from the Committee on Business, reported back to the Convention the resolutions offered by Mr. Bryan, of South Carolina, this morning, in relation to withdrawing the U. S. squadron from the coast of Africa.

The question was upon the adoption of the resolutions.

Mr. E. B. BRYAN, of S. C., spoke at length in favor of the resolutions, and without concluding, gave way to a motion to postpone the further consideration of the resolutions, and make them the special order for to-morrow morning, at ten o'clock.

The motion to postpone was agreed to.

Mr. LYONS, from the Committee on Business, reported back the resolutions offered by Mr. Elliott, of S. C., in relation to fortifying the harbors of Port Royal, South Carolina, and Mobile, Alabama, and making them the coaling stations of the large steamers of the Government.

Mr. ELLIOTT, of S. C., spoke at considerable length in favor of the resolutions.

Mr. BULL, of S. C., moved to postpone the further consideration of the resolutions until to-morrow, at 12 o'clock, and that they be made the special order at that time.

Mr. ANDERSON, of Va., thought that as no opposition had been expressed to the resolutions, it would be well to act upon them at once.

Mr. BULL said that he wanted time to examine them. He did not know now

whether he was opposed to the resolutions or not, but desired opportunity to examine them.

The motion to postpone was not agreed to.

On motion of Mr. MERRIMAN, of N. C., the name of Beaufort Harbor, North Carolina, was inserted in the resolution after the name of Mobile, Alabama.

The resolutions as amended were then adopted.

Mr. PRYOR, of Va., offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That as the sense of this Convention, all laws granting bounties to those engaged in the fisheries, on our Northeastern coast, should be immediately repealed, said laws being unequal, oppressive, and unjust to the South.

Resolved, That the Senators and Representatives of the South, in the next Congress, be requested to use every effort to procure said repeal at the earliest moment.

Mr. HUBBARD, of Ala., moved to amend the first resolution by striking out the words "to the South," at the close of the resolution. He considered the fishery bounty laws as unjust to every part of the country except that portion of the country immediately engaged in the fisheries. He did not wish to make a sectional complaint, when it could be made a general one.

Mr. PRYOR accepted the amendment.

The resolutions were then referred to the Committee on Business.

Mr. J. J. POPE, Jr., of S. C., offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, the establishment of lines of steamships for the conveyance of passengers and produce between Southern ports and foreign ports forms part of the commercial development of the South.

Resolved, That as the building of railroads has been deemed necessary for internal intercourse and commerce between the different Southern States, and the same has been fostered by public aid from the respective States, so the commercial intercourse of the South with foreign nations is also entitled to similar public aid and consideration.

Resolved, That with the large capital and facilities for business, and the establishment of avenues of trade of leading Northern ports, the commerce of the South with foreign nations can only be diverted to herself by the temporary sacrifice of capital in the establishment and early maintenance of her enterprise, and to secure these ends public aid is necessary.

Resolved, That copies of the above resolutions be sent to the Legislatures of the different Southern States.

Referred to the Committee on Business.

On motion the Convention then adjourned.

THIRD DAY.

Prayer by the Rev. R. H. OVERBY, of Georgia.

The journal of yesterday was read and approved.

The President laid before the Convention a communication from Mayor Chase, of Pensacola, Florida, in relation to the necessity of increased labor in this country and the means of opening a source of supply to meet the demand.

The communication was read and referred to the Committee on Business.

The names of Messrs. Lochrain and Cunningham were substituted for those of Messrs. Wyche and Gunby, on the Georgia representation in the Business Committee.

Mr. YANCEY, of Ga., rose to a personal explanation in relation to the report of his remarks which appeared in the morning paper of this city.

The hour for the special order having arrived, it was taken up for consideration.

The special order was the consideration of the resolutions of Mr. Bryan, of S. C., in relation to the withdrawal of the United States Squadron from the Coast of Africa.

Mr. BRYAN resumed the remarks began on yesterday. He commenced by saying that he had understood that many gentlemen of the Convention were

under the impression that the object of the resolutions he had offered was neither more nor less than to procure the re-opening of the African slave-trade. He would state distinctly and emphatically that such was not his object. His was a distinct and isolated proposition. The question of the African slave-trade would, when the time came, be thrust upon the people of the South whether they devised it or not. The present was not the time for that, all he desired was to bring forward some proposition upon which the whole South could unite in advance, so as to divert the morbid sentiment that would otherwise arise, and turn the minds of the Southern people in the proper channel.

The gentleman then concluded his argument in favor of annulling the treaty of Washington, of 1842, and presented facts and statistics to show that the parties to that treaty had totally failed to secure the object professed.

Pending the remarks of Mr. Bryan—

Mr. LYONS, of Va., from the Committee on Business, made a report upon various matters referred to them.

The Committee asked to be discharged from the further consideration of communications referred to them upon the subject of peace.

The Committee reported back the following resolutions and recommended that they be adopted by the Convention :

Resolved, That the present discrimination of the General Government in favoring lines of foreign mail service, starting from Northern points, is unwarranted and unjust; and that as an act of equal justice our representatives in Congress be requested to insist that the same amount of encouragement, under the same conditions, be granted to any company or companies which may be founded for the purpose of sustaining lines of route service from ports of the South.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the president of this Convention, to memorialize the legislatures of the Southern States in furtherance of the subjects set forth in the foregoing resolution.

They also report back the resolutions of Mr. Pope, of South Carolina.

Mr. LYONS also reported back the following resolution, offered by Mr. Churchwell, of Tenn., and asked that the committee be discharged from its further consideration.

Resolved, That this Convention recommend and request the Governors of the several Southern States to appoint five Delegates for each State—whose duty it shall be to present the subject of the *Steam Ferry across the Atlantic*—(proposed by the Hon. A. Dudley Mann, and endorsed by this Convention at Savannah; to be established for the building up of Southern commerce and the better development and protection of Southern interest) to the people of their respective States, soliciting stock for the same, to be represented in a Convention which shall be called by said Delegates at such time and place as they may select for the purpose of organization.

Mr. LYONS stated that the committee had decided upon the above report, and subsequently, Mr. Mann, jr., appeared before them, and explained the subject to them, after which the committee would have reconsidered their previous action had they had the parliamentary power to do so. He would suggest to the mover of the resolution that his object could be attained by moving to recommit the above resolution to the committee with instructions that they reconsider their action upon it.

Mr. LYONS reported from the committee resolutions recommending that the next session of this Convention be held in the city of Montgomery, Alabama, on the second Monday of May, 1858.

The committee also recommend the Convention to adopt sundry resolutions encouraging Southern manufactories, and merchants who import directly from abroad.

The committee also recommend the adoption of the following resolution :

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Legislatures of all the slave-holding States to pass acts exempting one or more slaves in the hands of each slaveholder, from liability for debts contracted after the passage of said acts.

The committee also recommend that the following resolution be rejected by the Convention.

Resolved, That the indirect system of taxation by duties on imports should be abandoned by the Federal Government, and that direct taxation should be resorted to exclusively; thus securing entire free trade, perfect equality in the burdens of taxation and the utmost economy in the administration of the Government.

The consideration of the special order was then resumed.

Mr. GLADNEY, of Miss., offered the following resolution by way of substitute:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention slavery is neither a moral, social, nor political evil, and therefore is not a proper subject of prohibition by legislation.

Resolved, That the slave-trade, being a transfer of slaves from one master to another, is not in itself wrong, and is not therefore a proper subject of prohibition, and that the attempt to suppress the African slave-trade having resulted in more evil than good, the South ought not to be taxed to support a police navy for its suppression.

Resolved, That we recognize, in the domestic institutions of the South, that form of Government best adapted to the African race, most conducive to the permanency of our republican institutions, and the great commercial interests of the world, and that as such it is the duty of the christian and the patriot to improve and sustain them.

Resolved, That the Southern States possess all the advantages in soil, climate, harbors, rivers, water-power, and commercial resources capable of making them the most independent people on the globe, and that it is our duty to develop them by all the means in our power.

Resolved, That the great evils which threaten our Union, are the results of vicious theories and principles propagated by books, periodicals, newspapers, literary, and theological institutions, and that the South ought to publish her own books, and support her own reviews, periodicals, and literary and theological institutions.

Mr. BRYAN, of S. C., asked if it was competent for him, as the mover of the resolutions, to withdraw them at any time?

The President decided that the resolutions having been referred to a committee, and been reported back by them, they were now in the possession of the Convention, and could only be disposed of by some direct action of the Convention.

Mr. SNEED, of Tenn., desired to move an amendment to the first of the original series of resolutions, in order to perfect them before the question was taken upon the substitute proposed by the gentleman from Miss. (Mr. Gladney.) He, therefore, moved to amend, by inserting after the words, "in the opinion of the Convention," the words, "it is inexpedient and contrary to the settled policy of this country to repeal the laws prohibiting the African slave-trade, yet;" so the resolution would read:

Resolved, That in the opinion of the Convention it is inexpedient and contrary to the settled policy of this country to repeal the laws prohibitory of the African slave-trade, yet the eighth article of the treaty of Washington, ratified on the 10th of November, 1842, ought to be annulled, under the provision of the first clause of the eleventh article of said treaty.

The subject was discussed by Messrs. Gladney, of Miss., Carroll, of S. C., Payne, of Tenn., Spratt, of S. C., and Strake, of Ala.

Pending the remark of Mr. Starke, of Ala., the gentleman gave way to a resolution to postpone the further consideration of the subject until this afternoon at half past three o'clock, which was agreed to.

Mr. LYONS from the Committee on Business, made reports on the following subjects:

The committee asked to be discharged from the further consideration of the document of Mr. Chase, of Pensacola, Florida, upon the labor problem, as the subject was not one that the Convention could now properly consider.

The committee also recommend that the Convention reject the following resolutions:

Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the legislatures of the different States that they lay a tax upon all articles of merchandize used in Southern States, which are manufactured in States which refuse to support the fugitive slave law.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the President of this Convention, to bring this resolution to the notice of the Governors of Southern States.

The committee also recommend the adoption of the resolutions asking the Convention to recommend to the favorable consideration of Congress, the application of the inhabitants of that portion of Gadsden purchase known as Arizona, for a form of Territorial government, the establishment of a post route to the Pacific, &c.

The Convention then took a recess until half past three o'clock, P. M.

— EVENING SESSION.

The Convention re-assembled at half past three o'clock, and was called to order by the President.

Mr. STARK, of Ala., concluded his remarks upon the special order.

Mr. SNEED, of Tenn., advocated his amendment.

Mr. BOYCE, of S. C. spoke against the feasibility and propriety of re-opening the African slave-trade.

Mr. SMITH, of Ala., and Mr. CAMPBELL, of Va., further discussed the question.

Mr. BROWN, of S. C., moved to lay the whole subject on the table—not agreed to.

The previous question was then ordered.

The question was upon the amendment offered by Mr. Sneed, of Tennessee.

Upon this question, Mr. BRYAN, of S. C., called for a vote by States, which was taken with the following result:

Yeas.—Georgia, 10; Maryland, 8; North Carolina, 10; and Tennessee, 12.—40.

Nays.—Alabama, 9; Arkansas, 4; Florida, 3; Louisiana, 6; Mississippi, 7; South Carolina, 8; and Virginia, 15.—52.

The amendment was rejected.

The question was then taken upon the resolution of Mr. Bryan, of S. C., which was adopted by the following vote:

Yeas.—Arkansas, 4; Georgia, 10; Mississippi, 7; Louisiana, 6; Alabama, 9; Maryland, 4; Virginia, 15; Florida, 3; and South Carolina, 8.—66.

Nays.—Tennessee, 12; North Carolina, 10; and Maryland, 4.—26.

Mr. LYONS, of Va., from the committee on business made sundry reports which the Convention proceeded to consider.

The first was a resolution recommending the encouragement of Southern manufactures, and merchants who deal in the manufactures of the South, and goods imported directly from abroad, which was adopted.

The next was the following resolution:

Resolved, That the system of taxation by duties on imports should be abandoned by the Federal Government, and direct taxation should be resorted to exclusively, thus securing entire free trade, perfect equality in the burdens of taxation, and the utmost economy in the administration of the Government.

The committee recommended that the resolution be rejected.

Mr. FLOURNOY, of Va., spoke against the resolution.

Mr. JONES, of Ga., spoke in favor of the resolution, but without concluding gave way to a motion that it be made the special order for to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

On motion of Mr. BETHA, of Ala., the Convention then took a recess until eight o'clock, P. M.

NIGHT SESSION.

The Convention re-assembled at eight o'clock, and was called to order.

Mr. BETHEA, of Ala., called up the resolutions fixing the time and place of the next meeting of the Convention.

The resolutions fix upon Montgomery, Ala., as the place, and the second Monday of May next, as the time, of the meeting, call upon the Governors, and the authorities of towns, cities, and counties, in the several Southern States, to appoint delegates, and provide for the appointment of a committee of five to propose and issue a call stating the objects of the Convention.

The resolutions were then adopted and Messrs. Lyons, of Va., Bethea, of Ala., Churchwell, of Tenn., Pryor, of Va., and Boyce, of S. C., were appointed the committee. Mr. Pryor having declined, the name of Mr. Yancey, of Georgia was substituted by the chair.

The Convention proceeded to consider the following resolution:

Resolved, That it be recommended to the legislatures of all the slave-holding States to pass acts exempting one or more slaves in the hands of each slaveholder from liability for debts contracted after the passing of said acts.

The resolution was adopted.

The Convention then proceeded to consider the following resolutions:

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Convention, the establishment of lines of steamships for the conveyance of passengers and produce between Southern ports and foreign ports forms part of the commercial development of the South.

Resolved, That, as the building of railroads has been deemed necessary for internal intercourse and commerce between the different Southern States, and the same has been fostered by public aid from the respective States, so the commercial intercourse of the South with foreign nations is also entitled to similar public aid and consideration.

Resolved, That with the large capital and facilities for business and the establishment of avenues of trade of leading Northern ports, the commerce of the South with foreign nations can only be diverted to herself by the temporary sacrifice of capital in the establishment and early maintenance of her enterprise, and to secure these ends public aid is necessary.

Resolved, That the present discrimination of the General Government in favor of lines of steamships for mail service starting from Northern ports, is unjust, &c., and similar aid should be extended to similar lines of steamers from the South for the same mail service.

The question was taken upon the resolutions separately.

The first, second, and third resolutions were adopted.

The fourth resolution was rejected.

Mr. PRYOR, of Va., offered the following as an additional resolution:

Resolved, That this Convention does not approve of the policy of Federal bounties to steamship lines.

After discussion the resolution was rejected.

Mr. CHURCHWELL, of Tenn., offered the following, as an additional resolution:

Resolved, That this Convention request the Governors of the several Northern States, to appoint five delegates whose duty it shall be to present the subject of a line of steamships across the Atlantic for the development of the resources of the South, and the building up of our carrying trade with Europe, to the people of the Southern States, and to solicit aid to carry out such plan as said delegates may adopt in a convention which they shall call at such time and place as they may select.

After discussion, the resolution was adopted.

The series of resolutions, as a whole, was then adopted.

Mr. LYONS, of Va., offered, as an additional resolution, the fourth resolution of the above series which had been rejected, so amended that the first clause shall read "resolved, that any discrimination in favor of," &c., instead of "that the present discrimination," &c.

Mr. PRYOR, of Va., offered to amend by inserting the words, "but this Convention does not approve of the policy of Federal bounties to steamship lines."

After much discussion, in which many members participated, the amendment was rejected by a vote of 40 to 45.

The resolution was then adopted by a vote of 60 to 25.

Mr. LYONS, of Va., moved to reconsider the vote adopting the resolution, and that that resolution be laid upon the table, which was agreed to by a vote of 52 to 33.

The Convention, at fifteen minutes to twelve o'clock, then adjourned.

FOURTH DAY.

The Convention met at 9 o'clock, pursuant to adjournment.

The Convention proceeded to the consideration of the reports of the Committee on Business.

The report on the resolutions of Lieut. Mowry, of Arizona, recommending to the General Government the granting of a separate organization to that part of New Mexico, and the establishment of a port on the Gulf of California for exports and supplies, to which end it was recommended to negotiate with Mexico for that privilege, was taken up. The committee recommended the adoption of the resolutions. Pending the question on them,

Mr. GEORGE S. WALDEN, of Alabama, rose to offer a resolution which he desired to have referred to the Committee on Business.

The PRESIDENT declared the gentleman out of order, the unfinished business of yesterday, which was the consideration of the reports of the Committee on Business, having precedence over all other.

Mr. WALDEN appealed from that decision—decision sustained.

Mr. WM. E. H. BARNWELL, of Va., by general consent, and it being announced that the committee had no business before it, offered a resolution recommending that the General Government use its influence to procure from foreign governments the repeal or a reduction of the duty on tobacco, raw and manufactured.

It was ordered to be referred.

Mr. WALDEN, by general consent, offered a resolution declaring it against the settled policy and best interests of the slave-holding States to repeal the law prohibiting the slave-trade. Referred.

Mr. GLADNEY, of Miss., under the same privilege, offered a resolution recommending the appointment of a committee consisting of one member from each State, to solicit and encourage the preparation of text books for schools and colleges, the manuscripts of said books to be examined, and if approved to be recommended to the Convention and the proper measures taken to secure their publication. Referred.

Mr. P. D. PAGE, of Ala., offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this Convention that the cause of Gen. Wm. Walker in Nicaragua has been highly meritorious, and that in our opinion the interference with his relations by the United States man-of-war St. Mary's was uncalled for and wrong.

Resolved, That this Convention sympathizes with Gen. Walker in his attempts, under the express invitation of the provisional government of Nicaragua, to institute a new order of things in that unhappy and distracted country.

Resolved, That the policy of Gen. Walker to introduce the system of foreign slavery in Nicaragua be approved by this Convention, and that it recommend his enterprise to the serious and earnest considerations of the Southern States of this Confederacy.

Objection being made the resolutions were not acted upon.

Resolutions of a somewhat similar character were also offered by Mr. McCrea, of Miss., but for the same reason were not received.

Mr. BROWN, of Geo., offered a resolution recommending the organization of a slave police, to check every attempt at insurrection. Referred.

Mr. SPRATT, of Charleston, offered the following resolution, which was not acted upon, objection being made:

"That the President of the Convention appoint a committee to obtain all the facts connected with the present condition and future prospects of slavery in the United States and other parts of the world, and the character and extent of the international law upon the subject of the African slave-trade and the propriety of re-opening that trade with the coast of Africa, and report the same at the next Convention."

Mr. BULL, of S. C., reminded the Chair that it was competent for the gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. Spratt,) to move a suspension of the rules with a view to enable him to offer his resolution.

The CHAIR remarked that the question had been just decided upon the appeal from the Chair on the motion of the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. YANCEY, of Geo., said he should protest against the President constituting himself autocrat over that body and thwarting the privileges of delegates.

[Cries of "Order! order!" went forth from all parts of the hall.]

Mr. YANCEY said those who called for order were out of order themselves. He would again protest against such a course of proceeding.

[Cries of "Order! order!" were again uttered.]

Mr. YANCEY asserted that he was not out of order. He would not submit to such interruption. If any gentleman was disposed to interrupt him, let him come face to face and do so. He said that the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Spratt) had a perfect right to move a suspension of the rules and offer his resolution, should the Convention decide in favor of a suspension. The President refuses to order the reading of the rule on that subject, which was, he said, contrary to all precedent.

The CHAIR repeated that the decision of the Convention was already rendered upon the question of the inadmissibility of resolutions while the unfinished business was pending, unless by general consent.

The hour of 10 o'clock having arrived, the special order, which was the resolution favoring direct taxation, reported adversely upon by the Committee on Business.

The pending question was upon the motion of Mr. JONES, of Geo., to disagree with the report of the committee.

Mr. JONES being entitled to the floor, proceeded to address the Convention in support of direct taxation.

A Virginia delegate inquired whether the General Government had the power to impose a tax upon their slaves and other property, when they afforded no protection for that property.

Mr. JONES said the General Government had undoubtedly the constitutional power to tax property of all kinds; but whether it was just that they should do so was another question. As to the question of protection, he would ask who protected their property from foreign invasion and against insurrection, but the General Government. He considered their right to tax upon that ground perfectly conclusive. His object was to procure such a system of taxation as shall operate justly, equally, and fairly upon all the property of the citizens of the United States, either at the North, South, East, or West, rich or poor. Yesterday he attempted to prove—and thought he did prove—that the system of collecting revenue by indirect taxation was unjust and unequal between the different sections of the Union, and still more between individuals. He would now proceed to show that the people did feel the burden of indirect taxation. It was no reply to the proposition that the people did not know what they paid—that they paid without grumbling, and did not feel the disadvantages of such taxation. He admitted that they did not know what they paid, and he regarded it as dishonorable and disgraceful that a fraud should be perpetrated upon the people by those appointed to protect their interests. Suppose you are knocked down in the dark, and do not know who did it—a man or woman, white, black, red, or yellow, (laughter,) whether it was with a poker or a tongue or any other weapon, do you not feel it? He apprehended that no man could be knocked down without feeling it, no matter how it was done. When a man

looses his twenty dollars in value, or whatever proportional amount it might be, he was certain to feel it, no matter how it may be exacted, directly or indirectly. Of all the absurdities (continued Mr. Jones) into which the advocates of the tariff have fallen, the notion that it costs less to collect revenue through the Custom House by imports than it will cost to collect the same amount by direct taxes, is the most absurd; and their whole doctrine, and their arguments in support of it is nothing but absurdities, fallacies, and inconsistencies. It may be true in Europe, where the people belong to the government; but in this country, where the government belongs to the people, it is so far from being true, that it can be demonstrated that for every dollar that goes into the treasury through the Custom House, nearly two are taken out of the pockets of the consuming, tax paying people. Before I proceed to the proof, let me observe that the error grows out of the notion that the collection of money costs the Government *ex nomine* anything; when the truth is, the entire cost falls on the people—the owners of the Government. The administrators of the Government say they need a given sum to enable them to transact the people's business; the people must put the amount in the treasury, and the whole expense falls on them. Last year, the people put into the treasury through the Custom House over \$64,000,000; and I am to prove that it cost them nearly double to get it there. The importer charged the jobber 10 per cent. on the tariff he paid—\$6,400,000—add to it the \$64,000,000, and you have \$70,400,000 which this same tariff costs the jobber. The jobber charged the retailer 15 per cent. profits on what he paid for tariff—\$10,560,000—add it to the \$70,400,000 and you have \$80,960,000 which the retailer pays tariff and profits on tariff. The retailer charges the consumer (the people) 50 per cent. tariff and profits on tariff—\$40,480,000—add it to the \$80,960,000 and you have the enormous amount of \$121,440,000 which it cost the people to put \$64,000,000 into the treasury, through the Custom House. The result is monstrous, yet all is not told. We, the people, must keep thirty or forty millions of dollars invested in property necessary to carry on the tariff system. Under a system of direct taxes, the cost of collecting stops at the amount paid collectors, and as there would be no surplus collected, the collectors would be paid only for collecting the amount needed by the administrators to transact the people's business—probably 15,000,000 or 20,000,000, instead of 121,000,000. Yet, strange to tell, there is a powerful party in Georgia that gained power by opposing the tariff; and now they are in power they support the tariff, as they say, because the people can be cheated into paying four times as much by the tariff as they will consent to pay in direct taxes; and this same party is now asking the people to continue it in power. Ponder on it well, my countrymen. Ask the candidate who seeks your vote if he is in favor of a tariff, yes or no; and if he says yes, and you agree with me that it is wrong and unjust, a cheat and swindle, and a grievous imposition, think twice before you trust such a man with your purse strings, no matter if he does tell you to "stick to the party." Party won't pay your taxes or buy your family clothes.

Mr. BLUNT, of Mobile, inquired if it was the object of the gentleman to submit direct taxation by the General Government on the slave property of the South?

Mr. JONES said his object was that these men shall give in a statement upon oath of the amount of property they hold, as also its approximate value. Upon that the Government of the United States shall assess a given sum which shall meet its exigencies.

Mr. BLUNT said that, as he understood, it was the object of every Southern man to detach the General Government from any action in regard to their peculiar institutions. Were they to give to the Government of the United States the right to legislate in reference to their slave property, and tax it at pleasure? The proposition seemed to him to be monstrous. What is the value of the slaves in the Southern country? Why, about two thousand millions of dollars, and what, he would ask, would be the amount of revenue which might be derived from such an amount of taxable property if the system of direct taxation, which the gentleman advocated, was to be established? It would be almost incalculable. Was he to be told that it was proper to submit this property to taxation at the will of the United States Government? Congress had the right

to make a distinction between objects of taxation, and it could not be doubted that all they needed was the sanction of the South to induce them to legislate as they pleased with reference to that property. He would commend these suggestions to the solemn and earnest consideration of the Convention, and warn them not to offer such a pretext as the power conferred by that resolution would afford for interference by Congress with our slave property.

Mr. HUBBARD, of Ala., said that there were some of these propositions which seemed to him to be unsound, but taking the matter altogether he thought the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Jones) was right in the main. He had no doubt that direct taxation would transfer millions from the North to the South within a very few years. He advocated the justice of diffusing the sums necessary for collection among the different counties, instead of concentrating it as at present in a few favored cities.

Mr. HORACE MAYNARD, member of Congress elect from this district, said, that he thought the logic employed to sustain this proposition of direct taxation was like that upon which certain doctrines in other parts of the country were based—that all men were born free and equal. In view of the present state of commercial operations throughout the world, he was not prepared to sustain the proposition of the gentleman. He held, as matters now stood, that it was the foreign producer and not the consumer that paid the revenue. He maintained that it was the sugar producer at Cuba and not the consumer at Tennessee that paid the revenue on that species of produce; and the same might be said in reference to all other descriptions of property subjected to taxation. He maintained that so far as the system of indirect taxation operated with reference to the South, it was rather favorable to its interests, inasmuch as the slaves used those articles which were not taxed. As to the collection of taxes upon the principle of taxation advocated by the gentleman, he would say it was by no means judicious, in his opinion. They were to have among them, as a consequence of this system, a federal tax collector, who would be fed out of the pickings of the federal treasury, at the expense of the people. This one fact, if nothing else, would render this whole system objectionable to him. He concluded with a few other remarks, showing the system of direct taxation to be entirely injudicious.

Mr. ELLIOTT, of S. C., by way of illustrating the evils of indirect taxation, stated that he at one time purchased a gun in England, which he had consigned to Charleston. The purchase value was \$250, and upon that he was compelled to pay a revenue of \$50, which was as much as the tax for one year upon one hundred slaves. Moreover the North did not recognise slaves as property, and in this view of the matter it was not improbable that they would be exempt from taxation even under the system proposed to be established.

Mr. BOYCK, of S. C., addressed the Convention in favor of direct taxation, and demonstrated at some length the evils of the present system.

Mr. BETHEA, of Geo., from the Committee on Business, reported the following resolutions, which were adopted:

Resolved, That the interests of education generally throughout the Southern States are among the most important that claim the attention of this Convention, and that every well directed effort in their advancement should be efficiently sustained and fostered.

Resolved, That the time has arrived when the South owes it to herself to enter with energy on the career of more extended and ample provision for the education of her youth, in the higher branches of learning, and that the convention of citizens alluded to by the President of this meeting in his opening address, as recently held for forming and establishing a university of the highest grade within our borders, is a movement in the right direction, and with every other of a similar character is entitled to the cordial sympathy and material aid of the South.

Resolved, That the School Committee appointed at the last Convention to purchase school books be re-appointed, and that the President be authorized to add one or more members to that Committee from the Southern States.

Resolved, That the members from a majority of the Southern States shall constitute a quorum and have power to act.

The following names were added to the Committee as directed:

Bishop Polk, of La., Chairman of the Committee; Hon. John Perkins, La.; William Gilmore Simms and R. B. Carroll, S. C.; C. K. Marshall, Missa.

Lieut. Mowry, the delegate from Arizona, remarked that he was requested by the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Deane) to give some information regarding the region which he represented. As the time of the Convention was limited to a few hours, he would forego any lengthened explanation of the state of things in that country. Being about to travel with the gentleman to Virginia, he would take occasion to give him all the information he possessed on the way. He would state that when the treaty was concluded by General Gadsden, there was no United States citizens resident there. Now, however, there were many of them settled there, and their numbers are increasing in the ratio of one or two hundred a month. For six hundred miles the country was perfectly free from depredations by Indians; and it only needed population to make it prosperous beyond conception. He asked that the resolutions in reference to it, reported by the Committee on Business, be taken up and acted upon. [These resolutions appeared in the report of the first day's proceedings.] They contained a recommendation to the General Government to extend more aid and protection to it—to give it a separate organization, and also to establish a depot on the Gulf of California for supplies and exports, to effect which it was recommended that they enter into negotiations with Mexico for a proper site for that purpose.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The regular order of business was then proceeded with, being the reports from the Committee on Business. A resolution referred to that Committee and reported adversely upon, in reference to the re-opening of the slave-trade was taken up.

Mr. SPRATT, of S. C., moved to amend it by substituting the resolution which he offered in the early part of the day, but which was not in order at the time.

Mr. BLUNT, of Mobile, moved to amend the amendment by inserting before the word "slavery" the words "absolute and qualified."

Mr. Spratt accepted the amendment.

The question on the adoption of the amendment was then put, and decided in the negative—ayes 44, noes 48.

Mr. ELLIOTT, of S. C., offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to report to the next Southern Commercial Convention the manner and comparative expense of selling cotton in the principal Southern markets, and further to report any change which, in the opinion of the Convention, would advance the interests of the planters in the sale, insurance, and repacking of cotton.

The President appointed the following committee under that resolution:

G. P. Smith, of S. C.; Mr. Stewart, of Missa; Mr. Jones, of Geo.; T. J. Prince, of Ala.; and General Sparrow, of S. C.

Mr. CARROLL offered the following resolution, which was also adopted:

Resolved, That a committee, consisting of the President of this Convention and one member from each State represented, be appointed to suggest suitable business for the consideration of the next Southern Convention, to be held at Montgomery, Alabama, and that said committee be requested to report the same in the public prints before the next Convention.

Mr. STEELE, of Geo., offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That in order to control the educational system of the South, the propriety of establishing publishing houses, to be located in some one of the towns or cities of the South, be referred to the consideration of the Legislatures of the Southern States, on the plan of States and corporations becoming shareholders in the enterprises, each State or corporation subscribing stock to appoint a delegate to a Convention for the organization of such company, giving the location to that State subscribing the largest amount of stock.

The Convention then took a recess until 3 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION.

The Convention re-assembled at the appointed hour.

Mr. J. C. BROWN, of Geo., by general consent—the consideration of the reports of the Business Committee being in order—offered a resolution of thanks to the municipal authorities of Knoxville, as well as its citizens generally, for the hospitality, courtesy, and kindness extended by them to the members of the Convention. Adopted.

The question then recurring on agreeing to the report of the Committee on Business, asking to be discharged from the further consideration of a resolution on the subject of re-opening the slave-trade,

Mr. SPRATT, of S. C., submitted the following amendment:

“That this Convention is not possessed of information sufficient at the present time for proper action upon the question of re-opening the African slave-trade, and that with a view to such information a committee consisting of one from each delegation present be appointed to collect information upon the condition of the African nation, upon the wants of the South in respect to population and labor, and to report the same to the next Convention, to be held at Montgomery, Alabama, in May next.”

Mr. SPRATT commented upon the argument advanced by the opponents of this scheme of re-opening the slave-trade, which was that the time had not arrived for the consideration of this subject. Upon the same principle it might be said that when Luther started his theory of reformation it was not the proper time. When our fathers of the Revolution rose up in vindication of their liberty and rights, and bared their breasts to the sword to battle for their independence, that was not the proper time. The American Revolution vindicated the great truth that all men were born free and equal, but society in its secret movements vindicated a still greater truth that inequality was necessary to man's progress. In Rome there existed the plebian and the aristocrat, and their inequalities made Rome great. In France there exists the peasant and the noblemen, and that makes her great and prosperous. While among classes equality is right, society holds that inequality is necessary to its healthful existence.

Mr. WAMOCK, of Ala., said that the Convention should not be deterred from acting in this matter from the consideration that it might go abroad that they were debating the re-opening of the slave-trade. The very fact that they minced the question and refused to agitate it wanted to imply that they devised the matter wrong, and that they regarded slavery as objectionable. As had been remarked on the floor yesterday by the gentleman from Mississippi, (Mr. Gladney,) if he believed it was wrong he would, so help his God, purchase a press on his return home and war upon it from that day forward. (Applause.) He believed, before his God, that there was nothing more right in all the economy of man. He would not, like his friend, (Mr. Gladney,) quote the bible upon that question, for he was satisfied that the advantages of the institution were fully appreciated by those who heard him. It was stated that the re-opening of the slave-trade would lead to a dissolution of the Union. He believed it would be the means of strengthening it, the great danger of such a result lies in English intrigue, the policy of that country being to promote dissolution, with a view to break up the manufactories of the North and thus give her a monopoly in all the articles of supply necessary for national use. A gentleman of distinction some few weeks ago lectured in Edinburgh, Scotland, in reference to our country. It appears he had been recently in Cuba and in the Southern and Northern cities of this country, and observed very closely the state of things in those cities. He spoke of the whole country in high terms, designating it in fact, a monster republic, and eulogized our institutions in terms of high praise. He said: “You cannot check the growth of that monster republic. She goes on with a stride that is irresistible, and you cannot stop her except by dissolving the Union.” He here went into a history of the operation of slavery, showing the evil effects of emancipation upon Jamaica and other British colonies, denouncing the course of England in respect to slavery as the arrantest hypocrisy. He showed that the slaves which she captured were sent to Sierra Leone or

some other British possession, and there detained under the apprenticeship system for twenty-one years, when they were set at liberty, with no earthly means to return to their native country. This he regarded as a system of slavery of the most aggravated character, guided under the feasible designation of apprenticeship. He would ask if a Convention of Southern men were prepared to vote down this proposition, which was merely intended as an inquiry into the condition of slavery and the African nation. He would hope not. On the contrary, he trusted it would be unanimously adopted.

Mr. L. J. GOGGERS, of Va., said he mistook much of the sentiments and feelings of the members of that Convention if they would allow themselves to be influenced by any consideration of fear, lest any manifestation of feeling upon this subject would lead to an outcry against the institution of slavery. Were they to let it go to Exeter Hall, that Southern men were afraid to appoint a committee of Southern men to examine into the subject of slavery! Shall they have it told to them through abolition prints, whether of the mountains of Vermont, or of the metropolitan city of New York, or that hole of abolitionism in the centre of Massachusetts, (Boston,) that they dare not examine into this question, simply because it would be supposed that they were in favor of the opening of the slave-trade! Were they, as men who are anxious to see the Christian religion diffused into every region of the earth, to go in opposition to the greatest missionary enterprise that the sun ever shone upon, from any such consideration as he had referred to! They sent their missionaries to and fro, and what did they do! Why comparatively nothing. Look at your missionaries here, and see what has been the result of their exertions. He maintained that the African slave-trade, so far from being an evil, did more than the greatest missionary enterprise in the cause of religion and civilization. (Applause.) And were they, as Southern men, afraid to inquire into the condition, because, forsooth, it would give rise to an idea that they contemplate the revival of a trade more humanizing in its effects than any device that could be conceived. Why, the whole civilized world was discussing the question at this time, and they of the South were told that they ought not to discuss it, or that Exeter Hall would raise a great cry, and Harriet Beecher Stowe would write another novel about them. (Laughter.) And this was what Southern men were afraid of. If the resolution asked this Convention to favor the re-opening of the slave-trade, he would vote against it. But understanding it simply to propose inquiry with reference to slavery, he was ready to sustain it; and was not every man there from Virginia in favor of obtaining all the light possible in reference to that subject! He would say they were, and he felt satisfied they would give their aid to obtain it. If slavery was the great evil which it was represented in certain quarters to be, he would say, for God's sake, examine into it.

Mr. O. LOCHRANE, of Ga., addressed the Convention briefly in support of the amendment; after which,

Mr. O. P. TEMPLE, of Knoxville, offered the following as an independent proposition:

Resolved, further, That for the better information of the next Convention, a committee of five be appointed to report at the next Commercial Convention, to be held at Montgomery, Alabama, upon the subject of foreign immigration, showing by carefully compiled statistics, to what extent the South has been overborne by the annual infusion of foreigners into the North within the last fifteen years.

A brief discussion arose as to the admissibility of this proposition in connection with the subject under consideration. It was voted as not germane to the question before the Convention, but was, meanwhile, received as an independent proposition.

Mr. TEMPLE said he did not intend to detain the Convention but a few minutes. He would ask what was it that the Convention was debating upon for the past four days! Of course what was best calculated to promote the prosperity and independence of the Southern States. That was their object. In furtherance of that object, his friend from South Carolina (Mr. Spratt) intro-

duced a resolution for the purpose of raising a committee to examine into the subject of re-opening the African slave-trade, and to report at the next session of that Convention. What is the object of that proposition? It unquestionably leads to some ulterior purposes, and what are these purposes? It contemplates that when there will be a change in the policy of this Government with reference to the restriction now imposed upon the slave-trade, it will be lawful to introduce African labor on a large scale into the Southern States, to enable them the better to resist the encroachments of their Northern brethren. What was his proposition? Without detaining them with any statistical comments, he would refer them to the statistics of the country as published by the General Government. They would see that hundreds of thousands of foreigners were coming into the United States every year, and that a large majority of them go to the Northwestern States, and that not more than one-fifth or two-fifths were coming to the Southern States. He would be permitted to remark that if they would come here, no objection would be made to them, for we would be in no danger from them. They would soon be assimilated with us, and be incorporated into our social system. But they go to the Northwestern States and assimilate with the Black Republicans, and for good reason, because they come from countries that are opposed to slavery. They were swelling the population of the Northern States, and thus rendering them too powerful for us. Instead of increasing in population we were decreasing, and, as a consequence, were losing one or two members of Congress every year. He would say that these remarks were dictated by no spirit of Americanism or Know-Nothingism. He was actuated in referring to this subject solely by motives of interest for the South. He trusted the proposition would be adopted, and that the committee would give this matter due consideration.

Mr. DEAN, of Va., said, before the Convention assembled this evening the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Spratt) came to him as a member of the Virginia delegation, and expressed to him the greatest anxiety that a committee should be raised upon this subject. He asked him (Mr. Deane) to interfere with his colleagues in the matter. He left the affair with his colleague, (Mr. Gogerty the reporter presumes,) and, no doubt, he did what was proper in the matter. There was nothing that would be asked of him in courtesy that he would not be ready to grant, if it was in his power. He would say, then, with no disrespect, that when he was told that he was afraid to meet this question, when he was told, as a Southern man, that such a course as he had pursued there would be calculated to get up an outcry, he would call upon the Virginia delegation to stand up to the matter. (Applause.)

Mr. ELMORE, of Louisiana, moved to lay the resolution of the gentleman from Tennessee, (Mr. Temple,) on the table. Agreed to.

Mr. SNEED said he was very well known in Tennessee, at least, or if not, it was not his fault, to be what is construed in Tennessee a little extreme on the subject of Southern rights, yet he could not vote for this proposition in any aspect of the case that he could view it. He would move, therefore, to lay the whole subject on the table—the report of the committee, with the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Carolina. Rejected—ayes, 40; noes, 52.

The question then recurred on the adoption of the amendment, which was agreed to, the vote standing, ayes, 52; noes, 40. (Spratt's amendment.)

The reports of the Committee on Business were then taken up, and the following agreed to:

On the securing an exclusive right to the Tehuantepec route. On the repeal of laws granting bounties to those engaged in the northeastern fisheries. On the letter of Major Chase, of Florida, contrasting the advantages of slave labor over the apprenticeship system advocated by England, which was ordered to be embodied in the proceedings of the Convention, and published therewith. On the establishment of agricultural, commercial, manufacturing, and educational associations. On the more extended cultivation of the grape. On the publication of the proceedings of the Convention. On recommending to the General Government to procure the repeal or reduction by foreign countries of the duties on raw and manufactured tobacco. On procuring exclusive control of the Isthmus in Central America.

COLONEL LEWIS, of Alabama, offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

That this Convention adjourn this evening at 7 o'clock, to meet again at Montgomery, Alabama, on the second Monday in May, 1858.

Mr. BLUNT, of Mobile, offered the following preamble and resolutions, which were laid on the table:

The integrity of the Union of the United States is the first wish of every true patriot; its preservation under the Constitution demands the best energies of all its citizens.

The Southern slaveholding States, in their loyalty and devotion to its continuance, do not assume to themselves more credit than is due to the conservative spirit and patriotic feelings which exist among that portion of their Northern fellow-citizens with whom they would co-operate to arouse a spirit of resistance to the anarchical tendency of large masses of the Northern population, and bring back the Government of the Union to the purity and simplicity with which it was administered in the better and happier days of the Republic.

To properly direct wholesome public sentiment of the North—to separate the political elements of disturbance and revolution from the great popular opinion of the free States—to bring into active and healthy exercise the wholesome patriotic impulse still existing among them, and to make a concert of action with them and the conservative influences governing the popular feeling of the South, be it, therefore,

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Convention, the agricultural, manufacturing, commercial, and mechanical classes of the whole Union are deeply interested in its preservation under the guarantees of the Constitution.

Resolved, That a Convention of delegates, representing the agricultural, manufacturing, mechanical, and commercial classes of all the States, of the Union, be held in Louisville, Kentucky, on the third Monday of July, 1858, to take into consideration the state of public affairs, to devise ways and means for the perpetuity of our institutions, the enforcement of all the constitutional guarantees by the General Government to the several States, the unqualified recognition of the rights of the States and the prompt execution of all laws constitutionally enacted under the supreme authority of the Union, would, in the opinion of this Convention, go very far to advance the public welfare and curb the wild spirit of anarchy and fanaticism which now disturb the peace and happiness of our common country.

The place for holding the Convention was changed from Louisville to Memphis, Tennessee, Kentucky being only represented by one in this Convention.

Mr. PAGE, of Alabama, offered the resolutions in relation to the course of Gen. Walker in Nicaragua, which are given in another part of this report, but they were rejected. The vote stood, ayes, 16, noes, 68.

Dr. LEE, of Miss., offered a resolution of thanks to the President and other officers, also to the pastors and elders of the First Presbyterian church for the use of that building, which were adopted.

Resolutions of thanks to the citizens of Knoxville and such of the railroad companies as afforded travelling facilities to the delegates were all offered and adopted.

Hon. Mr. Cox, of Tenn., moved an adjournment.

Before putting the question, the President addressed the Convention.

The Convention adjourned to meet again at Montgomery, Alabama, on the second Monday in May, 1858.

SOUTHERN STEAMSHIP LINE.

A Convention was lately held at Old Point Comfort, over which the Hon. John Tyler, of Virginia, presided, for the purpose of promoting the Steamship Enterprise of Mr. A. D. Mann.

Mr. Dudley, chairman of the committee on resolutions, reported the following:

1. *Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this Convention, the citizens of the slave-holding States should make every honorable exertion, and especially to avail themselves of every adventitious discovery of science, to release the South from the commercial bondage by which she is bound, hand and foot, by the other sections of our Confederacy; and that it is idle to talk of the full development of her vast resources, unless she do her own exporting and importing, and deliver from the Maelstrom of the North the hundred millions of dollars which are drawn from the people to build up and support that portion of our country.

2. *Resolved*, That the projected ocean ferry of iron steamships between Chesapeake Bay and Milford Haven, as originated in the letter of Hon. A. Dudley Mann to the citizens of the slave-holding States, dated London, August 12, 1856, is practicable, and can, in our opinion, accomplish the object so much desired, and not only ameliorate our commerce, but strengthen the political condition.

3. *Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this Convention, this grand American enterprise is peculiarly deserving the support of each and every citizen of the South, and that immediate and active measures should be taken in every city, town, and county in the Southern States to raise the requisite means for its speedy and permanent establishment.

4. *Resolved*, That this Convention recommend this plan for establishing direct trade to the favorable consideration and support of the Southern Commercial Convention, to be held in Knoxville, Tennessee.

5. *Resolved*, That each of the counties, cities, and towns of this State, and such other States as may feel an interest in the success of the object of this Convention, be, and are hereby requested, as early as practicable, to meet in primary assembly, and adopt such measures as may be deemed proper to accomplish said objects; and also to appoint a correspondent to correspond with the Hon. A. Dudley Mann in regard to the object of the Convention.

6. *Resolved*, That the Hon. A. Dudley Mann be requested to convey the sentiments of this Convention to the Southern Commercial Convention, to assemble in Knoxville on the 10th proximo.

7. *Resolved*, That the Hon. A. Dudley Mann be requested to take charge of all correspondence connected with the proposed steam-ferry line, and that persons interested in the proposed line correspond with him at Washington, D. C.

8. *Resolved*, That each subscriber be requested to pay the sum of \$1, in part of his subscription, in order to defray preliminary expenses.

The resolutions being before the Convention for adoption—

Hon. A. Dudley Mann, in answer to numerous calls, rose and addressed those present. He said he did not consider himself at liberty to neglect the discharge of a public duty, such as he conceived an explanation of the scheme before the Convention to be. The occasion was rendered more interesting by the fact that we were at Old Point Comfort, that hallowed spot which proved a beacon of hope to that band of weary travellers, at a time long past; and he hoped that the action taken here to-day might prove a beacon of hope to those anxiously striving for the commercial improvement of the

South. The enterprise was a Southern one, and not Virginian, save inasmuch as the position of the venerable mother of States might entitle her to share in it.

It has been assailed at the North as a Union-destroying movement, and some at the South have been frightened at this view of the question. These assaults were the results of unblushing mendacity, as much as the fears were the offspring of crouching timidity. On the contrary, it is intended to strengthen the Union by equalizing the strength of the two sections composing it. If it be Union-destroying to make the South the peer of the North, then was Washington a Union destroyer, for years of his life were spent in the study of the great problem and efforts to solve it. That great man recognised the availability of the Chesapeake for becoming the outlet of the trade of the West and Northwest; and in 1784, after the declaration of peace, he proceeded to examine the route between the James and Potomac rivers, with a view to confirming his opinions. The result of this exploration was, that on the 10th of October, 1784, he wrote to Governor Harris, of Virginia, saying that the shortest and cheapest route of transportation from the country back of the Apalache range of mountains to the Atlantic was over the Chesapeake, and showing that the bay was 160 miles nearer to Detroit than the St. Lawrence river. In the same letter he advocated the improvement of the James and Kanawha rivers, as the nearest route from the Atlantic to the lakes. He wrote to the Earl of Buchan in the same year, calling his attention to the fact, that "Washington, a new city near the centre of the Union, and designed to be its capital," had been founded, and expressing the opinion that in ten years it would be connected with the lakes. He showed in one of his letters that Alexandria, Virginia, was nearer Detroit by 340 miles than New York.

The speaker alluded to New York city, her position and power, some of which was derived from trade drawn thither through unnatural channels. The Chesapeake Bay is the natural channel for much of this traffic, and the Great Eastern is destined to be the interpretation of the depth of its waters and the expansiveness of its bosom. It is by commanding the traffic that naturally belongs to us that we are to become strong and independent; and it is after we have accomplished this, that the encroachments on the Constitution will cease. He begged his hearers to bear this in view, and be united for the sake of the Constitution and the South. It was not surprising that this project had been met with incredulity. There are few who do not know of the sad fate of Galileo, the priest who was cast into prison, where he suffered away his life, for asserting that the earth moved around the sun, and not the sun

around the earth. The holy brotherhood, who by intolerance, slew the discoverer of this great truth, do not lack, in our day, for prototypes. The harbor of New York may admit the Great Eastern unloaded, but she can never run to that port freighted; nor can any vessel of her size. There are ports in the South to which she and other craft of her tonnage can come; and as the speed of a steam-vessel must depend much on its size, the time between New York and Liverpool will be much greater than that between Norfolk and Liverpool. This is all important, and must divert the trade from New York.

He spoke of the great net-work of railroads with which the United States is covered, 17,000 miles of which are closer to the Chesapeake than New York, and only 7,000 of which are closer to New York than the Chesapeake. Among them is the great route to the basin of Mississippi and Alabama, composed of the Norfolk and Petersburg, Southside, Virginia and Tennessee, and East Tennessee and Virginia railroads. The requirements of trade demand vessels the size of the Great Eastern. Four such vessels would carry 200,000 tons of freight per trip, and 300 sailing vessels cannot do it. Four such vessels would only need 1,600 hands for their management, while the sailing vessels would require 10,000 sailors. The gross receipts for freight at one voyage would be \$200,000, while, from their imperviousness to sea and fire, the rates of insurance would be materially reduced. The cost of running four such vessels, per annum, would be \$7,000,000. An agent for an English company had offered him four screw steamers, of 2,500 tons each, on advantageous terms; but they burnt a ton of coal to each ton of freight they carried, while the Great Eastern burns only one ton of coal to every ten tons of freight.

In 1870, the cotton crop of the United States will be 7,000,000 bales. Who will enjoy the benefits arising from the transportation of that immense freight? Will it not be our foes, north of the Hudson river? He did not consider himself an extremist, but he was willing that every Southern merchant should resolve, after December 31, 1857, to receive no foreign goods except of Southern importation. He said letters were pouring in upon him from all quarters in the South to take stock in the enterprise.

The speaker concluded with an eloquent tribute to the ladies, acknowledging the invincibility of the project if supported by them; which was received, as the whole speech had been, with loud applause.

The Convention was also eloquently addressed by a number of other distinguished gentlemen.

The committee on subscriptions reported that a large number of shares had been taken, and that they were of opinion

that it would be increased by the addition of 300 names, in a few days, in the vicinity of Old Point.

On Thursday afternoon 61 shares were taken in a few minutes, making \$6,100, a truly gratifying beginning to this great project. Among the names of the subscribers are ex-President Tyler, Governor Wise, of Virginia; D. M. Barringer, North Carolina; Geo. D. Wise, Accomac; John F. Hamblin, Memphis, Tennessee; Henry Exall and R. A. Pryor, Richmond; M. N. Fall, Baltimore; E. C. Nottingham, Northampton; T. J. Page, Washington; T. J. Cropper, Norfolk; Joseph Segar, Elizabeth city; Mr. Bowler and Alex. Dudley, King and Queen; R. A. Mayo, Henrico; A. B. Dickinson, Prince Edward; J. L. Deans, Gloucester; Edward Ruffin, Hanover; Edward Ruffin, Jr., Prince George; Wm. Lamb, Norfolk; A. D. Banks, Petersburg; George R. Drummond, Norfolk; and R. Morris, Richmond.

Mr. D. T. Bisbie, of Norfolk, offered a resolution appointing a commissioner for every congressional district in the South, to solicit subscriptions to, and canvass the claims of the new steamer. The resolution was adopted, after being amended by Mr. Dudley, so as to appoint three commissioners instead of one.

The usual vote of thanks to the President and Secretaries, Hon. A. Dudley Mann for his able address, and to Joseph Segar, esq., for his accommodations, were adopted.

The Convention then adjourned to meet in Richmond on the Wednesday after the second Monday in December.

PROBABLE SUPPLY OF COTTON FROM THE GROWING CROP OF THE UNITED STATES.

It is probably rather early in the season to commence an estimate of the supply of cotton from the growing crop; and yet, even at this early date, we are in possession of several facts and data materially influencing the quantity to be reasonably expected, upon which to predicate an opinion. We have the date of the latest Spring frosts—of the first form, the first blossom, and from the general condition of the plant, we are able to contrast it with corresponding dates in previous years. With these facts before us, and availing ourselves of information derived from incidents connected with a series of previous cotton crops, a comparative estimate may be made, which will be entitled to some degree of consideration.

In the compilation of the following tables, I have been much indebted to DeBow's Review and his valuable work, "The Southern States—cotton commerce, &c." From 1850

to 1856 inclusive, I have been kindly furnished with information by H. M. N. McKnight, of Red Plains in this Parish. The dates at which the Spring and Fall frosts occur, will of course slightly vary according to latitude, even within the narrow limits of the cotton region. The dates given below apply to 31° 40' N. L.

| WHITE FROSTS. | | | ITEMS OF COTTON CROP. | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| <i>Latest in Spring—</i> | <i>Earliest in Fall.</i> | | Time of cotton | First Bloom. | Crop in Bales. |
| Year. | Date. | Date. | growing. | | |
| 1825. | Feb. 15.... | Oct. 19..... | 8 months 4 days | | 720,027 |
| 1826. | April 11.... | Nov. 18..... | " 7 " | | 937,000 |
| 1827. | March 19.... | " 30..... | " 11 " | | 712,000 |
| 1828. | " 17.... | " 12..... | " 25 " | | 857,744 |
| 1829. | " 22.... | " 12..... | " 9 " | | 976,845 |
| 1830. | Feb. 14.... | Oct. 20..... | " 6 " | | 1,030,848 |
| 1831. | March 21.... | " 28..... | " 7 " | | 987,477 |
| 1832. | " 18.... | Nov. 9..... | " 21 " | | 1,070,438 |
| 1833. | " 30.... | Oct. 20..... | " 20 " | | 1,205,394 |
| 1834. | " 30.... | " 20..... | " 20 " | | 1,254,328 |
| 1835. | " 23.... | " 10..... | " 17 " | | 1,360,725 |
| 1836. | " 25.... | " 22..... | " 27 " | | 1,422,930 |
| 1837. | April 9.... | " 26..... | " 17 " | | 1,801,497 |
| 1838. | March 18.... | " 22..... | " 4 " | | 1,860,532 |
| 1839. | " 6.... | Nov. 7..... | " 1 " | | 2,177,835 |
| 1840. | " 31.... | Oct. 25..... | " 24 " | June 6..... | 1,634,945 |
| 1841. | " 18.... | " 23..... | " 5 " | " 10..... | 1,633,574 |
| 1842. | Feb. 22.... | " 26..... | " 4 " | May 17..... | 2,378,875 |
| 1843. | April 1.... | " 28..... | " 27 " | June 9..... | 2,030,409 |
| 1844. | March 31.... | " 19..... | " 18 " | May 25..... | 2,394,503 |
| 1845. | " 21.... | " 12..... | " 18 " | May 30..... | 2,100,537 |
| 1846. | April 14.... | " 19..... | " 5 " | June 10..... | 1,778,651 |
| 1847. | March 27.... | Nov. 19..... | " 22 " | May 30..... | 2,347,634 |
| 1848. | " 14.... | " 20..... | " 16 " | June 1..... | 2,728,596 |
| 1849. | April 16.... | " 8..... | " 22 " | " 6..... | 2,096,706 |
| 1850. | " 7.... | Oct. 26..... | " 19 " | " 24..... | 2,355,257 |
| 1851. | " 22.... | Nov. 6..... | " 14 " | " 5..... | 3,015,000 |
| 1852. | " 6.... | Nov. 7..... | " 1 " | " 3..... | 3,362,900 |
| 1853. | March 15.... | Oct. 25..... | " 10 " | " 10..... | 2,930,000 |
| 1854. | April 29.... | Nov. 5..... | " 6 " | " 12..... | 2,847,300 |
| 1855. | March 28.... | Oct. 25..... | " 27 " | May 30..... | 3,527,800 |
| 1856. | March 3.... | Oct. 16..... | " 13 " | June 4, estimated. | 2,950,000 |

The above table comprises a period of thirty-two years; and I now propose to present the average dates of frosts, blooms, duration of growing seasons, &c., and test the present growing crop by the result thus established.

Average latest Spring Frost, March 23.

" Earliest Fall " October 26.

" Time between latest and earliest Frost, 7 months 3 days.

" Date of first Bloom, June 5.

During the early portion of the present season, there was a succession of frosts more or less intense, until the commencement of May. March was unusually cold and unfavorable to cotton, and the severe frost on the 5th of April completely

destroyed the young cotton, and was equally fatal to the corn which had been planted early. Most of our planters considered it most prudent to re-plant both corn and cotton. During the month of April there were several frosts, but none after the 23d that injured the cotton to any considerable extent. The months of May and June have been unusually favorable, and the cotton crop now presents as promising an appearance as I have ever known it, for the time it has been growing. The first blooms were seen about the 25th of the present month. Now while it is admitted that the present cotton crop is quite promising for the season, it must be equally admitted that it is from twenty to thirty days later than the average of the thirty-two preceding years. If we take the above average for the earliest Fall frost of the present year, the statement for 1857 will be as follows :

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Latest Spring frost, April 23. | Earliest Fall frost, average, Oct. 26. | Growing season, 6 m and 8d. | First Bloom, June 25. |
|-----------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|--------------------------|

The first bloom, which is probably the fairest test of the present condition and prospect of the growing crop, proves that the average growing season will be at least twenty days short of the usual period. If we take the average date of frosts, we find thirty days deficiency. Then the question of a short or average crop of cotton for 1857, depends upon the date of the Fall frost. There can under no circumstances be a large crop—we are too late in the commencement; and though much may depend upon the date of the Fall frost, there can under no circumstances be more than an average crop.

Before I proceed to show what I would consider a small average or large crop for 1857, I will call attention to some facts connected with the above table. It will be seen, that as a general rule, the magnitude of the crop depends upon a long or short period, between the Spring and Fall frost. In 1839, the Spring opened on the 6th March, seventeen days earlier than the average, and the growing season continued twelve days later than the average Fall frost, giving for the growing season 8 months 1 day, and a crop of 2,177,000 bales—an increase of more than 800,000 bales over the year immediately preceding. The crop of 1840, besides the influences of a short season of 6 months and twenty-four days, was diminished by an overflow in the Mississippi, and reached only 1,635,000 bales. The crop of 1842 was very large, and it will be observed that the season commenced on the 22d February, and continued until to 26th October, a period of 8 months and four days, yielding 2,378,000 bales, and an increase of more than 700,000 bales over the previous year. The crop of 1848, was an unusually short one of 1,779,000 resulting from a short growing season, of 6 months and five days, and a general visi-

tation of the army worm. The crop of 1849 is again a short one of 2,097,000, showing a deficit of more than 600,000 bales from the previous crop; the growing season was only 6 months and twenty-two days, and there was an overflow in Red river during the Summer.

The crop of 1855 was an unusually large one, on a growing season of a few days short of 7 months, but it will be observed that the whole season was remarkably favorable, and that at least 250,000 bales of the previous crop was received, which had been kept back by low water in the rivers in Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas. The crop of 1856 has been variously estimated, but taking the present deficit at all the ports, and the probable amount to come forward, it will probably not exceed 2,950,000 bales—and I believe this figure has been generally adopted—I shall take it as a basis of calculation.

I will now proceed, from the above data, to give my estimate of the probable supply of cotton to be received from the growing crop.

Taking the average of the last five crops as the basis of our calculation, without regard to the late Spring frost of the present season, the result will be as follows:

| | | |
|------|----------------------|-----------|
| 1852 | Crop in bales..... | 3,262,900 |
| 1853 | “ “ | 2,930,000 |
| 1854 | “ “ | 2,847,300 |
| 1855 | “ “ | 3,587,800 |
| 1856 | “ “Estimated.. | 2,950,000 |

| | |
|-----------------------|-----------|
| Average of above..... | 3,123,600 |
|-----------------------|-----------|

| | |
|--|---------|
| Add 5 per cent. for increase in cultivation. | 156,200 |
|--|---------|

3,279,800

But if the Fall frost should take place at the average date, 26th October, the growing season will be only 6 months and three days, one month short of the average, and we can only expect a proportionally short crop.

| | | |
|------|----------------------------|-----------|
| 1857 | Average crop in bales..... | 3,279,800 |
|------|----------------------------|-----------|

| | |
|---|---------|
| Deduct 14 per cent. for one month short of average growing season..... | 459,000 |
|---|---------|

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| Leaving for the actual crop only..... | 2,820,800 |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|

From the above, I conclude that even if the Fall frost should be protracted to the 19th November, the latest period for the last thirty-two years, the growing crop cannot exceed 3,275,000 bales which would be much short of the commercial wants of the world, and if the Fall frost comes at the average period of the 26th October, or as often occurs before that time, the crop will not exceed 2,830,000.

ARE THE PUBLIC LANDS A SOURCE OF REVENUE?

Up to 1840, the first period which we shall consider, the public lands had cost the United States \$112,000,000, and they had brought in \$104,000,000. Of this amount, \$28,000,000 had just been distributed among the States under the Deposit act of 1836, leaving the amount of indebtedness of the lands to the Government \$36,000,000 of excess of cost over amount of sales. Here is the proof:

| | |
|--|--------------|
| Paid for Louisiana..... | \$15,000,000 |
| Interest paid thereon..... | 8,329,353 |
| Purchase of Florida..... | 5,000,000 |
| Interest paid thereon..... | 1,430,000 |
| Paid to Georgia..... | 1,250,000 |
| Same purchase in Mississippi stock..... | 1,832,000 |
| Extinguishing Indian titles..... | 72,000,000 |
| Surveys of public lands..... | 3,250,000 |
| Salaries and expenses of General Land Office.... | 1,250,000 |
| Other land offices and officers..... | 3,350,000 |

\$112,691,353

So that here is a clear deficiency, under the head of paying for themselves, of \$8,000,000. Add to that the \$28,000,000, and the deficiency is \$36,000,000. And if to this we should add, as we fairly might, the value of the lands given in exchange to Spain and to the Indians, and the cost of getting possession, *the deficiency would be many hundreds of millions.*

If this was so in 1840, the debt against the public lands is much greater now; large sums having been expended since, in the purchase and management of these lands. This amount and the expenses are *increasing* every year, while for a series of subsequent years the sales were almost nothing.

Let us see how the account stood for 1849, the latest date to which our official information extends, with rough estimates bringing the figures down to the present time:

| | |
|--|--------------|
| Paid to France for Louisiana..... | \$15,000,000 |
| Interest paid thereon..... | 8,529,353 |
| Paid to Spain for Florida.... | 5,000,000 |
| Interest paid thereon..... | 1,489,768 |
| In lands in exchange, (estimated,)..... | 5,000,000 |
| Paid to Georgia..... | 1,250,000 |
| Interest paid thereon..... | 1,832,000 |
| Paid for the Yazoo claims..... | 4,282,757 |
| Paid for exploring boundaries of land, &c..... | 36,500 |
| Paid to Indians for land to 1839..... | 85,088,802 |
| Appropriated and paid since to 1849..... | 17,099,836 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| Since, for eight years, (estimated,)..... | 8,000,000 |
| Land Office expenses to 1849..... | 7,461,838 |
| Since, for eight years, (estimated,)..... | 3,000,000 |
| Survey, &c., to 1849..... | 6,369,838 |
| Since, for eight years, (estimated,)..... | 3,000,000 |
| Paid to Mexico..... | 15,000,000 |
| Paid to Texas for her title..... | 10,000,000 |
| Additional Army expenses..... | 10,000,000 |
| Same for previous years..... | 13,689,798 |

221,130,490

Received by sales to date in all, say.....150,000,000

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Deficiency..... | 71,130,490 |
| Add the cost of the Mexican war..... | 217,175,577 |
| And for the Florida war, the Black Hawk war, and all expenses of Indian wars, and to suppress Indian hostilities, for treaties and removal of In- dians, &c., &c., and it will be at least..... | 200,000,000 |

\$488,306,060

Being nearly \$500,000,000 more than we have ever received for the lands acquired.

But this is not all. *We now owe many millions of annuities to the Indians for land under treaties*; and the expense of Indian treaties, Indian agents, commissioners, &c., amounts annually to a large sum. Indeed, nearly the whole expense of the Indian Department is justly chargeable to the public lands, and these expenditures have often exceeded the annual amount of the sales of land as far as shown:

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Land sold in 1849..... | \$1,756,890 |
| Land sold in 1850..... | 1,818,819 |
| Land sold in three-quarters of a year in 1851..... | 1,938,119 |

Sales for two years and three-quarters.....\$5,508,828

The expense for the Indian Department from June, 1850, to December, 1851, one year and a half, was \$5,051,975 39.

Thus the sales for two years and three-quarters were only a trifle more than the expense of the Indian Department for one and a half years.

It is easy to calculate how much revenue is derived from the sales, when the expenses of this one Department are about \$3,500,000, and the whole sales are often but \$2,000,000 annually; especially when it is borne in mind that we obtained only a part of our lands of the Indian tribes.

330 THE CONSUMPTION OF SALT IN THE UNITED STATES.

To show how much revenue the public lands pay, take another statement:

*Appropriations made the first session of the Congress 1853-'4
for public lands.*

| | |
|--|-----------|
| For surveys, (Louisiana \$68,000, Florida \$15,000,) | \$249,762 |
| For Surveyor General of Northwest Territory..... | 80,720 |
| For Receivers and Land Office expenses..... | 170,825 |
| For Commissioner of the Land Office, and contin- gent expenses..... | 140,823 |
| For removal of Seminole Indians, (Florida,)..... | 200,000 |
| For treaty with Oregon tribes..... | 25,000 |
| For special Indian Agents, (various cases,)..... | 13,848 |
| For annuities to Indians, and expenses, &c..... | 2,216,214 |
| Added by deficiency bill..... | 416,196 |

\$3,513,328

Sales of land during the previous year..... 1,756,890

Deficiency.....\$1,756,438

The appropriations just about twice as much as the sales.

But this is not all, for we must add to this statement the sum of TEN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS recently paid to Mexico in accordance with the terms of the Gadsden treaty, for the late cession of public lands to the United States. Indeed, we have no doubt, that whilst the public lands have yielded us less than \$150,000,000, they have cost us hugely more than \$500,000,000.

We have thus shown that the public lands are debtor to the Federal Tariff in the amount of millions of money; and that every dollar of the proceeds of their sales that shall be distributed to the States before the millions of outstanding cost have been returned, partakes of all the unconstitutionality of a direct distribution of revenue levied for the purpose of distribution, and all the impolicy and folly of robbing the masses of the people to pamper the State governments.

THE CONSUMPTION OF SALT IN THE UNITED STATES.

The following note was intended for the close of Mr. Dennis' article on Salt, which appeared in the August number of the Review, but was received too late to appear in its proper connection:

The estimated yearly consumption of salt in the United States for 1855 and 1856, (21,000,000 bushels,) may be rather below than above the mark; but from the scarcity of salt in 1854, and the low price of freight afterwards, the importation of both boiled and solar salt was greatly in excess of the consumption in the two first named years; and the first cause gave an impetus to the make of domestic boiled salt which led to a production at home above con-

sumption, also. The stock of salt on hand, I think, will account for any apparent discrepancy in the table above and the following, viz:

The Custom-house value, &c., of salt imported into the United States for the years 1853 to 1856, inclusive; and the estimated value and quantity of the home production of salt, from the Secretary of the Treasury's last Report on the state of the Finances:

| | Value. | Bushels. | |
|---------------------|-------------|------------|-------------------|
| Import for 1853.... | \$1,041,577 | 00,000,000 | |
| " 1854.... | 1,290,975 | 10,158,376 | (Official.) |
| " 1855.... | 1,692,587 | 18,000,000 | (Estimated.) |
| " 1856.... | 1,954,317 | 15,405,864 | (From newspaper.) |

Estimated value and quantity of salt manufactured in the United States in the year 1856:

| | Value. | Bushels. | |
|--------------------------|-----------|------------|----------------|
| New York..... | \$998,815 | 6,082,885 | (Spt. Report.) |
| Virginia..... | 700,466 | 4,200,000 | (Estimated.) |
| Pennsylvania..... | 206,796 | 1,200,000 | " |
| Ohio..... | 132,298 | 790,000 | " |
| Massachusetts..... | 93,850 | 550,000 | " |
| The total for the U. S.. | 2,222,745 | 18,200,000 | " |

In all of the above cases, except New York, the number of bushels are estimated by myself, predicated on the value of New York salt; yet one authority before me sets down Massachusetts at only 46,000 bushels for that year, and I have good reason to believe the quantity was not above 10,000 to 15,000 bushels. I likewise have good reason for thinking that the above estimated value of salt manufactured in Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, is greatly above the true mark. In addition to positive information, it is well known that the enormous increase of the make of boiled salt in New York is the result of increased facilities of transport over wide territories of country since 1829, thereby opening extensive new markets for the article; while in regard to the other three States in question, since that period, the increase in facilities for transport have been less in degree, nor have there been near so many new markets opened for their salt as in the case of New York. Evidently, the above estimate by the Secretary of the Treasury, is not compiled with care. Florida is left out of it as a producer entirely.

To show that much salt must be sold in the United States under the name of "Turk's Island" that could not have been made in that region, I will state the fact, that our whole imports, from the Bahamas, in 1853, only amounted in value to \$155,932 80, and one-half of that sum must have been for fruit.

THE OPELOUSAS RAILROAD.

The Directors of the Opelousas Railroad Company have decided upon using their utmost exertions to push forward their railroad, to the Texas line, on the Sabine river. They have sent out their engineers to locate the road, and to make selections of the lands donated by Congress. The work is to be prosecuted at once, from its present terminus to New Iberia, and will be carried on beyond that with all possible despatch.

For these purposes, the company have issued first mortgage bonds to the amount of two millions of dollars, payable in thirteen years, with interest at 8 per cent. on semi-annual coupons of 4 per cent. each.

This mortgage is on the road as finished to Berwick's Bay, with all its franchises, appurtenances, and equipments, built-

dings and rolling stock. This road is eighty miles in length, and a complete road in itself, of immense local value, forming the channel of intercourse between New Orleans and the richest portion of the heart of the State. It cost to the company, as it is offered in mortgage, about \$2,600,000, and is a productive and revenue paying road without a peradventure. The road was not completed to Berwick's Bay at the last annual report, but the gross earnings on the road, for passengers and freight, amounted to \$206,365, being an increase of \$90,069, or nearly 80 per cent., of which the increase in freights was about 103 per cent., and on passengers about 50 per cent.

This shows the road to be full security for the loan, to be made more solid by the large increase of business incident to its completion, and in full use to Berwick's Bay, and the beneficent results upon the growth and business of that wealthy region.

But the company make additional and very large independent provision for the payment of the bonds, beyond the resources of the road itself. They make a specific pledge of the proceeds of the sales of the donated lands between Opelousas and the Sabine.

The length of this part of the road is 91 miles, and the estimated quantity of land to be selected under the grants of Congress is 355,000 acres, and they are described as among the best lands in Louisiana. Heretofore shut out from market, for the want of roads, they have been unavailable. A railroad—and such a road as this—will raise them at once into demand. The engineer of the road—who has inspected the route and the lands—says without hesitation that the sales of the lands will build the road. They become by the mortgage a special fund for the payment of the bonds for which the whole road is bound as security. We do not know where there is a better investment offered for the positive security of principal and punctual payment of interest.

But the people of this State, and especially of this city, have stronger motives than that of a dividend on stock, for taking up these bonds, and completing this road. It is a direct avenue from New Orleans to the heart of Texas; the channel by which we are to be connected immediately with the whole rail-road system of Texas, and to bring the trade of regions almost illimitable in extent and fertility directly to this metropolis. A company has been organized in Texas under the general railroad law, to build a road from the Buffalo Bayou to the Sabine. The union completed there, we are in direct communication with Galveston, and by the various Texas railroads, become the depot of an immense trade yet in its infancy, and capable of immense development.

The prospective advantages are very great, and the means simple, safe, and offered to our acceptance. We do not doubt that the company will succeed in raising the means by the ready sale of their bonds, and that their work will, with the energy which now pervades in the management, be successfully prosecuted.

EDITORIAL, ETC.

Col. Butler, of Louisiana, to whom the letters from Gen. Jackson were directed, which formed the subject of Mr. Gayarre's pamphlet, extracted from in the pages of the Review, and commented upon by Col. Gadsden, of South Carolina, has addressed us a note, which we cheerfully place before our readers. As the ward of Gen. Jackson, Col. Butler regards this vindication of his memory as a pious duty:

DEAR SIR: In the July Number of your Review, I find a letter from my friend, Col. Gadsden, (elicited by a passage in one of General Jackson's letters to me, concerning his acceptance and subsequent rejection of the first mission to Mexico,) in which, he remarks: "The letter of General Jackson, which, you say, should be recorded in letters of gold, is the more to be appreciated, as not a speculative philosophy, to guard against personal conflicts, but the inculcations of experience, which he administers to a young friend just entering on the varied responsibility of life. Few men have encountered in life, more personal collisions than Andrew Jackson. They are the dark spots on the patriot's character, the error of which, he endeavored to atone for in the letter to his friend."

I am convinced that no man living would more unwillingly do injustice to the character of Andrew Jackson than James Gadsden; and, yet, I feel that he has, unconsciously adopted a popular error; and that, in not one of the "personal collisions" referred to, was he the aggressor. Mr. Dickinson, voluntarily and unfortunately, interposed, in a personal difficulty with another; Col. Benton (under the excitement caused by intelligence of the wounding of his brother, in a duel with General

Carroll, in which General Jackson reluctantly officiated as second of the latter,) wrote a harsh and insulting letter, which unavoidably produced a personal collision, but was afterwards atoned for by a life of personal and political devotion. General Armstrong, the celebrated author of the "Newberg Letters," incurred his displeasure, whilst Secretary of War, by ordering the discharge of his faithful and patriotic Tennesseans, whilst without means, and far from their homes and their parents, to whom he had promised never to desert them; the venerable Ritchie, like Mr. Jefferson and others, who then knew him not, had spoken disparagingly of him; McCrawford, whilst Secretary of War, had refused to recognize and to pay his famous mounted riflemen, who proved so efficient in his campaigns against the Indians, and was, afterwards, falsely represented as having concurred in the attempt to censure him for his conduct in the Seminole war. Mr. Clay, it will be ever recollected, led the war in a similar attempt in the House of Representatives, and at a subsequent period, after deserting his election to the Presidency, added insult to injury, by denouncing him as "a mere military chieftain." General Scott took what he considered an unwarrantable liberty with his military reputation, in denouncing at a private dinner party an order, which, as commander of a military department, he felt it due to the service and himself to issue; and last, though not least, Mr. Calhoun, whom he had been induced to consider his staunchest friend in Mr. Monroe's Cabinet, was represented as having proposed to arraign him before a court of inquiry, for his fearless and noble conduct of the Seminole war.

Two only of the distinguished individuals referred to now survive; but, there are others, doubtless, now alive

who are more conversant with some of the particulars mentioned than myself; and, if I have erred in stating them, I trust they will do me the justice to attribute any inaccuracies to defect of memory, not to intentional misrepresentation; and the fact of my having volunteered this statement to what I esteem a religious and imperative duty, ever to defend, as far as in my power, the good name of Andrew Jackson.

I think and believe that, after consideration of these facts, my valued friend, Col. Gadsden, (than whom no man is more sensitive in regard to matters affecting his own honor,) will arrive at the conclusion, that the "collisions" or controversies to which he alludes, do not constitute "dark spots on the patriot's character; but were unavoidable under a becoming regard for his rights and reputation.

Very respectfully, &c.

Again our readers are referred to the advertisement of *Old Point Comfort*, which appears in the pages of the Review. The testimonials which accompany it from Medical men of the highest character, incontrovertibly establish the fact, that it is one of the most salubrious and healthy of all the summer retreats in our Southern country. There has been in its history an entire exemption enjoyed from bilious and intermittent fevers during the summer and fall months. The present proprietor, Mr. Segar, is determined to keep the establishment open every season as late as November, and perhaps later. He is a Southern gentleman, and well understands how to please a Southern public. The terms are reasonable. Let all who would enjoy fine, bracing sea air and bathing, fish, oysters, ocean prospects, and a good table, visit Old Point, which is easily accessible from Richmond or from Baltimore. The editor speaks from experience, having the

present season remained for some time at the Point with a sick child, which also derived the greatest advantage.

It affords us pleasure, at the same time, to mention the *Montgomery White Sulphur Springs*, situated in the most picturesque region of Virginia, on the East Tennessee Road. The accommodations are very extensive, and the charms of the place, in every respect, not excelled by any other among the mountains.

See the advertisement of the *Rockbridge Alum Springs*. We have some valuable notes and facts in regard to these waters, which will be incorporated in another issue.

Messrs. Ettinger & Edmond, of Richmond, Virginia, have the most extensive works for the manufacture of locomotives, boilers, tanks, stationary engines, saw mills, tobacco presses, mill works, railroad cars, water wheels, etc., upon terms which will compete with the North, and they are entitled to a liberal encouragement from Southern planters, which we hope they will abundantly receive.

In another place appears the card of the Shelbyville Educational Institution, under charge of Dr. A. L. Hamilton. It is in successful progress.

Shelbyville, Tennessee, is situated about sixty miles south of Nashville, in Bedford County, at the terminus of a short branch of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad. The town contains about 3,000 inhabitants, and owing to its elevated location, is remarkable for its *healthfulness*.

Young men, from the extreme South, could not do better than spend a few sessions at this Institution.

HYGEIA HOTEL, OLD POINT COMFORT, VIRGINIA.

The following letter from Mr. Segar, with the numerous testimonials in regard to Old Point Comfort, will interest our readers. We are in hopes to see this favorite old watering place crowded the present summer with the wealth, intelligence, and beauty of the South:

This most delightful Summer Resort—the “bright particular” locality of all the sunny South—is now the sole property of the undersigned, and will be opened on the 1st of June next, and each successive June following. I engage to make it to the seekers for health, recreation, gaiety, and good living, supremely attractive.

For health, no mountain retreat can be safer, *at any season of the year*. It is as exempt from disease in August, and September, and October, as in April, May, or June. Indeed, the first three are infinitely the most pleasant of the season. The weather is milder, the sea breeze balmy, and the luxuries of the salt water, are to be had of finer quality, and in greater profusion. There is no more inviting spot on the whole Atlantic Seaboard. It is strictly true of it, what the Poet hath said:

“Oh! if there be an Elysium on earth, it is this, it is this!”

That visitors may safely seek its attractions at *all* seasons of the year, I submit the following letters of Drs. Jarvis, Archer, Semple, Sheld, Hope, Mallory, Simkins, and Vaughan, and of James B. French, Esq., who, for nearly ten years, was the proprietor of the establishment. My own experience and observation for more than thirty years past, are to the same effect.

Old Point Comfort, April 28, 1867.

JOS. SEGAR, Proprietor.

Fort Monroe, Virginia, February 11, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR: I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday asking my opinion as to the “character of Old Point Comfort for health, and particularly as to its exemption from diseases of a bilious character.”

A residence of three years at old Point Comfort as the Surgeon of this Post, enables me to bear full testimony to its well known salubrity, and the reputation it has heretofore enjoyed in its exemption from the ordinary forms of disease, especially those of a malarial or febrile nature, usually prevailing during the spring or autumnal months in other sections of the country and neighborhood.

The records of the military hospital for years past further confirm my own experience, not only in this fortunate exemption from that class of disease ordinarily arising from malaria, but in the less frequency as well as diminished severity of those epidemics that have, from time to time, prevailed in almost every portion of our country.

I remain yours, very respectfully,

JOS. SEGAR, Esq., Roseland, Va.

N. S. JARVIS, M. D., Surgeon U. S. A.

RICHMOND, August 7, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: Your favor requesting my opinion as to the general healthiness of Old Point Comfort, is received, and I hasten to reply.

I resided at Old Point, as Post Surgeon and as Physician, upwards of twenty years, and I have no hesitation in saying, that there are few, if any localities in the United States, more healthy at all seasons of the year.

I know of no place more exempt from bilious diseases, and I have never known a case of intermittent fever to originate there.

In fine, I consider visitors from any climate as safe from disease, at Old Point Comfort, during the autumn months, as they would be in the mountains; or any where at the North.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., Old Point Comfort.

R. ARCHER.

HAMPTON, August 18, 1856.

DEAR SIR: It gives me pleasure to comply with your request to state my opinion of the salubrity of Old Point Comfort, during the summer and autumn.

Having practiced medicine for the last ten years among the residents and visitors, and having been frequently employed to attend the Garrison, I am entirely satisfied that the place is entirely exempt from bilious fevers of all kinds—the very few such cases which have fallen under my treatment, having been clearly traceable to exposure at some notorious miasmatic locality.

Visitors at Old Point are as perfectly safe, at any season, from intermittent and remittent fever, as they would be in any mountainous region. Patients suffering in such regions from bronchial affections, particularly asthma, are uniformly benefited by a visit to Old Point.

I can also state that several army surgeons have informed me that the sick reports show less sickness at Fort Monroe than any military post in the Union.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., Hygeia Hotel, Old Point Comfort.

G. WM. SEMPLE, M. D.

HAMPTON, August 23, 1856.

DEAR SIR: Yours of yesterday's date, asking my opinion of the health of Old Point Comfort, is before me.

I have been practicing medicine in Hampton and Old Point for 15 years, and consider it as healthy a place as any that I know on the face of the earth. I do not remember having seen there a case of remittent or intermittent fever that was not contracted elsewhere.

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., Hygeia Hotel.

Very respectfully,

S. R. SHIELD.

HAMPTON, August 23, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: In reply to your queries contained in your note of the 7th inst., it gives me pleasure to state that, in my opinion, Old Point Comfort is as healthy a locality as any on the Atlantic coast.

Persons from any part of our country may remain there through the entire year with perfect safety. The endemic diseases of all this region, I may add, have become very much modified of late, as any one at all familiar with the causes which produce them, might, upon the slightest observation, perceive. An ordinary case of bilious fever seldom requires more than two or three days' treatment.

I have not, during a practice of more than five years in this vicinity, seen a case of intermittent or bilious fever, which originated at Old Point. Yours truly,

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., *Roseland.*

JESSE P. HOPE.

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., *Hygeia Hotel.*

NORFOLK, VA., August 25, 1856.

DEAR SIR: In regard to the health of Old Point, I have only to remark, that having been familiar with the place ever since my boyhood, I speak confidently when I declare it to be among the healthiest spots on the Continent of America. Bilious and ague fever are unknown there, while in all our epidemics it has escaped unharmed. I would sooner take my chance at Old Point to avoid those diseases in summer and fall than the mountains, or even at the White Sulphur. For eight years I resided in the vicinity of Old Point, and for the remainder of my life in Norfolk, thus affording me ample opportunity of ascertaining the fact in question. Since 1819, when the extensive public works were commenced, Old Point has contained quite a large population, made up of the military and persons connected with the Engineer Department, to say nothing of other citizens and visitors. These have enjoyed, at all seasons, an unexampled share of excellent health.

The United States Government has, on several occasions, sent troops to Old Point from other stations to recruit their health, and with the desired effect. What induced this was, doubtless, the favorable reports of the Army Surgeons as to the sanitary character of the place. We cannot account for tastes, nor can we control fashion; but it has always been a matter of surprise to me that visitors should leave the Point just at the time when it is most pleasant. The latter part of August and the whole of September are among the healthiest and most agreeable periods to remain at Old Point; for the air is bracing and yet mild during the day, and at night you sleep comfortably under a blanket. Hog fish and oysters are of much finer flavor than in July, and the fishing far better than in the extreme heat of the summer. No one within the broad limits of the Old Dominion can have failed to appreciate the beauty of our Indian Summer (so called.) This, while it endures some few weeks in other localities, lasts the whole fall at the Point, commencing about the 20th of August. I can give no stronger proof of the earnestness and sincerity of my convictions on this head, than by declaring that if the authorities would grant me permission to erect a cottage on the beach, I would gladly avail myself of the privilege with a view to residing there all summer and fall with my family. But I will not enlarge on this topic. There is, and there can be, no dispute on the subject, since all who know the place will endorse every word I have uttered. The health of Old Point, and its exemption from the fall diseases of our climate, are facts too well established to admit of cavil or doubt; indeed, to quote the words of a conspicuous politician, it is a "fixed fact."

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

F. MALLOY, M. D.

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq.

NORFOLK, August 24, 1856.

DEAR SIR: Having spent my school-boy days in the immediate vicinity to Old Point, and somewhat familiar for many years with the hygeic condition of the people—residents and guests, who annually assembled there, I am enabled to answer your inquiry with entire confidence in the correctness of my own conclusions. This experience has satisfied me that no locality in our latitude can be more healthy. Unconnected with the "main," save by a narrow strip of beach land, which is only partially covered with a stunted vegetation, its sources every where washed by the salt ocean wave, and without a single sunken spot where vegetable humus can gather, it seems to me utterly impossible that malaria can be generated there, or that noxious airs can reach it from my portion of the adjacent country. Come from whatever point of the compass the winds may, *they are sea breezes* still, and could scarcely waft a poisonous exhalation from the *distant* shores abroad.

In my estimation, fevers of a bilious, remittent or intermittent type might as soon be expected to originate on the highest peak of the Blue Ridge, as on the clean, barren sand plane on which the Hygeia Hotel is built.

Yours, truly,

J. J. SIMKINS.

HAMPTON, VA., March 30, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR: I have received your letter requesting my opinion of the general healthiness of Old Point Comfort, and particularly as to its exemption from bilious diseases.

In reply to your inquiry, it gives me pleasure to state, that I know of no place in Virginia which Old Point Comfort will not, in that respect, favorably compare; and I do not remember *ever to have seen a case of bilious fever which originated at that place.*

Yours, respectfully,

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., *Roseland.*

WM. R. VAUGHAN, M. D.

ALEXANDRIA, August 25, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: In reply to yours of 20th instant, I can only say, that the healthiest spot I have ever known is Old Point Comfort; and this I say after a residence there of eight or nine years. A very mistaken notion prevails as to its health in August and the fall months, and there are persons who deem it unsafe to remain there at such times. My own experience teaches me that, for comfort and health, Old Point is far more desirable in August and the fall months than earlier. Fish and oysters are in greater perfection, and no climate can be purer, or more delightful, or healthier. At any season of the year, Spring, Summer, Autumn, or Winter, I would as soon take my chance for health there as at the White Sulphur Springs, or any watering place in America.

Yours, very truly,

JAMES S. FRENCH.

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., *Roseland, Ellis City Co., Va.*

DE BOW'S REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1857.

SOUTHERN THOUGHT.

(Twenty years ago the South had no thought—no opinions of her own. Then she stood behind all christendom, admitted her social structure, her habits, her economy, and her industrial pursuits to be wrong, deplored them as a necessity, and begged pardon for their existence. Now she is about to lead the thought and direct the practices of christendom; for christendom sees and admits that she has acted a silly and suicidal part in abolishing African slavery—the South a wise and prudent one in retaining it. France and England, who fairly represent the whole of so-called free society, are actively engaged in the slave-trade under more odious and cruel forms than were ever known before. They must justify their practices; and, to do so, must adopt and follow Southern thought. This, of itself, would put the South at the lead of modern civilization.)

In the sneering ridicule of the false and fallacious philanthropy of Lord Brougham by the London Times, the leading paper of Western Europe, we see that they are breaking ground to condemn and repudiate the “rose-water philanthropy” of Clarkson, Wilberforce, Howard, and Hannah More, that nursed scoundrels and savages at the expense of the honest, industrious, laboring whites.

The next inevitable step will be to approve and vindicate the conduct of Hercules, and Moses, and Joshua, and the discoverers and settlers of America, who have conquered, enslaved, and exterminated savages, just as fast as might be necessary to make room for free civilized whites. This is the only philosophy that can justify the subjugation of Algiers or the hundred southern conquests and annexations of England; and this philosophy is consistent with Southern thought and practices, but wholly at war with the maudlin sentimentality

of Hannah More, Wilberforce, and Lord Brougham. Southern thought alone can justify European practices, and Southern practices alone save Western Europe from universal famine; for cotton, sugar, rice, molasses, and other slave products are intolerably dear and intolerably scarce, and France and England must have slaves to increase their production, or starve. They have begun to follow in our wake, instead of our humbly imitating them. It is true they are still impertinent and presumptuous, and loud in their abuse of our form of slavery, whilst they are busily adopting worse forms. But the veil of hypocrisy with which they would conceal their conduct is too transparent to avail them long. Besides, they can use no arguments to justify their conduct that will not equally justify ours. In any view of the subject Southern thought and Southern example must rule the world.

The South has acted wisely and prudently, acted according to the almost universal usage of civilized mankind, and the injunctions of the Bible, and she is about to gather her reward for so doing. She flourishes like the bay tree, whilst Europe starves, and she is as remarkable for her exemption from crime as her freedom from poverty. She is by far, very far, the most prosperous and happy country in the world. Her jealous and dependent rivals have begun to imitate her. They must soon openly approve her course in order to vindicate themselves.

But there is no narrow philosophy to justify slavery. No human or divine authority to vindicate mere negro slavery as an exceptional institution. All the authority is the other way. White slavery, not black, has been the normal element of civilized society. It is true that the authorities and the philosophy which approve white slavery, are still stronger authorities in favor of negro slavery, for the principle and the practices of mankind in the general have been to make inferior races and individuals slaves to their superiors. How fortunate for the South that she has this inferior race, which enables her to make the whites a privileged class, and to exempt them from all servile, menial, and debasing employments.

But we must force the reluctant admission from Western Europe that the emancipation of the white serfs or villians was a far more cruel failure, so far as those serfs were concerned, than West India emancipations. In truth, the admission is made in fact, though not in form, in almost every review, newspaper, and work of fiction, that emanates from the press of Western Europe or our North. They concur in describing the emancipated whites as starving from year to year, and from generation to generation, whilst nobody pretends that the liberated negroes of the West Indies are starving. As for crime and ignorance, we suspect that the laboring libe-

rated poor of Western Europe may well claim to rival, if not surpass, the negroes of Jamaica. But the liberated whites work harder and cheaper as freemen, or rather as slaves to capital, than they did as serfs; and, therefore, the rich who employ them think white emancipation a successful experiment, a glorious change for the better. Because, although it starves and brings to untimely graves some half million of the laboring poor annually, it nevertheless makes labor cheaper, and increases the profits of the rich. ✓

We despise this flood of crocodile tears which England is shedding over the free negroes of the West Indies, whilst she has not one tear to shed on account of her laboring poor at home, who are ten times worse off than the free negroes.

In the absence of negro slavery there must be white slavery, else the white laboring class are remitted to slavery to capital, which is much more cruel and exacting than domestic slavery.

Southern thought must justify the slavery principle, justify slavery as natural, normal, and necessitous. He who justifies mere negro slavery, and condemns other forms of slavery, does not think at all—no, not in the least. To prove that such men do not think, we have only to recur to the fact that they always cite the usages of antiquity and the commands of the Bible to prove that negro slavery is right. Now if these usages and commands prove anything, they prove that all kinds of slavery are right.

By Southern thought, we mean a Southern philosophy, not excuses, apologies, and palliations.

The South has much work before her, for to justify her own social system, she will have to disprove and refute the whole social, ethical, political, and economical philosophy of the day. These philosophies have grown up in societies whose social relations are different from hers, and are intended to enforce and justify those relations. They all inculcate selfishness and competition as the great duties of man, and success in getting the better of our fellow beings in the war of the wits as the chiefest, if not the only merit. The opposite or protective philosophy, which takes care of the weak whilst it governs them, is the philosophy of the South.

The free trade or competitive philosophy is an admitted failure, and most of the literature of Europe is employed in exposing and condemning it. From the writings of the socialists, (and almost everybody is a socialist in Western Europe,) we can derive both facts and arguments quite sufficient to upset the whole moral philosophy of the day. From the Bible and Aristotle we can deduce (added to our own successful experiment) quite enough to build up a new philosophy on the ruins of the present false and vicious system.

The South is fulfilling her destiny and coming up to her work beautifully. She is multiplying her academies, her colleges, and her universities, and they are all well patronised and conducted by able professors. Several of these professors have written works defending slavery with great ability, on general and scientific principles. All of them are true to Southern institutions. From these schools thousands of educated and influential men annually proceed to every quarter of the South. They will mould and control thought and opinion, whether they settle down as private citizens or become editors, lawyers, divines, or politicians.

Female schools and colleges are also rapidly increasing in numbers, and this is an important gain, for it is the mother who first affects opinions, and it is difficult in after life to get rid even of erroneous principles which have been taught by the mother in the nursery. It is not safe, wise, or prudent, to commit the education of our daughters to Northern schools, nor to female teachers brought from the North.

Fashion is one of the most powerful engines in controlling opinion, and fashion will soon cease to be borrowed from the North. Southern watering places are full to overflowing, and few go to the North to be insulted by the helps in their hotels. These Southern watering places annually bring together intelligent and influential persons from the various States of the South, who form friendships, unite various sections in stronger bonds of amity, and confirm each other in the support of Southern institutions, by comparison and concurrence of opinion. People do not like to be out of the fashion in thought any more than in dress, and hence the prevalent anti-slavery doctrines at Northern watering places, must exercise a baleful and dangerous influence on Southerners who visit them.

The educational conventions held in various parts of the South exercise a similar influence to our watering places, but a far more important and potent one, for they are attended by the ablest men in the nation, whose every day business, duty, and occupation, is to form opinion, and to inaugurate a Southern thought. The importance of these conventions in cutting us off from imitative allegiance to the North and to Europe can hardly be overrated. Nay, they will do more; they will teach our revilers to respect, admire, and imitate us, by the unanswerable facts and arguments which they will adduce to justify our institutions.

Another fact for congratulation to the South is, that our people are beginning to write books—to build up a literature of our own. This is an essential prerequisite to the establishment of independence of thought amongst us. All Northern and European books teach abolition either directly or indi-

rectly. The indirect method is more dangerous than the direct one. It consists in inculcating doctrines at war with slavery, without expressly assailing the institution. Now, all authors who write about law, religion, politics, ethics, social or political economy, if not pro-slavery men themselves, are continually inculcating doctrines accordant with their own social forms, and therefore at war with ours. Hence it follows, that all books in the whole range of moral science, if not written by Southern authors, within the last twenty or thirty years, inculcate abolition either directly or indirectly. If written before that time, even by Southern authors, they are likely to be as absurd and as dangerous as the Declaration of Independence, or the Virginia Bill of Rights.

It is all important that we should write our own books. It matters little who makes our shoes. Indeed, the South will commit a fatal blunder, if, in its haste to become nominally independent, it loses its present engines of power, and thereby ceases to be really independent. Cotton is king; and rice, sugar, Indian corn, wheat, and tobacco, are his chief ministers. It is our great agricultural surplus that gives us power, commands respect, and secures independence. The world is pinched now for agricultural products. The rebellion in India will increase the scarcity. Then, take away our surplus from the world's supply, and famine and nakedness would be the consequence. We should not jeopard this great lever of power in the haste to become, like Englishmen, shop-keepers, cobblers, and common carriers for the universe. Our present pursuits are more honorable, more lucrative, and more generative of power and independence than those we fondly aspire to. We cannot do double work. If we become a commercial and manufacturing people, we must cease to be an agricultural one, or at least we shall cease to have an agricultural surplus. We should become as feeble, as isolated and contemptible as Chinese or Japanese. Actual independence would be bartered off for formal independence, which no one would respect. An increase in our commerce and manufactures, so gradual as not to affect the amount of our agricultural surplus, would be desirable, provided that increase never extends so far as to make us a commercial and manufacturing people. That we can be all three is one of the most palpable absurdities ever conceived by the human brain. Foreigners cannot buy from us unless we buy an equivalent amount from them. If they should do so, our agricultural surplus would absorb the whole currency of the world in less than a century, and we should be oppressed with a plethora of money that would necessitate the carrying about a cart-load of silver to buy an ox.

We can afford to let foreigners be our cobblers, and carriers,

and tradesmen for a while longer, but we cannot safely delay writing our own books for an hour.

In Congress, and in the courts of Europe, in the conflict of debate, and in the war of diplomacy, Southerners have always shown themselves the equals, generally the superiors, of the first intellects of the world. This is easily accounted for.

All true power, whether in speaking, writing, or fighting, proceeds quite as much from strength of will as from power of mind or body; and no men have half the strength of will that Southerners possess. We are accustomed to command from our cradle. To command becomes a want and a necessity of our nature, and this begets that noble strength of will that nerves the mind for intellectual conflict and intellectual exertion, just as it nerves the body for physical contest. We are sure to write well, because we shall write boldly, fearlessly, and energetically.

We have already made a start. A great many Southern books have been written within the last three or four years. They are almost all distinguished by that boldness of thought, and close and energetic logic, which characterizes the Southern mind. The North surpasses us in taste and imagination, equals us in learning, but is far behind us in logic. No doubt our greater intensity of will gives us this advantage, for in no intellectual effort is force of will so absolutely necessary as in moral reasoning. It is the most difficult intellectual exercise, and therefore the most perfect self-control and self-command are required to nerve to high effort in this direction.

Several of our distinguished professors are employed in preparing school books for academies and common schools, and text books for our colleges. It is all important to "teach the young idea how to shoot," and to give it, in early life, a Southern bent. We have been guilty of great remissness on this subject, but we shall speedily repair it, and soon no more school books from Europe or the North will be seen south of Mason's and Dixon's line.

Last, not least, of the causes, in busy operation to beget a Southern thought, are our annual commercial conventions. We have little practical acquaintance with trade or commerce, and do not know that conventions can direct industry, or control trade, any more than they can stop or divert the tide. We shrewdly suspect, however, that despite of conventions, private individuals will direct their industry and invest their capital in such manner as they think most profitable. Nay, more—we are so irreverent as to believe that each man is the best judge in such matters for himself. Besides, we think it far more dignified to let a starving and naked world come to our Egyptian granaries, as Joseph's brethren came to him,

than for us to be hawking, peddling, and drumming like Englishmen through the universe. The character of drummer, hawker, and peddler, does not suit Southern taste or Southern talent. We have no turn whatever for swapping, drumming, and bargaining; and if we went from home with our products, might get cheated out of our eyes. Besides, we should neglect our crops, and in a short time would have nothing to employ our commerce.

But poorly as we think of these conventions as commercial stimulants or agencies, we know that they are invaluable as a means, and by far the most potent means, of uniting the South, begetting a common public opinion, and preparing us for any crisis or emergency that may arise. Let the South but be prepared and united, and her rights will always be respected, and the Union secure. But apathy and inertness beget aggression; and any further aggression by the North will precipitate disunion. The cup of our endurance is filled to the brim.

These conventions are composed of able, patriotic, and conservative men. Their proceeding, though firm, are calm, dignified, and moderate. They represent Southern feeling and opinion correctly, and excluding Russia, the South is the only conservative section of civilized christendom. The democracy of the North, it is true, are conservative, but there Black Republicanism is in the ascendant, and that is radical and revolutionary in the extreme. The Pope of Rome is a radical reformer. Louis Napoleon and Victoria are half-way socialists, and Henry the Fifth, the Bourbon heir to the French throne, is a thorough socialist. So desperate is the condition of the people throughout Western Europe, that no one in power dare tell them that there shall be no change, that all things shall remain as they are. The South is the only conservative section of christendom, because it is the only section satisfied with its own condition. Every where else, except in our North, the people are suffering intolerable ills, and ripe, at any moment, for revolution. There is no occasion for radicalism and revolutionary spirit at the North. Next to the South, it is the most prosperous, and should be the most contented country in the world. All of its discontent, and its political, moral, and religious heresies have grown out of abolition. Men who begin by assailing negro slavery find that all government begets slavery in some form, and hence all abolitionists are socialists, who propose to destroy all the institutions of society.

That slavery to capital, so intolerable in densely settled countries, where lands are monopolised by the few, can never be felt at the North, until our vast possessions in the West are peopled to the Pacific, and a reflux population begins to

pour back upon the East. Then, like Western Europe, the North would have a laboring population slaves to capital, "slaves without masters." Famine would become perennial, and revolution the common order of the day, as in Western Europe. Nay, the condition of the laboring class in the North-east, would be far worse than in Europe, because there would be no checks to competition, no limitations to the despotism of capital over labor. The spirit of trade and commerce is universal, and it is as much the business of trade to devour the poor, as of the whales to swallow herrings. All its profits are derived from unjust exacting or "exploitation" of the common poor laboring class; for the professional and capitalist, and skilful laboring classes, manage to exact five times as much from the poor, as they pay to the tradesmen in way of profit. The poor produce everything and enjoy nothing. The people of the North are hugging to their breasts a silly delusion, in the belief that the poor can tax the rich, and thus prevent those evils that are starving and maddening the masses in Western Europe. You can't tax a rich man unless he be a slave-holder, because he produces nothing. You can't tax property, except in slave society, because it does not breed or produce anything itself. Labor pays all taxes, pays the rich man's income, educates his children, pays the professional man's fees, the merchant's profits, and pays all the taxes which support the Government; a property tax must take a part of the property proposed to be taxed, and such a tax never will be imposed; a property tax would soon divest all men of their property.

Gerrit Smith said most truly in Congress: "The poor pay all taxes, we (meaning the rich) are the mere conduits who pass them over to government." This was the noblest and the grandest truth that ever was uttered on the floor of legislative hall. It is this awful truth that is shaking free society to its base, and it will never recover from the shock. 'Tis now tottering to its fall. Property and not labor is taxed in slave society. 'Tis true the negro produces the wherewithal to pay the tax, but he loses nothing by it. Neither his food or his raiment are abridged. Both humanity and self-interest prevent the master from lowering his wages. The master pays the tax by abridging his own expenses. He has less of food and raiment, not the slave. The capitalist charges higher rents and profits to meet increased taxation, and lives as expensively as ever. The employer reduces the wages of his laborers for the same purpose, and dines and sups as luxuriously as ever.

Labor pays all taxes, but labor in slave society is property, and men will take care of their property. In free society,

labor is not property, and there is nothing to shield the laborer from the grinding weight of taxation—all of which he pays, because he produces everything valuable.

We have made this digression to show that if the North ever becomes densely settled, there is no mode of escaping from the evils of free competition and from the taxing power or exploitation of skill and capital. In Europe, competition is not so fierce, the spirit of trade not so universal. They have still kings, nobles, and established churches, stripped, it is true of their fair proportions, reduced somewhat to the semblance of shadowy "phantasms;" yet, still, as the natural friends of the poor, interposing some check to the unfeeling exactions of the landholder, the tradesman, and the employer. In the palmy days of royalty, of feudal nobility, and of catholic rule, there were no poor in Europe. Every man had his house and his home, and both his brave and his pious protectors. The baron and the priest vied with each other in their care of the vassal. This was feudal slavery; and what is modern liberty? Why, quietly, slowly, almost insensibly, the poor have been turned over from the parental and protective rule of kings, barons, and churchmen, to the unfeeling despotism of capitalists, employers, usurers, and extortioners; and this was called emancipation!

Although, in the event of a dense population cooped up in the North, without means of escape, the evils which we have depicted, would occur more virulently there than in Europe; yet, it is not worth while to anticipate evils that may never happen. The North is now doing well. Her poor are not the slaves of capital, and never will be whilst there are vacant lands in the North. Population does not always increase. It has its ebbs and flows. Very large countries, such as America, are not likely to be overstocked with inhabitants. Secret causes at work will diminish population in some sections, whilst it is increasing in others. The situation of the North is natural, healthful, and progressive, but for the abolitionists and other agrarian isms. 'Tis treason in them to disturb society by the unnecessary agitation of questions as to contingent and future evils. But this is not their only treason. They propose, in their conventions, to dissolve the Union, not for any evils with which it afflicts them, but because the South hold slaves. Now, Black Republicans, who are under the rule of abolitionists, if not all abolitionists themselves, are radical and revolutionary in their doctrines, and dangerous to the Union; whilst Southern Commercial Conventions are composed entirely of men of the opposite character, of enlightened conservatives.

We differ from what are called the extremists of the South;

but would not shoot down the sentinels of our camp. If not the wisest, most far-seeing, and most prudent, they are the most zealous friends of the South. They believe, that eventually, the aggressions of Northern abolition will force disunion upon us, and look to disunion as probably the only ultimate redress for the wrongs inflicted on us. We think a victory may yet, perhaps, be won by the South, not by arms, but by Southern thought and European necessities. Thought, by means of the press and the mail, has now become almost omnipotent. It rules the world. Thought, with hunger and nakedness to prompt, stimulate, and direct it, will prove irresistible. That thought has commenced and begotten a counter-current in Europe, that impels France to renew the slave-trade under a new form, and induced a debate in the British Parliament which evinces a universal change of opinion as to abolition and squints most obviously towards the renewal of the slave-trade. Revolutions of opinion do not go backwards, nor do they stand still in a half-way course. England sees, admits, and deplores the error of West India emancipation. This admission is but a step in a chain of argument, which must ultimately carry her further from abolition, and bring her nearer to slavery. For a while, she will try to maintain some middle ground between emancipation and slavery, and substitute coolies, and African apprentices, for negro slaves. But there are two reasons why she cannot long occupy this ground. First, its falsity and hypocrisy are too obvious; and secondly, coolies and apprentices do not answer the purpose of slaves. Her necessities will compel her to reinstate African slavery in its old and mildest form. Thus will Southern thought triumph, Southern morality be vindicated, and Southern wisdom, prudence, and foresight, be rendered apparent. The crusades lasted for a century. Those who conducted them had stronger convictions, and a clearer sense of duty, than modern abolitionists, for they laid down their lives by the million in the cause, whilst modern abolitionists, from Wilberforce to Greeley, have not evinced the slightest taste for martyrdom. All Europe then believed the crusades a righteous and holy undertaking. Abolition has never commanded such universal assent, nor such self-denying sacrifices. So far from marching a thousand or more miles to fight for their cause, they have not been willing to give up a cup of coffee, an ounce of sugar, or a pound of cotton, to speed it; no, they have been encouraging slavery, whilst abusing it, by consuming slave products. Europe and the North can any day abolish slavery by disusing slave products. They should try the experiment, for should they succeed in abolishing it, they will have none of those products thereafter—Jamaica and Hayti prove this.

The crusades lasted for a century, and their signal failure opened men's eyes to the folly and wickedness of such expeditions; and soon men began to wonder at the infatuation of their crusading ancestry. So it will be with abolition. It has lasted nearly a hundred years. It has failed as signally as the crusades, and brought hunger and nakedness on its votaries, or at least on the laboring poor at their doors. As in the case of the crusades, abolition will soon be considered a mad infatuation—for want, brought on by it, combines with failure, to open men's eyes.*

Southern thought must be a distinct thought—not a half thought, but a whole thought. Domestic slavery must be vindicated in the abstract, and in the general, as a normal, natural, and, *in general*, necessitous element of civilized society, without regard to race or color.

This argument about races is an infidel procedure, and we had better give up the negroes than the Bible. It is a double assertion of the falsity of the Bible—first, as it maintains that mankind have not sprang from a common parentage; and, secondly, as it contends that it is morally wrong to enslave white men, who, the Bible informs us, were enslaved by the express command of God. But it is also utterly falsified by history. The little States of Greece, in their intestine wars, made slaves of their prisoners, and there was no complaint that they did not make good slaves; whilst the Macedonians, an inferior race, were proverbially unfit for slavery. The Georgians and Circassians, the most beautiful of the human family, make excellent slaves, whilst the Bedouin Arab and American Indian are as unfit for slavery as the Bengal tiger, or those tribes in Palestine whom God commanded Moses and Joshua to put to the sword without discrimination or mercy.

Again: to defend and justify mere negro slavery, and condemn other forms of slavery, is to give up expressly the whole cause of the South—for mulattoes, quadroons, and men with as white skins as any of us, may legally be, and in fact are, held in slavery in every State of the South. The abolitionists well know this, for almost the whole interest of Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, arises from the fact, that a man and woman, with fair complexion, are held as slaves.

We are all in the habit of maintaining that our slaves are far better off than the common laborers of Europe, and that those laborers were infinitely better situated as feudal serfs or slaves than as freemen, or rather as slaves to capital. Now, we stultify ourselves if we maintain it would be wrong to re-

* Alas! that the confidence of our friend should be based upon so flimsy and unsubstantial a foundation. The "wish" only can be "father to the thought."
EDITOR.

mit them back to domestic slavery, which we always argue is much milder and protective than that slavery to capital, to which emancipation has subjected them. They have been wronged and injured by emancipation, would we not restore them to slavery? Or are we, too, to become Socialists, and coop them up in Greeley's Free-Love phalansteries? There are no other alternative.

Again: every Southern man in defending slavery, habitually appeals to the almost universal usages of civilized man, and argues that slavery must be natural to man, and intended by Providence as the condition of the larger portion of the race, else it could not have been so universal. What a ridiculous and absurd figure does the defender of mere negro slavery cut, who uses this argument, when the abolitionist turns round on him and says—"why, you have just admitted that white slavery was wrong, and this universal usage which you speak of has been white, not black slavery. The latter is a very recent affair."

We must defend the principle of slavery as part of the constitution of man's nature. The defence of mere negro slavery, will, nay, has involved us in a thousand absurdities and contradictions. We must take high philosophical, biblical, and historical grounds, and soar beyond the little time and space around us to the earliest records of time, and the farthest verge of civilization. Let us quit the narrow boundaries of the rice, the sugar and the cotton field, and invite the abolitionists to accompany us in our flight to the tent of Abraham, to the fields of Judea, to the halls of David and of Solomon, to the palaces and the farms of Athens and of Rome, and to the castles of the grim Barons of medieval time. Let us point to their daily routine of domestic life. Then, not till then, may we triumphantly defend negro slavery. "You see slavery everywhere, and throughout all times: you see men subjected to it by express command or by permission of God, with skins as white and intellects as good as yours. Can it be wrong to enslave the poor negro, who needs a master more than any of these?" Less than this is inconsiderate assertion, not Southern thought; nay, not thought at all.

The temptation to confine the defence of slavery to mere negro slavery is very strong, for it is obvious that they require masters under all circumstances, whilst the whites need them only under peculiar circumstances, and those circumstances such as we can hardly realize the existence of in America. May the day never arrive when our lands shall be so closely monopolized, and our population become so dense, that the poor would find slavery a happy refuge from the oppression of capital.

In the South, there is another and a stronger reason for the feeling of indignation at the bare suggestion of white slavery—that is pride of caste. No man loves liberty and hates slavery so cordially as the Southerner. Liberty is with him a privilege, or distinction, belonging to all white men. Slavery a badge of disgrace attached to an inferior race. Accustomed from childhood to connect the idea of slavery with the negro, and of liberty with the white man, it shocks his sensibilities barely to mention white slavery. 'Tis vain to talk to him of the usages of mankind, for his prejudices and prepossessions were formed long before he heard of history, and they are too strong to be reasoned away.

This peculiarity of Southerners, and other slaveholders, is admirably described by Burke, who was the most philosophic and farseeing statesman of modern times. He says, "in Virginia and the Carolinas they have a vast multitude of slaves. Where this is the case in any part of the world, those who are free are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom. Freedom is to them not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. Not seeing then that freedom, as in countries where it is a common blessing, and as broad and general as the air, may be united with much abject toil, with great misery, with all the exterior of servitude, liberty looks among them as something more noble and liberal. I do not mean to commend the superior morality of this sentiment, which has at least as much pride as virtue in it; but I cannot alter the nature of man. The fact is so; and those people of the Southern colonies are much more strongly, and with a more stubborn spirit attached to liberty, than those to the Northward. Such were all the ancient commonwealths; such were our Gothic ancestry; such, in our days, were the Poles; and such will be all masters of slaves who are not slaves themselves. In such a people, haughtiness of domination combines with the spirit of freedom, fortifies it, and renders it invisible."*

* We have introduced this subject of taxation into this article, in part, to show that universal suffrage at the North does not place the poor in any better situation than those of Europe, so long as the rights of property are respected. Capital or property is a master with unlimited power in dense populations, when lands are monopolized by the few. When property ceases to be respected, rich and poor will go down together. We have another object in introducing this subject, and that is to give a specimen of Southern Thought. This theory is conservative of slave society, and should be promulgated and taught amongst us; but it is subversive of free society, and however convinced of its truth, none but such recklessly honest men as Gerrit Smith dare avow it. In a future number we shall probably attempt to show that almost all the tenets in moral science, held in free society, are false, and that Southern Thought will have to inculcate doctrines on most subjects the reverse of theirs, yet strictly accordant with the Bible, the wisest and best of books, even if it were not inspired.

SALT—HISTORICALLY, STATISTICALLY, AND ECONOMICALLY.

NEW AND IMPROVED AMERICAN SALT MANUFACTURE.

The paper which follows, was prepared mainly for us, by Prof. R. Thomassy, an intelligent and scientific French gentleman who has been spending some time in the United States, and chiefly at the South, in the effort to extend among us the manufacture of salt, upon the largest and most comprehensive scale. He has been intrusted with many official commissions in relation to the salt works of Italy and of the French West Indies, and have, without doubt, profoundly mastered the subject in almost every possible point of view. The subject is commended to the serious attention of the reader. Our own opinions will be given on the appearance of the next number.*—EDITOR.

I.

PROGRESSIVE ASCENDENCY OF FOREIGN SALT IN AMERICA—ITS DISTRIBUTION THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES—LEGITIMATE PRIDE OF THE BRITISH SALT TRADERS, THEIR UNTIRING ZEAL TO BE IMITATED BY AMERICAN CONSUMERS—A COMING REVOLUTION IN SALT MANUFACTURING.

The imports of foreign salt into the United States is increasing yearly with a wonderful progression. It is carried on, not as in the old colonial times, by some hundred sacks of this article, but by thousands and ten thousands of sacks and tons, landed every week on the American wharves; so that every year, one, two, or three more millions of bushels are imported, as if it was to prevent the competition of a domestic manufacture by the superabundance of foreign merchandize. But the United States are the greatest consumers of salt in the world; more than one bushel to each inhabitant is the average of their individual consumption; when in Europe, the same average does not reach a half bushel. Hence, the repeal by the Congress of the old duty on the foreign salt and the welcome given to any new cargo of this vital article. See the reports of the United States Treasury: during the year 1854-'55, this importation of salt was about 13 millions of bushels, and during 1855-'56, it has been 15,405,864 bushels! Now wait for the next report of 1856-'57, and the new statement will reach probably 17 millions of bushels, costing, with the freight, at least \$3,000,000—a yearly tribute paid by American consumers, and worth, undoubtedly some consideration.

As to the main quarters of this supply, during the said year 1855-'56, they were as follows:

| | Bushels. |
|----------------------|-----------|
| Boston imported..... | 1,985,278 |
| New York “ | 3,380,436 |
| Philadelphia “ | 1,107,888 |
| Baltimore “ | 960,370 |
| Charleston “ | 858,328 |
| Savannah “ | 885,781 |
| Mobile “ | 923,182 |
| New Orleans “ | 3,338,394 |

* Mr. Thomassy's papers, which appeared in the *Charleston Mercury*, are combined into these, and completed.

And so on in other places. So that the total importation causes a waste of at least three millions of dollars, which certainly would be better applied to internal improvements and cultivation of the Southern sea-coasts.

In this general statement the special import of British salt is still more prodigious; being, for 1855-'56, 12 millions of bushels or the four-fifths of the whole importation. Such a gigantic trade looks truly like a pacific invasion, a silent and sure conquest of the American market by an article of paramount necessity, not only for human life, but also for agricultural and industrial purposes, for manuring the cotton fields, for curing provisions and fisheries, or for chemical products. All these leading industries, all these national resources of the United States, it is impossible to deny it, are, in their selling price, ruled by English salt; and British pride must certainly be satisfied in seeing the master of this prime matter enjoying in the New World, so large influence over any pursuit where this vital article is called for.

When I visited Liverpool, the distributing center of this mighty trade, I understood clearly, after visiting some of the most extensive salt works in Cheshire county, how salt, as well as iron and coal, has enhanced the British influence throughout the world. English statistics, though incomplete, by lack of official documents, have recently given us some general notions showing with how gigantic stride their domestic salt manufacture has been lately extended. "During the last year, (1855,)" says the *European Times* of Liverpool, only speaking of Winsford district, "130,000 tons of this salt was exported to the United States of America; and in the last ten months the salt sent to the same country increased to 274,000 tons—(10,960,000 bushels, or more than 13,000,000 for the whole year 1856.) The quantity shipped in the same time to British North America, Africa, Australia, and the East Indies, amounted to 274,268 tons. The export to the Baltic was 34,000 tons; coastwise, 100,000 tons; and for home consumption, 120,000 tons. The total yield for the last ten months has been about 800,000 tons;" or for the whole year nearly 1,000,000 of tons, or 40,000,000 bushels. Now to this production we must add that of Northwich, and some other places, equal to three-fourths of the preceding, and we can value and admire how this most stupendous manufacture divides its products between the national and foreign markets, yielding 20,000,000 bushels for home consumption, and 50,000,000 for supplying the remotest parts of the world, to the profit and honor of the exporting nation.

Thirty thousand English mariners are carrying abroad,

through all the seas, this paramount merchandise, when at home a laboring population, at least equal in number, depends directly for a living on its domestic production. On it, of course, an immense amount of capital is invested, and from it the most valuable benefits and social improvements are derived for the internal welfare of England. For instance, the cheapness of salt, 3 or 6 cents per bushel, causes its rapid and profitable consumption in agricultural as in industrial pursuits. The same low price created in France, fifty years ago, and is now increasing daily in England, the powerful manufacture of chemical products, which has given so great impetus to the progress of material civilization. Near Liverpool, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Glasgow, are gigantic establishments where millions of bushels of common salt are yearly decomposed by the use of sulphuric acid, and used to make immense quantities of soda-ash, bleaching powder, and various similar articles, required for the health or comfort of the great human family. The United States are once more the largest importers of these valuable British merchandises, paying for them three other millions of dollars, and acting in this new trade of prime importance as a mere country of consumers, unable to supply their own wants. Meanwhile the English chemical works, thanks to the low price of their domestic salt, are yearly increasing in value and productiveness, and for their magnitude, the perfection of the details, the consummate scientific skill of their management, are worthy to take place among the wonders of Great Britain.

England, of course, in this stupendous production and trade of salt, has availed herself of her peculiar situation. All her salt being made by artificial evaporation with iron boilers and fuel, though of the worse quality, is perfectly adapted to a country where the richest salt wells and saliferous strata, are, by navigable rivers and railroads, in direct communication with the Lancashire coal mines. Having the cheapest fuel for evaporating the strongest brine, she manufactures a bushel of salt for three or four cents, and with another trifling expense she sends it to Liverpool, of which the immediate vicinity and cosmopolite navigation admits at the cheapest freight. The fortunate connection of this shipping place with the salt works, and of the salt works with the coal fields, has caused the artificial superiority of English salt traders and manufacturers. But in spite of their skill, nature is still living, and nature works against them. Her evaporating power, refused to the wet and sunless clime of Great Britain, is a gratuitous salt maker for any more southern country, for France, Italy, Spain, and consequently for the South of the American

Union. Then gratuitous as the agency of the sun and winds, and inexhaustible as the brine given by the ocean, the natural evaporation must sooner or later supersede in salt making the British fuel, and triumphantly compete against it in the United States as well as in southern Europe.

England, herself, is perfectly aware of this change, and of this inevitable revolution; and she tries also to control better the evaporating forces of southern climates in her West Indies, as in the Bahamas and at Turk's Island. There, nature alone, has, till now, effected entirely the salt making. But already practical skill is called for. Turk's Island, for instance, not long ago, was a poor dependency of the Bahamas. By extending their natural salt ponds, and building new salt works, imitated from the old French method of making salt in St. Domingo, these barren places are become a British presidency, yielding yearly one million and a half of bushels, to the great profit of the population, and treasury of the Crown. Inagua is another British place rivalling the former in the same production, waiting for more complete improvements, and giving us a new standard of the English far-seeing policy.

A new era is coming for manufacturing the vital merchandise by a cheaper method. Any natural power, better understood, brings forth human progress. Therefore, America, availing herself of the atmospheric evaporation, will soon produce all her own salt, and enfranchise her inhabitants from any tribute paid for this supply to the old world. Like the star of empires, the progress of salt works, once more, is now westward. Small, bright, but infallible harbinger of the greatest revolution.

After the fall of the Roman Empire, of which the commercial power was built at first on the Etrusian salt works of Ostia, Venice took the lead of the same policy, and became the most skillful salt trader of the middle age in the Mediterranean market, when the old Federative France was carrying and monopolising the merchandise to the northern seas. Then Oleron Island and the renowned *La Rochelle* were supplying England, who, when allied to the French Huguenots, was taking care of her salt trade and consumption as much as of her Protestant co-religionists. At last England enfranchised her own population from the foreign supply, and became what she is now, the greatest salt trader of the world. But America waits for her turn, welcoming every new morning the mighty power of the sun, of which the gratuitous evaporation, united to the forces of her sea breezes, is now to supersede easily the costly management of English boilers and fuel, and to save the price of trans-atlantic transport in making salt everywhere at hand for any kind of domestic consumption.

II

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF THE MASTERY OF SALT—SPIRIT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR AS REGARDS THE AMERICAN SALT MANUFACTURE—STRIKING EXAMPLE OF THE SAME SPIRIT IN THE HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

To understand better how much the actual dependence on a foreign supply of salt can be injurious to the United States, we have first to examine the general influence of salt upon internal relations, and to know its unsuspected weight in the balance of power. Historical testimony is unanimous upon this subject, and the experience of mankind will be also corroborated by the double trial of the United States in the year of their political independence, and during the second war with the mother country.

At every period in the history of the world, with every advance of civilization, what do we see? The people who have abandoned to foreign nations the supply of salt, chastised, sooner or later, for their carelessness. From tribe to tribe, as from people to people, the control of this vital article has always given some ascendancy, and often an inevitable dominion, for the manufacturer of salt controls always, in some respects, the health and social well-doing of the people obliged to buy it. Who rules, indeed, the Chinese population, if not the Tartar race, who, after their first intercourse with China as salt traders, became at last the conquerors of this Empire? Thanks are due by these barbarians to the salt lakes and fossile salt so abundant in their wildernesses, by the use of which they continue their primitive trade; and loading with salt innumerable camels, take, in return, the thread, linen, and millet of China; they bring back also with them the obedience of their consumers, because salt is the most necessary article in all these exchanges.

Look at the negro race in Africa. Who are their rulers, if not the Arabs and Moors, masters of inexhaustible salt lakes and mines, whilst the poor Nigritian is absolutely deprived of salt in the interior of his deserts? Singular exception to the laws of Providence, who, after lavishing this vital element throughout the world, has refused it to the sons of Ham. Hence the manifestation of a new social law, which has established the most serious and instructive intercourse between the tropical and northern population of Africa. The want of salt in the one side, and the superabundance of it on the other, have brought nearer, as in Asia, in spite of sickly and impenetrable solitudes, the most diversified races, one born to rule, and the other to obey. Of such a relation the result was almost inevitable. The superior race uses and abuses its natural advantages; and as necessity is superior to utility, as life prevails over luxury and well being, the master of this

vital merchandise rules the market. Receiving in return the gold dust and ivory from the Nigritian, the Arabs and Moors often carry away the negro himself—obliged to give up his liberty because nature has made him dependent on a foreign supply of salt.

The English dominion in the East Indies produced in the last century an analogous social phenomenon, when the merciless Warren Hastings established his exclusive and dreadful monopoly of salt. The timorous Asiatic at this very time gives his English ruler the title of "Master of the Salt," showing by this qualification that salt is regarded by them as the infallible index of power and true privilege of conquest.

Such being the influential trade and production of salt, what ought to be done by so free, strong, and far-seeing a people as the Americans, if not to manufacture all the quantity that they consume at first, and afterward exchange the residue with inferior races or foreign countries? But how short is the indigenous production from the present consumption in the United States. Instead of producing all their salt, they are importing yearly sixteen millions of bushels, and especially all the sea salt wanted for their provisions and northern fisheries.

We must even confess it frankly: young America, confident in a dream of perpetual peace, as much perhaps as in the productive strength for every kind of wealth, does not inquire about her consumption of salt, either foreign or domestic. Very well! Let, if you will, the greatest part of this vital element remain in the hands of the mother country, and believe in her *entente cordiale*! But remember also the heroic trial of your independence, and the want and deficiency of salt during your second war against your old dominators. Keep well the records yet living on the Atlantic shores and teaching us the distress of those hard times, when your people were flocking from the Alleghany mountains to the sea coast, to make, at heavy cost, bad salt, and in limited quantity, from the ocean brine. This is worth your remembrance.

The history of the Southern States will enlighten particularly the matter put before us, and recommend itself as a testimony of general experience to be repeated. Clear, precise, and conclusive experience, which exceeds all others as the most mournful summary and faithful expression of the great drama of American liberty! At this crisis so imperious in regard to the supply of provisions of prime necessity, gunpowder and salt were equally wanted, and it was urgent to manufacture them both, as the double means of life and victory. European governments, jealous of keeping their colonies under perpetual vassalage, were also very well acquainted with the fiscal importance of the salt they were manufacturing

at the lowest price and supplying at the highest. The absolute monopoly of this article has been always the aim of their policy, and it was the most avaricious regulation of old England toward her colonial dependances. Look now at the colonies when the English salt, the only salt used for their food and of immediate necessity, rapidly diminished. A tremendous scarcity of the vital element appeared in the market, and no domestic production was ready to counteract it. Under such unforeseen circumstances, lawgivers, the very best friends of liberty and economical principle, were obliged to fix a maximum price on salt and to regulate its sale, doing what in a normal situation would have been the most anti-economical, anti-liberal. Later, in France, under similar but more tragical circumstances, the National Convention tried also, by a *maximum* price, to counteract the scarcity of 1793; but in France, also, the evil increased by the remedy itself: so that the American *maximum* of 1776 can be now better understood, and will be remembered.

Let us read in the resolutions of the provincial Congress of South Carolina, March, 1776, the full testimony of this great experience.

“Whereas, information hath been laid before the Congress, that certain persons do monopolize the necessary article of salt, and demand an extravagant price for the same; and also require specie in payment, to the detriment of the continental and colonial currency: the Congress do therefore:

“*Resolve*, That no persons do hereafter presume to sell salt for more than twenty-five shillings per bushel, (about \$6 25,) exclusive of the expense of reasonable freight or carriage to the distant part of the colony. And that Mr. Jos. Kershaw, Mr. Loockock, Mr. Samuel Prioleau, junior, Captain Maurice Simons, and Capt. Samuel Legare, for Charlestown; Mr. Daniel DeSaussure, and Mr. Thomas Hughes, for Beaufort; and Mr. George Croft and Mr. Antony Bonneau, for Georgetown, be and they are hereby appointed Commissioners, and empowered to enquire after, and buy up, out of the hands of individuals, all quantity of salt which such individuals may have more than necessary for their respective families, and to dispose of the same in small quantities at the same rate. And that the said Commissioners do also purchase all the salt which may be imported within six months.

“That Col. Laurens, Mr. Ferguson, the Rev. Mr. Tennent, Mr. Edwards, and Mr. Gibbes, be and they are hereby appointed Commissioners to erect and superintend a *Public Salt Works* at or near Charlestown; that Mr. Joseph Allston, Captain William Allston, Mr. Benjamin Young, Mr. Peter Simons, and Mr. Thomas Butler, be and they are in like

manner appointed Commissioners for a *Public Salt Works* on the Northern coast; and that Captain Thomas Tucker, Mr. Daniel Jenkins, Mr. Joseph Fickling, be and they are hereby appointed Commissioners in like manner for a *Public Salt Works* on the Southern coast of this colony. That each Board of the said Commissioners, respectively, shall have power to draw upon the colony treasury for any sum not exceeding (\$35,000) seven thousand pounds currency, for defraying the necessary expenses incurred by this service. And that they shall sell the salt, to be made at the same public works, at the most reasonable rate."* (19 March, 1776.)

In every one of these Commissioners, I am happy to recognize the names of my countrymen, the French Huguenots, who originated from the provinces of France the most advanced in the salt manufacture; practical and enthusiastic people, who, giving their arms and skill to the industrial emancipation of the New World, dedicated their hearts and hands to the conquest of religious and political freedom. Remember, also, that after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, they brought to England the French method of making salt from the sea brine by atmospheric evaporation. But under the sunless and damp skies of England, this method was, of course, unavailable, and was given up in the beginning of this century.

In relation to the public spirit of these times, South Carolina evinced a standard of it in the matter of salt, acting with wisdom, foresight and energy, as the duties of that heroic age required. We should neither forget the warm appeal made to Dr. David Ramsay, from Philadelphia, for introducing in Charleston, *by examples and writings*, the improvements of the nitre manufacture, (14th March, 1776.) Iron-work, paper mills, internal canalization, societies incorporated for the promotion of agriculture, were, at this same time, matters of the highest importance for the Carolinian law-givers. In short, they were ready to advance money to the most enterprising citizens, and encourage every useful industry, introduced with the express purpose of being carried on *in as great perfection as in any part of Europe*.† In this simple expression, what pride! Those who spoke in such a manner were very truly disenthralled from the old world by this resolution of being equal to any civilized people. They certainly were no longer

* To complete this important regulation, two days after it, the Congress adjoined Mr. Benjamin Eddings to the commission intrusted for erecting Salt Works on the Southern coast. (Page 116, Provincial Congress, 1776.)

† 23d March, 1776.—The Provincial Congress * * * *Resolved*, That the sum of three hundred pounds currency be advanced to the said Wm. Bellamy * * * for the express purpose of his forthwith erecting a proper mill for making paper, and cutting files, in as great perfection as in any part of Europe.

politically bound to their European mother country; and when the time arrived, would be no more dependent on her for the future supply of salt, as well as gunpowder, and other articles of national importance.

This patriotic and provident conduct was followed with emulation by Georgia, the younger sister of South Carolina, and by the other States of the rising confederation, each of them understanding that, without an indigenous and independent production of vital merchandize, their political independence was jeopardized.

A glorious peace crowned at last those efforts, noble in industry as well as in war; and this paramount result afforded, undoubtedly, the most practical, if not the brightest event, which characterized the Revolutionary war; it was that steady ambition spoken of for Americanizing all necessary articles of consumption, and carrying on the domestic manufacture *in as great perfection as in any part of Europe*. With this constant aim for internal improvements, all fears, indeed, were vanished; for the fruits of the conquered liberty were ripening over an indigenous tree, and the supplies gathered by the peace were always at hand to prevent any famine from a future war. Thus all emergencies, at home or abroad, were controlled, and the strongest lie given forever to the old monopolies of the British aristocracy or other European governments. In economical as much as in political respect, the new American confederation boasted rightly to be independent; the South particularly felt herself, at that time, far-seeing and wide awake on the national advantages of any domestic manufacturing, and gave her sons the experience of the past as the true standard of the future. Such was the first spirit of the Revolution, nowhere better embodied, nowhere printed in more striking characters, than in the history of South Carolina. But too soon this cautious policy was forgotten during the unbounded enjoyment of the victorious emancipation; and how much that carelessness in matter of salt production has been once more injurious to the American industry and agriculture, particularly to the cotton production, we must now recollect.

III.

NEW ATTEMPTS DURING THE WAR OF 1812, FOR DOMESTIC SALT MANUFACTURE—THE OLD AMERICAN PROCESS COMPARED WITH THE FRENCH-INDIAN METHOD OF MAKING SEA SALT—ADVANTAGES OF THIS NEW METHOD AS APPLIED TO THE SOUTHERN STATES.

The main trial of American industry during the second war of 1812 to 1814, was once more to manufacture its own salt. When the foreign supply of that article—of which everybody wants so little but wants absolutely—was stopped, one could

have seen the results of a new famine : as during the war of Independence, each fireside was inquiring for the vital merchandize, and the whole country anxious for her interior life, a true revolution took place in the housekeeping of young America, as would now befall the laboring classes of old England were they bereaved of our cotton. Salt being called for at any cost, every one was trying the best way to get it, bringing his tools to the sea-shore or a salt spring, and by boilers and fuel producing the article for his private supply or for the public market, where it was wanted more and more. Thus the manufacture and trade of this imperious merchandize became the greatest domestic business of the moment. Meanwhile, the Federal Government was quietly taking care of the salt springs and saliferous fields ; and American lawgivers through all the country, were patronizing any salt-making as the most urgent of the public interests for the internal welfare.

The old salt works, established in 1776 by the legislatures of several States, were carried on anew in South Carolina, near Charleston, Beaufort, and Georgetown ; in Virginia and Maryland, on the shores of Chesapeake Bay. Private producers undertook, in Georgia and elsewhere, to supply the same article. In short, from Massachusetts to Florida and Louisiana, a thousand spots on the Gulf and Atlantic coasts were hastily covered by similar small establishments—a curious symptom of a national industry rising again to life, under the pressure of exterior events.

The first experiment of the Revolutionary war being almost forgotten, this second trial was carried on without any more practical skill. The most elementary notions of this manufacture being misunderstood, were applied in two ways, each equally slow and expensive, but, nevertheless, worthy of recollection for the warning of future American producers. One was an imitation of the old working of salt springs in England, by artificial heat and iron boilers. The sea brine was introduced in the boilers by wind or tide mills, and evaporated with the fuel of neighboring forests till the salt crystalized. The striking defect of this process was in assimilating two brines of the most different strength ; the sea brine containing never more than four per cent. of salt ; the brine from salt springs having often from ten to eighteen per cent. that is three, four, or five times greater quantity of crystalizable matter. Every one knows that this crystalization begins when the brine is concentrated about to 25°. Thus, salt springs of 18°, for instance, require, to produce their salt, only 7° more ; but sea water of 4° wants 21°, and, for its full concentration, requires as much relative fuel and expense of management. Such was the backwarded process of making salt, from the

sea brine by artificial heat, without applying, to concentrate the same, the paramount and gratuitous evaporation of the sun and winds.

The result of this natural evaporation, so frequently seen on the sea-shore, gave the idea of the second process, an excellent idea, but so badly applied that, as it will be proved afterward, *three-fourths* of the evaporating force were lost, as they are lost even now in the renowned salt works of Syracuse. According to this second method, sea water was, by artificial means, lifted up in wide wooden vats, so disposed as to receive in the highest vat the weakest brine. From this depository, the brine, some little evaporated and cleaned, was, through wooden pipes, carried from one vat to the other, down to the lowest, where salt, at last crystalized, was gathered in a solid form. To shelter this graduation of brine from the injury of rain, wooden and moveable covers were always at hand, ready to be rolled over all these vats, or, hanging double on a pivot, to protect from the rain or expose to the sun two vats at the same time.

Twenty years ago these double covers, as used on Nantucket Island and many Northern places, were employed near Charleston, on Morris Island, where Mr. Kershaw, working his negroes when idle in summer time, once produced some thousand bushels of salt yearly. The producing expenses of the article were fifty to sixty cents a bushel by this last process; but the average price of the two methods was a great deal higher—at least one dollar. In both cases, so long as the salt was wanted at any cost, no producer could complain of the expensive manufacture of the article, its selling price being profitable. Transporters took also their profits, sometimes monopolizing the merchandize with the retailers; thus consumers of every class, compelled by necessity, paid per bushel what was asked, three, four, and even six dollars; as much as under the old despotism, when salt, iron, gunpowder, and every vital article, was forwarded to the thirteen Colonies by English monopolists.

To understand better this period in the economical history of the United States, we must remember that, from the general embargo of 1803, privations of customary merchandize, as David Ramsay tells us, put the public mind in the most impressive state. Warm addresses to the people awoke easily the revolutionary spirit favorable to manufactures. But the people needed also technical information and traditional experience. Nothing was very more ready than in 1776, for securing the practical success of necessary innovations. Of course the new salt works erected on the Atlantic coast, did not counteract the scarcity which lasted as long as the war. A document from North Carolina, printed afterward by the

Senate at Washington, gives us an important testimony on the burdensome price, bad quality, and insufficiency of merchandize at that time, when salt was required in the smallest quantity, merely for health and life, and not as yet for agricultural and industrial purposes by cotton planters in the South, farmers in the West, and fishermen in the North.

"During our Revolutionary war, when our ports were closed against accustomed supplies, our necessities compelled us, along our seaboard, to the manufacturing of boiled salt, against which we are now contending; the inhabitants of the State generally flocked here, erected their temporary boilers, and returned home with their commodity, generally inadequate to their wants, and at all times vitiated and unfit. Their provisions suffered, as might have been expected, and an unjust odium has been entailed upon all salt of domestic origin. Subsequently, when the scarcity excited by the last war suggested the idea of our present improved process upon a large scale, it may have happened that a *want of practical skill*, and the incessant and insatiable demand upon our works, might have rendered our vat salt short of its existing purity. But now, that experience has furnished its lights, and it is made superior in efficacy (as is admitted by all accustomed to its use,) *is it not folly, is it not madness, to send our funds abroad, when they might be expended among ourselves?*"

This last remark from Mr. John R. Loudon, of North Carolina, was as sensible, as patriotic, and evinces a true understanding of the financial importance of the subject.

As to the management of the same salt works, after the second peace between the United States and England, the improvement spoken of consisted only in their permanence on a larger scale along the Atlantic coast, whether built with iron boilers or wooden vats. But the manufacture itself was not at all improved by the double process applied to the concentration of sea water. The slow concentration of such a weak brine in both methods, made, as we have seen, the trial too expensive; and of course, when, in later time, unprotected by the home tariff, this domestic production became unavailable against foreign competition.

During this second period, American salt springs were almost unknown, or worked so badly that very little, and a very bad article, was gathered from them. Hence another cause of scarcity for the inhabitants of the western ranges of the Alleghany mountains. At last, in those regions, stronger saliferous strata were discovered by means of artesian wells; and more salted waters became so productive that, from the west of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York States, their products were sent toward the Atlantic coast, and, competing with superiority against the domestic sea salt, accelerated the abandonment of its backward manufacture.

The history of these salt springs and of their exploitation* progressing with the number of inhabitants, will be afterwards

*This French word "exploitation" seems worth an introduction into the American language. Its meaning is very comprehensive; for the working of the salt establishment, its management, and all the technical and commercial operations connected with it, are expressed by this single word.

an interesting one, particularly as to the application to their brine of our method of making sea salt by atmospheric evaporation. Let this only be known at present, that they are supplying nearly two-fifths of the United States; and though unfit for provisions and fisheries, still their production prevents the foreign salt from ruling the northwestern market. Salt springs are also abundant in many of the Southern States, but, generally, under circumstances very unfavorable to the transportation of their products.

At this moment, let us prefer the sea water, lifted up by high tides upon convenient places of the Atlantic shores. In order to call the attention of enterprising citizens to the cheapest and most improved method of making salt, let us show some financial results of this industry, and how far superior it is to the past or present method practised in the United States. The Salt Works of Syracuse, in New York State, are the most extensive and noticeable in the New World. There 6,000,000 bushels and more are yearly manufactured; 5,000,000 by boilers, and about 1,000,000 by solar evaporation.

When I went, near the close of 1854, to visit this splendid laboratory of human skill, I asked the producing price of the article. "It varies, in some places, ten or twelve cents a bushel; in others seven or eight." "Very well, I will take, as your standard, the *minimum* price, seven cents. Now, as it would take too long to give you my secret, I prefer to reason with your official reports. In the last report of 1854, (page 14,) Prof. Cook, appointed by Syracuse itself, tells you that *about three-fourths of the evaporating power is lost in the actual process of making salt*. Then you will understand that, by controlling all the evaporating force of the sun and winds, you could have, as we have in the south of France, three times more salt than is now made in your wooden vats; or, the same quantity three times cheaper. Indeed, for the last twenty years, the French sea salt, per 100 kilogrammes of 232 pounds, (4 bushels,) costs eight or nine cents, or about two cents per bushel. This fact is of public notoriety. By some new improvements in salt works which I introduced in Italy, in 1848, I have produced the bushel for only one and a half cent, from the brine of the Adriatic sea, which is six times weaker than yours; for it has only two and a half per cent, of salt, while yours has sixteen or eighteen per cent. Thus, in Syracuse, in spite of the richness of the brine, the cost to the manufacturer, per bushel, is seven cents, when in France and Italy it is only two cents. Why so incredible a difference? Read once more the report of Professor Cook: they lose three-fourths of their solar evaporation."*

* See, on the same subject, my article published in the Albany (N. Y.) Evening Journal, 3d January, 1855, and in DeBow's Review.

Now, every one understands that, with a method producing three times more salt, or the same quantity three times cheaper, we can easily produce, not only in Syracuse, but all along the Atlantic shores, under the bright and glorious sun of the South the bushel of salt for about two cents, instead of seven or a great deal more.

With a diminution of five cents per bushel, the total saving on six million bushels manufactured in Syracuse, would be yearly \$300,000. But we have to apply this calculation to the selling price of foreign salt, exclusively consumed in the Southern States. I take twenty-two cents as the average price of this salt, and suppose the American production ready at two cents per bushel, to compete against it, with an economic superiority of twenty cents. What will be the result upon 17,000,000 bushels imported yearly into the United States? A total saving of \$3,400,000—a handsome sum to be saved and invested in internal improvements.

As to South Carolina and Georgia, which are now consuming near 2,000,000 bushels of Liverpool salt, their yearly saving, by a domestic supply of the article, will be about \$400,000. A large and direct profit will, at the same time, derive to them from their new salt works near Charleston, or the entrance of Savannah river; for the merchandize made from the sea-brine, and by natural evaporation, has always taken the lead of the market as the best kind of salt for curing beef, pork, cheese, and other provisions, which constitute the wealth of the Western farmers. The State of Tennessee will be certainly supplied in this way with the Atlantic salt from Georgia or South Carolina, instead of the Turk's Island salt, carried from New Orleans up the Mississippi river. New Orleans herself, which, in the financial year of 1856-'57, has imported nearly 4,000,000 of bushels, will retain, by a domestic manufacture of the article, all the profits of the foreign producers, and will increase yearly the wealth of Louisiana, Texas, and Mississippi, by saving an importing sum of about \$800,000.

But these advantages are not to be compared to that of having indefinite quantities of salt at hand for agricultural purposes. For manuring the cotton field, for instance, how many millions of bushels could be sold at four or five cents, as it is in France or Italy. To supply that unlimited quantity wanted by old and new planters, how many thousand acres of sickly and marshy land would be turned into healthy, evaporating fields, and rich crystalizing rooms, depositories of this vital article, now unrivalled by the cheapness of its production.

But before entering more intimately into the peculiar improvements derivable to the South from such a domestic manufacture, let us look at the greatness of its results to the Union at large.

(TO BE COMPLETED IN OUR NEXT.)

INCREASING COMMERCIAL IMPORTANCE OF NEW ORLEANS.

Year after year, since 1845, the readers of the Review have been regularly furnished with a digest of the annual statistics of New Orleans, as published in the Prices Current, and some others of the leading Journals of that great commercial emporium. In addition to these statistics, other digests have been published by us, running both with much minutae to the very foundation of the city. No other city in the world publishes more complete and satisfactory records, and few, if any, have furnished the evidences of a more regular and sustained advance. At the close of 1845, when the first number of the Review was being prepared for the press, the aggregate value of the receipts at New Orleans reached but \$57,199,122, whilst in the year, which has just closed, that aggregate has been swelled to \$158,000,000. The comparison in a few articles of these receipts will be equally striking:

| | 1845. | 1857. |
|-----------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|
| Flour bbls. . . | 837,985 | 1,290,597 |
| Sugar bhd. . . | 93,109 | 300,000 (est'd 1857-'8.) |
| Corn sacks. . . | 1,166,120 | 1,437,051 |
| Cotton bales. . . | 985,000 | 1,513,247 |

Referring to the statistics of the present year, the Editor of the Prices Current remarks:

The year just closed has been a season of short crops and high prices; a state of things doubtless tending to the advantage of some, but not favorable to the general welfare. The most marked feature in this respect, and the one of more immediate local concern, has been the comparative failure of the cane crop, which, notwithstanding the high prices realized for the produce, has fallen about \$10,000,000 short of the product of the previous year's crop. On the other hand, the cotton interest, with some 250,000 bales deficiency in quantity, has realized an aggregate which shows some \$15,000,000 excess over the aggregate of last year. The total value of our products received from the interior, according to our annual valuation table, sums up \$158,061,369, against \$144,256,081 last year, and \$45,716,045 in 1845; showing an increase over last year of \$13,805,288, and over 1845, a period of twelve years, of \$112,345,324, or nearly 250 per cent. This, may, perhaps, be considered tolerably fair progress for a "declining" city, but with still more vigorous energies directed to the development of our mighty resources we hope soon to see the ratio of progress accelerated. An efficient agent to this end will be the speedy completion of the railroads now in progress, and a still further extension of the system. Capital is wanted for these purposes, and we say to the Northern navigation interest, as we have said on a former occasion, aid our railroads to develop our resources and you make freight for your ships. You have aided Northern railroads to "tap the West," and have thus defeated your own interest. With a more extended system of railroads and lines of propellers to insure speed and punctuality in the transportation of produce and merchandise between our own and other markets, we could not fail to witness an increased augmentation of our trade with the interior, and, as a consequence, a marked increase in the general trade and prosperity of our city.

According to the Custom-house records, the total value of exports of produce and merchandise, of the growth and manufacture of the United States, for the fiscal year ended, June 30th, was \$119,222,615, against \$110,353,436 last year;

366 INCREASING COMMERCIAL IMPORTANCE OF NEW ORLEANS.

Imports into New Orleans, from the Interior, for two years. From the 1st September, to the 31st August, in each year.

| ARTICLES. | 1856-'57. | 1855-'56. | ARTICLES. | 1856-'57. | 1855-'56. |
|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|----------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Apples.....barrels | 36,612 | 62,449 | Hides..... | 185,546 | 151,431 |
| Bacon, assorted..casks &c | 89,127 | 86,454 | Hay.....bales | 69,861 | 146,737 |
| Bacon.....barrels and bxs | 8,856 | 2,738 | Iron, Pig.....tons | 77 | 838 |
| Bacon, Hama.....hhds | 82,804 | 25,751 | Lard.....hhds | 8 | 4 |
| Bacon in bulk.....pounds | 7,680 | 173,760 | Lard.....lbs and bbls | 103,027 | 110,718 |
| Bagging.....pieces | 82,023 | 83,905 | Lard.....kegs | 93,859 | 83,790 |
| Bale Rope.....coils | 112,346 | 101,331 | Lime, Western.....bbls | 23,309 | 16,551 |
| Beans.....barrels | 3,139 | 6,758 | Lead.....pigs | 18,291 | 80,624 |
| Butter.....kegs | 82,345 | 83,119 | Lead, bar.....kegs | 385 | 341 |
| Butter.....barrels | 1,060 | 1,325 | Lead, white.....kegs | 85 | 65 |
| Beeswax.....barrels | 87 | 180 | Molasses.....bbls | 84,169 | 238,511 |
| Beef.....barrels and tierces | 80,953 | 61,059 | Oats.....bbls and sks | 398,171 | 537,180 |
| Beef, dried.....pounds | 80,980 | 19,010 | Onions.....barrels | 14,670 | 14,477 |
| Buffalo Robes.....pcks | 30 | 1 | Oil, linseed.....barrels | 10 | 168 |
| Cotton— | | | Oil, castor.....barrels | 956 | 1,520 |
| La. and Miss. bales..... | 1,063,335 | 1,170,628 | Oil, lard.....barrels | 9,074 | 10,331 |
| Lake..... | 4,187 | 4,659 | Pickles.....kgs and bbls | 113 | 197 |
| N. Ala. and Tennessee..... | 277,545 | 379,434 | Potatoes.....barrels | 74,133 | 182,556 |
| Arkansas..... | 80,993 | 102,154 | Pork.....lbs and bbls | 243,223 | 277,241 |
| Montgomery..... | 18,996 | 37,081 | Pork.....boxes | 10,924 | 6,523 |
| Mobile..... | 41,040 | 86,542 | Pork.....hhds | 2,373 | 2,398 |
| Florida..... | 4,708 | 6,136 | Pork in bulk.....pounds | 3,417,340 | 7,430,334 |
| Texas..... | 17,508 | 23,601 | Porter and Ale.....barrels | 1,733 | 1,637 |
| Corn Meal.....barrels | 856 | 240 | Packing Yarn.....reels | 1,436 | 3,514 |
| Corn in ears.....barrels | 14,719 | 41,924 | Skins, Deer.....packs | 794 | 406 |
| Corn, shelled.....sacks | 1,437,051 | 1,990,995 | Shot.....kegs | 2,745 | 3,393 |
| Cheese.....boxes | 48,979 | 49,652 | Sugar.....hhds | 62,468 | 155,219 |
| Candles.....boxes | 74,391 | 62,393 | Sugar.....barrels | 3,995 | 8,596 |
| Cider.....barrels | 17 | 59 | Soap.....boxes | 9,633 | 10,337 |
| Coal, Western.....barrels | 1,770,000 | 987,000 | Shingles.....M | 8,000 | 5,000 |
| Dried Peaches.....barrels | 235 | 236 | Staves.....M | 7,000 | 4,647 |
| Dried Apples.....barrels | 375 | 3,766 | Tallow.....barrels | 965 | 1,195 |
| Flaxseed.....tierces | 261 | 280 | Tobacco, leaf.....hhds | 55,067 | 56,090 |
| Flour.....barrels | 1,300,597 | 1,120,974 | Tobacco, Chewing.....bxs | 3,261 | 3,599 |
| Furs.....hhds, bxs, bbls | 1,740 | 1,080 | Tobacco.....hales | 151 | 109 |
| Feathers.....bags | 823 | 773 | Twine.....bundles | 2,933 | 8,655 |
| Glassware.....boxes | 30,859 | 30,323 | Whiskey.....barrels | 179,164 | 143,753 |
| Hemp.....bales | 13,003 | 16,313 | Wheat.....bbls and sks | 775,903 | 699,594 |

Comparative Statement of Receipts, Exports, and Stocks of Cotton at the following places and dates annexed.

| Ports. | Stocks Received | | Exported from September 1, 1856, to dates. | | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|--|---------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| | on hand Sept. 1. 1856. | since Sept. 1. 1856. | To Great Britain. | To France. | Other foreign ports. | Total foreign ports. | U. S. North's ports. |
| New Orleans....Aug. 31 | 6,955 | 1,449,996 | 749,485 | 253,163 | 236,069 | 1,238,717 | 923,204 |
| Mobile.....Aug. 31 | 5,005 | 434,630 | 205,907 | 88,824 | 22,540 | 316,971 | 110,375 |
| Savannah.....Aug. 18 | 1,550 | 326,989 | 138,694 | 8,504 | 16,641 | 158,839 | 163,167 |
| Charleston.....Aug. 20 | 3,144 | 394,651 | 133,876 | 40,831 | 49,438 | 229,185 | 166,330 |
| Florida.....Aug. 11 | 74 | 123,099 | 29,125 | ..... | 1,764 | 30,839 | 88,391 |
| Va. and N. O.....Aug. 15 | 843 | 39,094 | 300 | ..... | ..... | 300 | 26,745 |
| Texas.....Aug. 22 | 623 | 39,323 | 9,799 | 4,423 | 6,637 | 20,907 | 50,661 |
| New York.....Aug. 18 | 34,637 | ..... | 143,392 | 21,090 | 23,243 | 192,324 | ..... |
| Other ports.....Aug. 15 | 9,500 | ..... | 5,150 | ..... | 1,455 | 6,605 | ..... |
| Total bales..... | 62,390 | 2,903,332 | 1,419,521 | 416,890 | 413,136 | 2,249,537 | 933,033 |
| Total to date in 1856. | 141,023 | 3,493,799 | 1,915,443 | 479,965 | 551,894 | 2,947,303 | 856,555 |
| Increase this year.... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Decrease..... | 79,239 | 535,467 | 495,922 | 68,135 | 188,703 | 697,765 | 33,393 |

[33] We have taken from New Orleans the amounts received from Mobile, Florida, and Texas—from Charleston the receipts from Savannah, and from Mobile the receipts from Florida. The exports from Georgetown to New York, are added to the Charleston receipts, and exports from Darien to Liverpool and New York, are added to the Savannah receipts. Exports from Mobile, Florida, and Texas to New Orleans, and those from Savannah to Charleston, are deducted from exports to Northern ports.

Direct Imports of Coffee, Sugar, and Salt, for three years—from September 1 to August 31st.

| ARTICLES. | 1856-'57. | 1855-'56. | 1854-'55. |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Coffee—Cuba, &c.....bags. | 11 | 10,885 | 2,287 |
| Coffee—Rio.....bags. | 440,903 | 385,982 | 341,138 |
| Sugar—Cuba.....bxs. and bbls. | 29,367 | 31,665 | 20,111 |
| Sugar—Cuba.....hhds. | 21,394 | 6,839 | 443 |
| Sugar—Brazil, &c.....bxs. and bags. | 8,305 | ..... | ..... |
| Molasses—Cuba.....hhds. and tcs. | 24,453 | 122 | 114 |
| Molasses—Cuba.....bbls. | 29,531 | 1,633 | 2,261 |
| Salt—Liverpool.....sacks. | 1,051,190 | 1,035,284 | 603,298 |
| Salt—Turks' Island, &c.....bushels. | 592,778 | 735,282 | 382,298 |

Imports of Specie, for twelve years, from 1st September to 31st August.

| | |
|---------------|-------------|
| 1856-'57..... | \$6,500,015 |
| 1855-'56..... | 4,913,540 |
| 1854-'55..... | 3,746,037 |
| 1853-'54..... | 6,987,056 |
| 1852-'53..... | 7,805,226 |
| 1851-'52..... | 6,278,523 |
| 1850-'51..... | 7,937,119 |
| 1849-'50..... | 3,792,662 |
| 1848-'49..... | 2,501,250 |
| 1847-'48..... | 1,843,808 |
| 1846-'47..... | 6,680,050 |
| 1845-'46..... | 1,872,071 |

COTTON.

In regard to the prices of cotton during the several months of the past season the following figures will be of interest and value:

Table showing the quotations for Middling Cotton on the first of each month, with the rate of freight to Liverpool, and sterling bills, at same date.

| 1856-'57. | Middling. | Sterling. Per ct. prom. | Freight. d. per pound. |
|-------------|-----------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| September.. | 11 a 11½ | 9½ a 9¾ | 7-16 a |
| October.... | 11½ a 11¾ | 8½ a 9½ | ¾ a |
| November.. | 11½ a 11¾ | 8½ a 9 | 15-32 a |
| December.. | 11½ a 11¾ | 7½ a 8 | ¾ a 17-32 |
| Jan. 1857.. | 11½ a 12½ | 7½ a 7¾ | 9-16 a |
| February.. | 12½ a 12¾ | 6½ a 7½ | 9-16 a |
| March..... | 12½ a 13 | 7½ a 8 | 7-16 a 15-32 |
| April..... | 12½ a 13½ | 7½ a 8½ | 5-16 a |
| May..... | 13½ a 14 | 9½ a 9¾ | 5-16 a |
| June..... | 13½ a 14 | 9½ a 10 | 5-16 a |
| July..... | 14 a 14½ | 9½ a 10 | 11-32 a |
| August..... | 14½ a 15 | 9½ a 10 | 7-16 a |

Table showing the product of low Middling to good Middling Cotton, taking the average of each entire year for ten years, with the receipts at New Orleans and the total crop of the United States.

| | Total Crop. Bales. | Receipts at New Orleans. Bales. | Average price. Cents per lb. |
|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1847-'48..... | 2,347,634 | 1,213,305 | 6½ |
| 1848-'49..... | 2,723,596 | 1,152,382 | 6½ |
| 1849-'50..... | 2,096,706 | 837,723 | 11 |
| 1850-'51..... | 3,355,257 | 995,036 | 11 |
| 1851-'52..... | 3,015,029 | 1,429,183 | 8 |
| 1852-'53..... | 3,362,882 | 1,664,364 | 9 |
| 1853-'54..... | 2,930,027 | 1,440,779 | 8½ |
| 1854-'55..... | 2,347,339 | 1,284,763 | 9 1-16 |
| 1855-'56..... | 3,527,345 | 1,759,298 | 9 |
| 1856-'57...est'd.. | 2,935,000 | 1,613,347 | 12½ |

Table showing the amount and distribution of the United States crop for the past three years.

| | 1855-'56. | 1854-'55. | 1853-'54. |
|--------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Crop.....bales | 3,527,345 | 2,347,339 | 2,930,027 |
| Exports—G. Brit'n | 1,992,899 | 1,549,716 | 1,608,750 |
| France.. | 484,637 | 409,381 | 374,006 |
| Cont'n't. | 571,059 | 284,262 | 341,840 |
| | 2,954,616 | 2,244,209 | 2,319,146 |
| Consumpt'n U. S. | 632,729 | 593,584 | 610,571 |
| Stock, 1st Sept... | 64,171 | 143,396 | 135,603 |

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Supply and Consumption of Europe and the United States.

According to a statement made up by Mr. J. N. Cardozo, of Charleston, S. C., the supply and consumption of cotton in Europe and the United States, for the ten years ending with 1856, has been as follows:

| YEAR. | U. States Crop. | Foreign Supply. | Total. | Consump- tion in Europe. | Consump- tion in U. States. | Total. |
|-----------|--------------------|--------------------|------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------|
| 1847..... | 1,779,000 | 481,000 | 2,260,000 | 1,745,000 | 421,000 | 2,166,000 |
| 1848..... | 2,159,000 | 401,000 | 2,560,000 | 2,159,000 | 534,000 | 2,693,000 |
| 1849..... | 2,729,000 | 588,000 | 3,267,000 | 2,477,000 | 518,000 | 2,995,000 |
| 1850..... | 2,097,000 | 747,000 | 2,844,000 | 2,451,000 | 494,000 | 2,945,000 |
| 1851..... | 2,855,000 | 690,000 | 3,085,000 | 2,618,000 | 406,000 | 3,024,000 |
| 1852..... | 3,015,000 | 739,000 | 3,754,000 | 3,112,000 | 608,000 | 3,720,000 |
| 1853..... | 3,263,000 | 582,000 | 4,145,000 | 3,018,000 | 691,000 | 3,704,000 |
| 1854..... | 2,923,000 | 765,000 | 3,698,000 | 3,116,000 | 607,000 | 3,723,000 |
| 1855..... | 2,847,000 | 940,000 | 3,787,000 | 3,316,000 | 599,000 | 3,909,000 |
| 1856..... | 3,527,000 | 848,000 | 4,370,000 | 3,687,000 | 658,000 | 4,290,000 |
| | 23,699,000 | 7,016,000 | 33,705,000 | 27,644,000 | 5,525,000 | 33,169,000 |

Supply and Consumption of Europe.

The following table shows the Import, Consumption, and Stocks in the whole of Europe, for the years 1855 and 1856, and is compiled from the Annual Report of Messrs. Stolterfoht, Frost, & Co., Liverpool:

| | 1856. | 1855. |
|--------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Stock January 1st, bales..... | 587,000 | 768,000 |
| Import to 31st December— | | |
| Great Britain..... | 2,468,000 | 2,278,000 |
| France..... | 506,000 | 467,000 |
| Belgium..... | 78,000 | 63,000 |
| Holland..... | 98,000 | 89,000 |
| Germany..... | 252,000 | 197,000 |
| Trieste..... | 98,000 | 77,000 |
| Genoa..... | 56,000 | 57,000 |
| Spain..... | 147,000— | 106,000— |
| | 3,703,000 | 3,334,000 |
| Total Supply..... | 4,290,000 | 4,102,000 |
| Deduct Exports..... | 214,000 | 199,000 |
| Deduct Stock, December 31st... | 439,000— | 557,000— |
| | 3,637,000 | 3,316,000 |
| Sources of Supply. | | |
| United States..... | 2,678,000 | 2,394,000 |
| Brazil..... | 159,000 | 165,000 |
| West Indies..... | 31,000 | 31,000 |
| East Indies..... | 653,000 | 549,000 |
| Egypt..... | 182,000— | 195,000— |
| | 3,703,000 | 3,334,000 |

The following tables, which have explanatory captions, we have compiled from our records, under the impression that they would probably be found interesting to parties engaged in the Cotton Trade.

| | Date of receipt of first bale. | Receipts of new crop to Sept. 1. | Total receipts at New Orleans. | Total crop of the United States. |
|-----------|--------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1845..... | July 30. | 6,846 | 1845-'46..1,033,633 | 2,100,537 |
| 1846..... | Aug. 7. | 140 | 1846-'47.. 740,669 | 1,778,651 |
| 1847..... | Aug. 9. | 1,089 | 1847-'48..1,213,805 | 2,347,634 |
| 1848..... | Aug. 6. | 2,864 | 1848-'49..1,142,382 | 2,728,596 |
| 1849..... | Aug. 7. | 477 | 1849-'50.. 837,723 | 2,096,706 |

TOBACCO AND COTTON TRADE.

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| | | | | |
|-------------------|--------|------------|-----------|-------------|
| 1850.....Aug. 11. | 67 | 1850-'51.. | 995,086 | 2,355,257 |
| 1851.....July 25. | 3,155 | 1851-'52.. | 1,429,183 | 3,015,029 |
| 1852.....Aug. 2. | 5,077 | 1852-'53.. | 1,664,864 | 3,262,682 |
| 1853.....Aug. 9. | 74 | 1853-'54.. | 1,440,779 | 2,980,027 |
| 1854.....July 25. | 1,391 | 1854-'55.. | 1,284,768 | 2,847,839 |
| 1855.....July 26. | 23,282 | 1855-'56.. | 1,759,293 | 3,527,845 |
| 1856.....July 15. | 1,166 | 1856-'57.. | 1,513,247 | *2,935,000 |
| 1857.....Aug. 15. | 33 | | | * estimate. |

| Seasons. | Receipts at N. Orleans. | Average price per bale. | Total value. |
|----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| 1845-'46..... | 1,053,633 | \$32 00 | 33,716,256 |
| 1846-'47..... | 740,669 | 44 00 | 32,589,436 |
| 1847-'48..... | 1,213,805 | 29 00 | 35,200,345 |
| 1848-'49..... | 1,142,382 | 27 00 | 30,844,314 |
| 1849-'50..... | 837,723 | 50 00 | 41,886,150 |
| 1850-'51..... | 995,036 | 49 00 | 48,756,764 |
| 1851-'52..... | 1,429,183 | 34 00 | 48,592,222 |
| 1852-'53..... | 1,664,864 | 41 00 | 68,259,424 |
| 1853-'54..... | 1,440,779 | 38 00 | 54,749,603 |
| 1854-'55..... | 1,284,768 | 40 00 | 51,390,720 |
| 1855-'56..... | 1,759,293 | 40 00 | 70,371,720 |
| 1856-'57..... | 1,513,247 | 57 00 | 86,255,079 |
| Total, 12 years..... | 15,075,382 | | \$602,612,033 |

It will be seen by the above table that the Cotton alone, sold in this market within the past twelve years, has yielded a gross product of \$602,612,032.

TOBACCO.

The quality of the last crop was very inferior, fully one-half being more or less injured by frost, and it embraced but a very limited proportion of fine Tobaccos, either heavy or light.

With respect to the growing crop, we would briefly remark, that a succession of frosts in the spring has made it a very late one, and thus rendered the result more uncertain than if an early maturity could have been assured. With the breadth of land planted, however, it seems to be the general impression that the receipts here, which must be exclusively of this year's growth, the interior being now bare of stock, are likely to approach those of 1852-'53, when they were about 75,000 hhds. The quality, however, will mainly depend upon the character of the season from this time forward.

The following table, made up to the 30th November of each year, shows as nearly as possible the proportion of each separate crop received at this port:

| | | |
|--|--------|-------|
| From December 1, 1842, to November 30, 1843..... | 98,530 | hhds. |
| " " 1843, " 1844..... | 78,443 | " |
| " " 1844, " 1845..... | 74,033 | " |
| " " 1845, " 1846..... | 67,812 | " |
| " " 1846, " 1847..... | 61,712 | " |
| " " 1847, " 1848..... | 50,669 | " |
| " " 1848, " 1849..... | 59,230 | " |
| " " 1849, " 1850..... | 56,798 | " |
| " " 1850, " 1851..... | 65,048 | " |
| " " 1851, " 1852..... | 96,904 | " |
| " " 1852, " 1853..... | 67,403 | " |
| " " 1853, " 1854..... | 47,763 | " |
| " " 1854, " 1855..... | 54,020 | " |
| " " 1855, " 1856..... | 55,934 | " |

SUGAR.

We have compiled from our records, says the Prices Current, the annexed statement of the sugar product of Louisiana for the past twenty-three years, showing the amount of each year's crop in hogsheads and pounds, with the gross average value per hoghead and total, the proportions taken by Atlantic ports and Western States, and the date of the first receipt of each crop. By this statement it will be seen that the total product of Louisiana from 1834 to 1856 inclusive, a period of twenty-three years, was 3,972,716 hogsheads, valued at \$204,131,228, and that of this quantity the Atlantic ports took 1,317,883 hogsheads and the Western States, 1,974,103 hogsheads. The crops from 1828 (which is as far back as our estimates extend) to 1833, summed up 281,000 hogsheads; which would make the total product in a period of twenty-seven years 4,253,716 hogsheads, or 4,477,068,000 pounds. We would here remark, that up to 1848, the product in hogsheads is estimated, and 1,000 pounds taken as the average weight per hoghead, but for the crop since that date we have taken the figures of Mr. P. A. Champomier, as we find them in his Annual Statements.

| Year. | Total crop. Hhds. | Av. price per hhd. | Total value. | Exported to At- lantic ports hhd. | Exp'd to Western States hhd. | First re- ceipts of new crop. |
|---------|----------------------|-----------------------|--------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1834... | 100,000 | \$60 00 | \$6,000,000 | 45,500 | 44,500 | Oct. 15. |
| 1835... | 30,000 | 90 00 | 2,700,000 | 1,500 | 23,500 | Nov. 5. |
| 1836... | 70,000 | 60 00 | 4,200,000 | 26,300 | 35,000 | Nov. 1. |
| 1837... | 65,000 | 62 50 | 5,062,500 | 24,500 | 32,500 | Nov. 1. |
| 1838... | 70,000 | 62 50 | 4,375,000 | 26,500 | 32,500 | Oct. 17. |
| 1839... | 115,000 | 50 00 | 5,750,000 | 42,600 | 58,000 | Oct. 13. |
| 1840... | 87,000 | 55 00 | 4,785,000 | 38,500 | 46,500 | Oct. 14. |
| 1841... | 90,000 | 40 00 | 3,600,000 | 28,000 | 50,000 | Oct. 13. |
| 1842... | 140,000 | 42 50 | 4,750,000 | 63,000 | 60,000 | Oct. 12. |
| 1843... | 100,000 | 60 00 | 6,000,000 | 34,000 | 52,000 | Oct. 22. |
| 1844... | 200,000 | 45 00 | 9,000,000 | 101,000 | 70,000 | Oct. 5. |
| 1845... | 186,650 | 55 00 | 10,265,750 | 79,000 | 75,000 | Oct. 4. |
| 1846... | 140,000 | 70 00 | 9,800,000 | 45,500 | 70,000 | Oct. 7. |
| 1847... | 240,000 | 40 00 | 9,600,000 | 84,000 | 115,000 | Oct. 2. |
| 1848... | 220,000 | 40 00 | 8,800,000 | 90,000 | 103,000 | Oct. 5. |
| 1849... | 247,923 | 50 00 | 12,396,150 | 90,000 | 125,000 | Oct. 11. |
| 1850... | 211,303 | 60 00 | 12,678,180 | 45,000 | 123,000 | Oct. 17. |
| 1851... | 236,547 | 50 00 | 11,827,350 | 42,000 | 149,000 | Oct. 19. |
| 1852... | 321,931 | 48 00 | 15,452,688 | 82,000 | 206,000 | Oct. 9. |
| 1853... | 449,324 | 35 00 | 15,726,340 | 166,000 | 185,000 | Oct. 6. |
| 1854... | 346,635 | 52 00 | 18,025,020 | 122,000 | 143,000 | Oct. 4. |
| 1855... | 231,427 | 70 00 | 16,199,890 | 39,133 | 131,027 | Oct. 10. |
| 1856... | 73,976 | 110 00 | 8,137,360 | 1,850 | 39,576 | Nov. 3. |
| Total. | 3,972,716 | | 204,131,228 | 1,317,883 | 1,974,103 | |

With respect to the coming crop, we may remark that it is understood to give very fair promise. The plant generally came up well, under the genial weather of the early spring, but its progress was checked by the subsequent unreasonable frosts; and the general low temperature of the later spring months, together with a lack of sufficient moisture, so retarded its growth that up to a late period of the season, the crops presented a comparatively stunted appearance. The refreshing rains of July and August, however, had a favorable influence, and the promise is now said to be flattering for such a crop as will effectually refute the assertion that the cane has "*died out*" in Louisiana; and this, without any aid from the foreign seed imported at the national expense, which, so far as we have been able to learn, proved an entire failure, as did also some private enterprises of a similar character. We are not accustomed to put forth estimates of the probable extent of crop, but the season is a peculiar one in the circumstances connected with the sugar trade, and we think it well for all concerned—producers, dealers, and consumers—to be advised that, with a favorable season for maturing and gathering the crop, our State will be likely

to furnish in the neighborhood of 300,000 hogsheads of the quantity which will be required for the consumption of the United States in the coming year.

Touching the market prospects for the crop, we conceive that they are of an encouraging character for the planter. True, with the immense difference in the amount of production, as compared with last year, the unusually large stocks of foreign sugar to compete with and a greatly increased product from the Maple tree, it can hardly be expected that the high average of the past year can be realized; still we look for such prices as will yield an aggregate much above that obtained for any previous crop raised in Louisiana.

BREADSTUFFS.

The annexed table shows the exports of Breadstuffs from the United States to Great Britain and Ireland, and to Continental ports, since 1st September, and a comparison with the same period last year:

To Great Britain and Ireland.

| | 1856-'57. | 1855-'56. | Decrease. |
|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Flour.....barrels | 864,275 | 1,647,513 | 783,238 |
| Corn Meal.....barrels | 586 | 8,271 | 7,685 |
| Wheat.....bushels | 7,507,362 | 7,532,542 | 25,180 |
| Corn.....bushels | 4,712,363 | 6,855,995 | 2,143,632 |

To Continental Ports.

| | 1856-'57. | 1855-'56. | Decrease. |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| Flour.....barrels | 481,011 | 739,952 | 257,941 |
| Rye.....bushels | 216,162 | 1,953,299 | 1,737,137 |
| Wheat.....bushels | 2,873,275 | 2,489,777 | Inc. 383,498 |
| Corn.....bushels | 543,590 | 273,810 | Inc. 269,780 |

COFFEE.

The annexed table presents a comparison of the direct imports into the port of New Orleans for the past fourteen years:

| | From Rio de Janeiro. | From Cuba, Laguara, &c. |
|-----------|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1844..... | 161,082 | 52,857 |
| 1845..... | 167,669 | 4,094 |
| 1846..... | 215,031 | 10,899 |
| 1847..... | 205,111 | 43,931 |
| 1848..... | 239,371 | 8,590 |
| 1849..... | 299,129 | 16,341 |
| 1850..... | 225,013 | 20,627 |
| 1851..... | 274,690 | 10,367 |
| 1852..... | 353,616 | 12,525 |
| 1853..... | 338,412 | 10,813 |
| 1854..... | 228,660 | 11,057 |
| 1855..... | 341,138 | 2,287 |
| 1856..... | 379,232 | 10,885 |
| 1857..... | 427,323 | 6,057 |

FREIGHTS.

Short crops of our leading staples and the return of a large amount of tonnage from the transport to the merchant service, have combined to depress freights to a very low point during the past season, and the average of rates is considerably below that of last year. The following table, which shows the

highest and lowest points in each month for Cotton to Liverpool, will indicate the course of the market throughout the season at New Orleans:

| 1856-'57. | Highest. | Lowest. | 1856-'57. | Highest. | Lowest. |
|----------------|------------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|
| September..... | $\frac{1}{2}$ d. | 7-16d. | March..... | 15-32 | 5-16 |
| October..... | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 15-32 | April..... | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 3-16 |
| November..... | 17-32 | 7-16 | May..... | 5-16 | 3-16 |
| December..... | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 9-16 | June..... | 5-16 | 3-16 |
| January..... | 9-16 | $\frac{1}{2}$ | July..... | 7-16 | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| February..... | 19-32 | 7-16 | August..... | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 7-16 |

The total number of arrivals at this port since 1st September, according to our records, is 1,934—viz: 729 ships, 212 steamships, 321 barka, 231 brigs, and 441 schooners. Showing a decrease of 145 ships, 22 steamships, 54 barka, 30 brigs, and an increase of 42 schooners. The entries at the Customhouse for the year ended June 30th were as follows: whole number of vessels 2,179; tonnage 1,082,735; showing a decrease, as compared with last year, of 134 vessels and 72,401 tons. Included in the arrivals are 323 foreign vessels, with a total measurement of 140,860 tons; showing a decrease of 83 vessels and 50,909 tons.

EXPORTS

Value of Exports and Shipments of Domestic Produce from the port of New Orleans, for the fiscal year of the Government, ending on 30th June, 1857.

To Foreign Countries—

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------|
| Quarter ending Sept. 30, 1856..... | \$6,819,214 |
| Quarter ending Dec. 31, 1856..... | 21,873,582 |
| Quarter ending March 31, 1857..... | 39,741,454 |
| Quarter ending June 30, 1857..... | 23,587,086 |

891,514,986

To Coastwise Ports—

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------|
| Qr. end'g Sept. 30, 1856.. | \$3,460,299 |
| Qr. end'g Dec. 31, 1856.. | 8,600,010 |
| Qr. end'g Mar. 31, 1857.. | 8,845,984 |
| Qr. end'g June 30, 1857.. | 6,802,046 |
| | \$27,708,339 |

Total exports for the year.....\$119,929,615

Comparative value of Exports of Domestic Produce, for the year ending June 30, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, and 1857.

| | | |
|-------------|--------------------------|--------------|
| Year ending | June 30, 1853 (total) .. | \$98,464,192 |
| " " | June 30, 1854 (total) .. | 88,978,606 |
| " " | June 30, 1855 (total) .. | 88,667,996 |
| " " | June 30, 1856 (total) .. | 110,858,486 |
| " " | June 30, 1857 (total) .. | 119,232,615 |

Comparative value of Exports of Domestic Produce to Foreign countries, for the years ending June 30, for five years.

| | | |
|-------------|--------------------|--------------|
| Year ending | June 30, 1857..... | \$91,514,286 |
| " " | June 30, 1856..... | 90,547,968 |
| " " | June 30, 1855..... | 55,668,552 |
| " " | June 30, 1854..... | 60,172,628 |
| " " | June 30, 1853..... | 67,168,794 |

IMPORTS

Imports of Merchandise, Bullion, and Specie, at the port of New Orleans, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1857.

| 1856. | Dutiable. | Free. Specie, &c. | |
|----------------|------------|-------------------|-----------|
| July..... | 1,054,958 | 369,994 | 96,029 |
| August..... | 566,135 | 15,045 | 189,795 |
| September..... | 1,173,463 | 317,093 | 67,094 |
| October..... | 1,140,384 | 616,123 | 126,303 |
| November..... | 1,200,746 | 112,413 | 85,786 |
| December..... | 1,374,380 | 1,260,837 | 29,611 |
| 1857. | | | |
| January..... | 1,573,718 | 876,919 | 193,193 |
| February..... | 1,497,144 | 920,343 | 141,330 |
| March..... | 829,498 | 304,178 | 150,850 |
| April..... | 1,381,503 | 312,769 | 545,090 |
| May..... | 1,986,309 | 745,837 | 288,062 |
| June..... | 1,389,063 | 796,314 | ..... |
| | 16,417,085 | 6,637,076 | 1,927,099 |
| | | 16,417,085 | |
| | | 23,054,111 | |

28.054.111

Comparative Statement of value of Imports through the Customhouse, New Orleans, for the fiscal year ending on the 30th June, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, and 1857.

| Year end'g June, 1858. | 1854. | 1855. |
|-------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Dutiable..... | 8,019,029 | 6,889,002 |
| Free..... | 4,372,252 | 2,971,170 |
| Bullion & spec. | 1,862,893 | 1,687,486 |
| | <hr/> 13,654,118 | <hr/> 11,547,658 |
| Year ending June..... | 1856. | 1857. |
| Dutiable..... | 8,990,985 | 10,417,085 |
| Free..... | 6,417,296 | 6,687,076 |
| Specie and Bullion..... | 1,775,148 | 1,937,089 |
| | <hr/> 17,183,429 | <hr/> 19,041,250 |

RECAPITULATION.

| | | |
|--|---------------|--------------|
| Total value of Imports for the year ending | June 30, 1857 | \$24,982,149 |
| " " " | June 30, 1856 | 17,188,837 |
| " " " | June 30, 1855 | 12,928,608 |
| " " " | June 30, 1854 | 14,403,750 |
| " " " | June 30, 1853 | 18,664,118 |

Comparative Arrivals, Exports, and Stocks of Cotton and Tobacco at New Orleans, for ten years, from 1st September each year.

| YEARS. | COTTON—BALES. | | | TOBACCO—HEADS. | | |
|--------------|---------------|-----------|--------|----------------|----------|--------|
| | Arrivals. | Exports. | Stock. | Arrivals. | Exports. | Stock. |
| 1856-'57.... | 1,513,247 | 1,516,921 | 7,321 | 55,067 | 50,181 | 13,711 |
| 1855-'56.... | 1,759,293 | 1,795,023 | 6,995 | 56,090 | 59,074 | 9,125 |
| 1854-'55.... | 1,284,768 | 1,270,264 | 39,425 | 53,348 | 64,100 | 12,653 |
| 1853-'54.... | 1,440,779 | 1,429,180 | 24,121 | 48,905 | 53,043 | 24,045 |
| 1852-'53.... | 1,664,864 | 1,644,981 | 10,522 | 75,010 | 64,075 | 29,166 |
| 1851-'52.... | 1,429,183 | 1,435,815 | 9,758 | 89,675 | 93,715 | 18,831 |
| 1850-'51.... | 995,036 | 997,458 | 15,390 | 64,030 | 54,501 | 23,871 |
| 1849-'50.... | 837,723 | 838,591 | 16,612 | 60,304 | 57,955 | 14,842 |
| 1848-'49.... | 1,142,382 | 1,167,303 | 15,480 | 52,335 | 52,896 | 13,293 |
| 1847-'48.... | 1,213,805 | 1,201,897 | 37,401 | 55,882 | 60,364 | 14,851 |

Exports of Cotton and Tobacco from New Orleans for three years—Commencing September 1, and ending August 31.

| WHITHER EXPORTED. | COTTON—BALES. | | | TOBACCO—HOGSHEADS. | | |
|------------------------------|---------------|-----------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|-----------|
| | 1856-'57. | 1855-'56. | 1854-'55. | 1856-'57. | 1855-'56. | 1854-'55. |
| Liverpool | 721,111 | 931,541 | 702,541 | 6,164 | 2,931 | 5,272 |
| London ..... | ..... | ..... | 833 | 5,179 | 4,600 | 7,571 |
| Glasgow, Greenock, &c..... | 13,980 | 26,018 | 8,621 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Cowes, Falmouth, &c | 5,494 | 8,605 | 3,460 | 103 | ..... | 549 |
| Cork, Belfast, &c... | 8,900 | 20,458 | 1,873 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Havre | 247,481 | 227,152 | 168,650 | 143 | 3,844 | 8,430 |
| Bordeaux..... | 2,386 | 2,811 | 1,814 | 213 | 194 | 3,056 |
| Marseilles..... | 2,833 | 8,819 | 3,486 | 932 | 1,904 | 6,661 |
| Nantz, Cette, and Rouen..... | 5,463 | 6,032 | 4,873 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Amsterdam..... | 4,330 | 7,807 | 1,875 | 14 | ..... | 100 |
| Rotterdam & Ghent. | 6,736 | 6,400 | 1,907 | 623 | 560 | ..... |
| Bremen | 55,835 | 58,288 | 29,451 | 10,667 | 8,240 | 5,293 |
| Antwerp, &c..... | 15,089 | 18,147 | 7,877 | 3,725 | 3,747 | 2,492 |
| Hamburg..... | 11,500 | 21,382 | 5,661 | ..... | ..... | 46 |
| Gottenburg & Stockholm | 19,294 | 20,167 | 15,861 | 121 | 823 | 904 |
| Spain, Gibraltar, &c | 58,530 | 83,174 | 47,154 | 4,671 | 14,279 | 7,618 |
| Mexico, &c..... | 17,737 | 17,291 | 18,787 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Genoa, Trieste, &c.. | 53,352 | 78,347 | 43,223 | 5,457 | 4,472 | 4,947 |
| St. Petersburg, &c.. | 43,666 | 30,534 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Other Foreign ports. | ..... | ..... | ..... | 3,537 | 4,324 | 3,714 |
| New York..... | 50,653 | 51,340 | 69,959 | 6,245 | 7,176 | 6,019 |
| Boston..... | 153,183 | 151,469 | 118,675 | 1,446 | 1,408 | 739 |
| Providence, R. I.... | 4,090 | 2,834 | 1,458 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Philadelphia..... | 13,979 | 10,532 | 8,105 | 843 | 410 | 489 |
| Baltimore..... | 1,255 | 3,173 | 4,070 | 66 | ..... | 103 |
| Portsmouth..... | ..... | 1,540 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Other coastwise ports | 94 | 1,212 | 50 | 82 | 162 | 97 |
| Western States..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |

Total..... 1,516,921 1,795,023 1,270,264 50,181 59,074 64,100

RECAPITULATION.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|---------|---------|---------|--------|--------|--------|
| Great Britain..... | 749,485 | 986,622 | 717,328 | 11,446 | 7,531 | 13,392 |
| France..... | 258,168 | 244,814 | 178,823 | 1,288 | 5,942 | 18,147 |
| North of Europe.... | 156,430 | 162,675 | 62,632 | 15,150 | 13,370 | 9,247 |
| S. Europe, Mexico &c | 129,619 | 178,812 | 109,164 | 13,665 | 23,075 | 15,867 |
| Coastwise..... | 223,204 | 222,100 | 202,317 | 8,632 | 9,156 | 7,447 |

Total..... 1,516,921 1,795,023 1,270,264 50,181 59,074 64,100

374 INCREASING COMMERCIAL IMPORTANCE OF NEW ORLEANS.

Exports of Sugar and Molasses from New Orleans for two years, (up the river excepted) from September 1 to August 31.

| WHITHER EXPORTED. | 1856-'57. | | | | 1855-'56. | | | |
|---|-----------|-------|-----------|--------|-----------|-------|-----------|---------|
| | SUGAR. | | MOLASSES. | | SUGAR. | | MOLASSES. | |
| | hhds. | bbls. | hhds. | bbls. | hhds. | bbls. | hhds. | bbls. |
| New York..... | 387 | 40 | .... | 6,917 | 14,479 | 3,438 | .... | 45,745 |
| Philadelphia..... | 55 | ..... | .... | 1,184 | 2,840 | 1 | .... | 10,863 |
| Charleston, S. C..... | 171 | 15 | .... | 1,330 | 3,688 | 9 | .... | 12,932 |
| Savannah..... | 38 | ..... | .... | 340 | 759 | 54 | .... | 4,001 |
| Providence & Bristol, R. I..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 50 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1,201 |
| Boston..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1,226 | 430 | ..... | ..... | 12,227 |
| Baltimore..... | 680 | ..... | ..... | 1,372 | 11,880 | 554 | ..... | 15,784 |
| Norfolk, Richmond, & Petersburg, Va..... | 508 | ..... | ..... | 1,622 | 4,618 | ..... | ..... | 6,037 |
| Alexandria, D. C..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 499 | ..... | ..... | 591 |
| Mobile..... | 5,050 | 22 | .... | 6,662 | 7,696 | ..... | ..... | 20,208 |
| Apalachicola & Pen- sacola..... | 539 | 578 | .... | 1,076 | 1,161 | 417 | .... | 3,872 |
| Other Ports..... | 1,944 | 1,870 | .... | 2,777 | 3,459 | 1,410 | .... | 9,506 |
| Total..... | 9,372 | 2,525 | .... | 24,556 | 51,018 | 5,883 | .... | 142,967 |

Exports of Flour, Pork, Bacon, Lard, Beef, Lead, Whiskey, and Corn, from September 1 to August 31.

| PORTS. | 1856-'57. | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| | Flour, barrels. | PORK, barrels. | BACON, casks. | LARD, kegs. | BEEF, barrels. | LEAD, pigs. | WHISKEY, barrels. | CORN, sacks. |
| New York..... | 141,494 | 46,693 | 2,979 | 183,688 | 5,597 | 10,987 | 1,956 | 26,067 |
| Boston..... | 241,466 | 58,735 | 2,723 | 57,308 | 10,337 | 6,242 | 8,225 | 55,822 |
| Philadelphia..... | ..... | ..... | 9 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 849 | ..... |
| Baltimore..... | ..... | 2,847 | ..... | 1,480 | ..... | ..... | 256 | ..... |
| Other coast ports..... | 141,148 | 18,674 | 25,631 | 17,941 | ..... | ..... | 46,884 | 204,806 |
| Great Britain..... | 73,758 | 15,958 | 4,716 | 153,611 | 1,299 | ..... | ..... | 250,641 |
| Cuba..... | 17,974 | 1,430 | 1,740 | 185,090 | 814 | ..... | ..... | 59,735 |
| Other foreign ports..... | 290,776 | 4,722 | 644 | 49,758 | 908 | 96 | 1,088 | 115,235 |
| Total..... | 904,910 | 145,174 | 23,447 | 648,866 | 18,726 | 17,275 | 60,058 | 711,623 |

In the above, the Exports to Mobile, &c., via the Pontchartrain Railroad and New Canal, are included.

Monthly arrivals of ships, barks, brigs, schooners, and steamboats, for 2 years, from September 1 to August 31.

| Months. | 1856-'57 | | | | | | 1855-'56 | | | | | |
|----------------|----------|--------|--------|------------|------------|--------|----------|--------|--------|------------|------------|--------|
| | Ships. | Barks. | Brigs. | Schooners. | St. Ships. | Total. | Ships. | Barks. | Brigs. | Schooners. | St. Ships. | Total. |
| September..... | 25 | 13 | 9 | 16 | 10 | 83 | 131 | 97 | 18 | 19 | 14 | 27 |
| October..... | 65 | 23 | 19 | 33 | 15 | 154 | 234 | 99 | 29 | 25 | 30 | 308 |
| November..... | 100 | 26 | 22 | 31 | 17 | 206 | 279 | 124 | 51 | 49 | 23 | 329 |
| December..... | 89 | 44 | 22 | 26 | 15 | 196 | 331 | 90 | 40 | 34 | 23 | 321 |
| January..... | 94 | 29 | 23 | 59 | 23 | 231 | 253 | 130 | 59 | 97 | 49 | 237 |
| February..... | 96 | 43 | 23 | 43 | 16 | 226 | 237 | 69 | 94 | 28 | 39 | 17 |
| March..... | 77 | 28 | 35 | 70 | 24 | 234 | 298 | 80 | 34 | 29 | 49 | 201 |
| April..... | 74 | 30 | 31 | 50 | 23 | 188 | 250 | 104 | 48 | 24 | 40 | 230 |
| May..... | 43 | 29 | 18 | 43 | 23 | 164 | 225 | 43 | 18 | 17 | 34 | 131 |
| June..... | 23 | 25 | 21 | 34 | 23 | 123 | 210 | 68 | 34 | 15 | 25 | 91 |
| July..... | 11 | 11 | 19 | 30 | 13 | 87 | 129 | 27 | 21 | 14 | 23 | 109 |
| August..... | 20 | 9 | 6 | 13 | 10 | 57 | 118 | 10 | 10 | 6 | 18 | 57 |
| Total..... | 729 | 321 | 231 | 441 | 212 | 1,984 | 2,745 | 874 | 375 | 261 | 399 | 1,243 |

The New Orleans Delta, Picayune, Bulletin, and Crescent, contain very admirable digests of the commerce of the city. The reports of the other papers, for the present season, we have not seen. The Bulletin remarks, as follows :

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.—With regard to our internal improvements, the time has now arrived when we can in some degree estimate their practical effect and the extent of their benefits to the trade of our market. The road which is penetrating the interior Cotton districts of this State and Mississippi, has already proved of great benefit and convenience to the planters within its reach, and our factors who are engaged in the trade. Offering a certain means of transportation at all seasons of the year, it enables the planter to make his engagements with his factor under a certainty of sending his crop to market at the moment when it may be required to meet them, or the course of prices may make it his interest to sell. In other districts, where the movement of the crop depends upon the stage of rivers or bayous, heavy losses and serious disappointments have often been incurred from the impracticability of bringing it forward when necessary to command favorable rates or meet factors' acceptancies, and with abundant means to liquidate all his debts the planter has found them totally unavailable, and the factor exposed to protest and ruin, from his inability to meet his engagements. Hence, in those districts where there is the most danger of such disappointments, factors have been justly reluctant to incur liabilities predicated on the anticipated crop, to the extent to which they may be safely made in more convenient localities. In this particular, the plantations within reach of the rail, are now on an equality with those on the river, which for this reason have always been preferred to those on the interior streams and bayous. In estimating then the advantages our commercial community has derived from the operation of the Jackson Railroad, we must not confine our attention to the amount of transportation on it, and the tolls received, but also consider the saving to the planter and factor from their being able to realize at the most convenient or advantageous moment. This has been less apparent during the past season from the upward tendency of prices having favored those who were compelled by low water, etc. to hold their stocks until a late period; but has still been too clearly manifested not to give an increased value to plantations on the line of the road, and make their trade an object of increased competition among the New Orleans factors. The controlling influence of the laws of supply and demand, cannot fail to lead to the dense settlement and thorough cultivation of all the cotton lands on the line of this road; but much may be done by our factors, as well as the Directors and Stockholders of the Company, to expedite the movement, by a fair representation of the facts. While we deprecate as unjust, and, in the end, impolitic, any exaggerated statements on the subject, we cannot but see the beneficial results that might arise from a full and reliable exposition of the peculiar advantages offered by the planting districts commanded by this market. That which is well known among ourselves, we are too apt to incorrectly suppose is known to all others; while in point of fact, many things patent to the majority of our citizens, are contrary to the general impression of others. Among such are the industrial resources of extensive tracts of country tapped by the Great Northern and Great Western Railroads. Considering the mildness and salubrity of the climate, the fertility and variety of soil, the extent of timber, and the amount of water power, together with accessibility to market, at all seasons, independent of the stage of rivers, or the influences of weather, these lands offer inducements to emigrants from Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, which are far from being appreciated.

There is verge and scope enough in our vicinity for all the slave labor that can be spared from any of the Southern States, nor would the annexation of any new slave State open a more profitable field than is presented by the lands hitherto comparatively inaccessible, which have been brought within reach of market by our internal improvements. But the advantages of these new lands are by no means confined to slave labor. There are also within our neighborhood extensive, fertile, and salubrious tracts in which free labor would find a most profitable field, and materially add to our commercial resources and wealth.

The same paper thus remarks upon the **LUMBER AND NAVAL STORE TRADE OF THE CITY.**

The commerce that has recently sprung up in one article alone, is an indication of what may be expected from the enterprise of free laborers. We refer to the lumber trade, which has exhibited the surprising feature of supplying to a large extent the St. Louis market, with timber from our magnificent pine forests, of superior quality, and at more satisfactory prices than it could be laid down there from any other quarter. The various branches of industry which would be stimulated by an increased development of this interest would build up towns and villages in the interior, and largely increase the population of our own city. The same remark is applicable to our trade in naval stores, which may yet be regarded as in its infancy, but which may be made a prominent source of our commercial wealth. Our market, for this article, is in fact waiting for the producer. Our present supplies are but little more than sufficient for our own wants, the small surplus made being mostly taken for the West, but developed as it might be, New Orleans may become one of the principal exporters of naval Stores to Europe. A fair exposition of the industrial resources we have designated, is in fact essential to our prosperity, and we think affords a legitimate subject for action to the Chamber of Commerce, the Directories of the two Railroads, and the City Government.

The closing suggestions of the Bulletin are worthy of the serious attention of the commercial community.

In closing this review, we would again direct public attention to some of the means by which our trade may be extended, and the prosperity of our commercial interest promoted. Among these are the extension and multiplication of railroad communication with the interior, and the encouragements of those lines in particular which will serve as feeders to the magnificent stream that is and must ever be the chief source of our wealth and prosperity; the removal of obstructions to its navigation; the cheapening of transportation on its surface by vessels, with an improved adaptation to the freighting business; the liberation of commerce from unnecessary municipal and legislative restrictions; and the reduction of all port charges to the lowest possible point. With regard to the cheapening of river transportation, in particular, several of our most prudent and sagacious citizens, who have had much experience as officers and owners of river steamers, are confident that if no unnecessary obstacles were presented by underwriters, the barge, adapted to the river, and to being towed both with and against the stream, would prove the most economical, and in the end, the safest medium for the transportation of produce and heavy freight. The barge costs but little in proportion to its capacity; it is free from the wearing effect of the engine, and more durable than the steamer; it can be built to carry a large cargo on a light draft of water; it can be used when freights are abundant and laid up at a trifling expense, when they are scarce; costing but little, it does not incur a ruinous loss of interest when idle; it is less exposed to fire than the steamer; it is subject to few accidents and cheaply repaired; it is peculiarly available for the delivery of cargo alongside the ship; less handling. These are some of the manifest advantages, and as it may be towed to distant warehouses at a trifling expense, it saves drayage and prevents damage from care, of the barge, but as long as the condemnation of the underwriter hangs over it, it cannot be in general use. If it were, pilots would soon become skilful in handling it; steamers would be built expressly adapted to tow it; and with the freight distributed between it and the tow, in case of an accident, there would be less danger of a total loss. Perhaps if this matter were fully investigated it would be found that the objections of underwriters to the barge might be obviated and, cheapening river transportation, it would arrest the diversion of the Western trade to New York by making it the interest of the Western dealer to give the preference to our market. It is by such means our merchants may restore to New Orleans its ancient prestige, and make it truly, as well as in name, the great Southern emporium.

ELWOOD FISHER ON THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

(CONCLUDED.)

In New York the proportion of crime is about the same, some eighteen thousand persons having been arrested there last year, (1848.) Of these, it is said six thousand were for drunkenness, twelve thousand were committed to the Tombs for examination, of whom ten thousand were committed for trial. Of these there were sentenced to the State prison 119 men and 17 women—to the penitentiary 700 men and 170 women—to the city prison 162 men and 67 women—total 981 men, 254 women—showing an amount of crime in a single city greater than in all the Southern States together. In the Kentucky penitentiary there is not a single woman—in the Virginia, I believe there is none.

The enormous amount of crime in the Eastern cities, which already rivals the depravity of those of Europe, has been ascribed to the multitude of European emigrants. But the returns do not sustain this plea. Of 7,009 persons in the jails and houses of correction in Massachusetts in 1847, only 1,165 were natives of foreign countries. This is less than one-fourth of the whole number, and cannot vary materially from the proportions of the foreign and native population in the State.*

Whilst the South has been so much more secure than the North in life and property from individual crime, it has been at least equally exempt from social disturbance. The apprehensions of danger from the dissimilarity of its white and black population have not been realized. The proportion of white and black remains as at first, about two to one. Even in Brazil where this proportion is reversed, where there are two blacks to one white, tranquility has reigned for a quarter of a century. And it is remarkable that Brazil and the United States, the only two nations on this continent, where African slavery prevails, are the only two which have succeeded in the establishment of stable and flourishing, social and political institutions. In all the Spanish American States, where the attempt has been made, to introduce political equality among distinct and dissimilar races, it has been followed by incessant insurrection, anarchy, poverty, vice, and barbarism.

When the Union between the North and South, under our present Constitution was formed, the social, political, and economical operation of the institutions peculiar to each, were matters of theory and conjecture. We have now had the experience of half a century; and the result is before us in the

facts I have presented—facts against which neither speculative philosophy, nor sectional prejudice, egotism or fanaticism can prevail.

It will be observed I do not compare the whole people of the North with the whole population of the South. I am *now* comparing the whites only of both sections; it being the first object to ascertain the effects of their respective institutions on the whites of the two sections. I do not compare Northern cities with Southern—but the white people, rural and urban, together of one section with those of the other. I have referred more particularly to Northern cities, because they contain so large, if not the largest, portion of Northern population—and are the boast and characteristic of the Northern system. I have also preferred to compare the old States of the sections not only because they are similar in climate and productions, but because in them the effects of the two systems are more developed, and as has been contended to the great disadvantage of the South.

There is a class of topics of a more intangible nature, but not the less important, and which are much insisted on in this controversy, that now remain to be briefly considered. It is urged that religion and education are more prevalent and flourishing in the North than in the South. It is true that the form of religion existing in New England, and by law established, was extremely strict and self-denying: as that of Virginia—the Episcopal—was then one of the most indulgent of Protestant sects. But it is well known that the Puritan character has been rapidly degenerating and passing away. Indeed the forms of that faith are no longer dominant in Boston, the ancient seat of its power, and in their place the Unitarians have prevailed, and they are gaining ground rapidly in New England. A change has occurred in Virginia, but a change in the opposite direction. Instead of the Episcopalians, the Baptists are predominant in Virginia. Thus, under the operation of their respective institutions the religion of Massachusetts has receded from one of the most strict to one of the most relaxed systems of the Protestant faith—while Virginia has advanced from one of the most indulgent, to one of the stricter forms of religious discipline. There are no means of ascertaining the number of members in all the churches in the several States. Virginia has about 80,000 of Baptists alone; she has 30,000 Methodists,* and a larger proportion yet of Episcopalians than any other State. Altogether she must have her full proportion.

But it is in Education that the North claims the great pre-

* American Almanac.

eminence over the South. In Massachusetts, according to the census of 1840, there were but 4,448 white persons above the age of twenty who could not read and write—and in Virginia there were 58,787. In Ohio there were 35,364; in Kentucky 40,016. In Illinois 27,502; in Mississippi 8,360. Thus it appears that whilst there are more than twelve times as many illiterate persons in the oldest Southern as in the oldest Northern State, the proportion changes as we advance Westward, until we find a greater proportion of them in a new State of the North than in one of the South. And thus it seems that in the new States where children are not educated at public expense, and where, therefore, their parents must provide for them, the children of the South are better educated; or rather, perhaps, it would seem, that the emigration from the North is much more ignorant than the South. Still, however, the odds of school instruction are decidedly with the North. This results from obvious causes. The territorial area of Virginia is probably nine times as great as that of Massachusetts. If, therefore, Virginia were disposed to adopt the common school system, it would require nine times the school-houses and teachers to afford the same conveniences for attending school that exist in Massachusetts. Virginia is a thinly settled agricultural State, intersected by several ranges of mountains. In many places there could not be found ten scholars in ten miles square. In such places a population might be able to live comfortably, but not to establish a school, or send their children abroad to boarding schools. Hence there must be a considerable number without schools. In commercial and manufacturing States, or those of small farms and dense agricultural population, this evil is not so much felt.

But Virginia has a system of oral instruction which compensates for the want of schools, and that is her social intercourse. The social intercourse of the South is probably much greater than that of any people that ever existed. There is certainly nothing like the number of visits among the families of a city or even the same square in a city, as prevails in the country of the South. And these visits are not fashionable calls, but last for days and weeks—and they are the great resource of the South for instruction and amusement. It is true that persons are not taught at such places to read or write, but they are taught to think and converse. They are the occasions of interchanging opinions and diffusing intelligence;—and to perform the duties, to enjoy the pleasures of such intercourse, to please, to shine, and to captivate, requires a degree of mental culture which no custom of the North so much demands. Accordingly the South exhibits the remarkable phenomenon of an agricultural people, distinguished above

all others of the present day by the elegance of their manners and the intellectual tone of their society.

The North excels in books. In History, she has Bancroft and Prescott; in Poetry, Bryant, Halleck, and Whittier; in Criticism, Everett and Channing. In Sculpture, she has produced a Powers. Her Franklin has drawn the lightning from heaven, and taught it to play harmlessly around our very hearth—her Morse has even given letters to lightning, and lightning to letters! The North excels in the arts and the physical sciences, in inventions and improvements. She excels in associative action, not merely for railroad and manufactures, but for literary, benevolent and religious objects. I do not desire to detract one iota from her exalted merits and high civilization. But in individual character and individual action, the South excels. For a warm heart and open hand, for sympathy of feeling, fidelity of friendship, and high sense of honor; for knowledge of the sublime mechanism of man, and reason and eloquence to delight, to instruct and to direct him, the South is superior; and when the North comes into action with the South, man to man, in council or in the field, the genius of the South has prevailed from the days of Jefferson to Calhoun, from Washington to Taylor. And it is to solitude which the rural life of the South affords, so favorable to reflection; and it is to the elevated rural society of the South so favorable for the study of human nature, that we must ascribe those qualities of persuasion and self-command by which her statesmen and captains have moved the public councils, and won so many a field.

The abolition of African slavery in the South has been urged for many years by a portion of Northern people. And now its restriction to its present territorial limits is the avowed purpose of almost every Northern State. The basis on which this policy rests, is the assumption that slavery is sinful and unprofitable. The means now relied on to arrest its future progress is not the persuasion of the people of the slaveholding States, but the numerical power of the free States acting through the Federal Government. Suppose now the South had a majority of votes, and were to announce its determination to arrest the further progress of commerce and manufactures in consequence of their poverty, pauperism, crime, and mortality, what would be the sentiment every where felt in the North? Why, one of indignation, scorn, and resistance. Such does the South feel now!

When the North American colonies confederated for resistance to Great Britain, the territorial area of the Southern portion of them was 648,202 square miles—that of the Northern only 164,081, or about one-fourth as large. Virginia alone

had, by Royal charter, the whole Northwestern territory in her limits, and during the war had confirmed her title by the patriotism and valor of her own citizens—who rescued even Illinois from British power. But before the present constitution was formed Virginia, with a magnanimity almost infatuated, had ceded to the Confederacy, for the formation of free States, the whole Northwestern territory now constituting the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, containing 261,681 square miles, and making the territory of the free States rather more than that of the slaveholding. The object of this cession and the ordinance of 1787 was to equalize the area of the two sections. The acquisition of Louisiana in 1803, added 1,138,103 square miles to our territory, of which, by the Missouri compromise, the South obtained only 226,013 square miles, or about one-fifth—the other four-fifths, notwithstanding it came to us as a slaveholding province, were allotted to the North, which thus had acquired more than 700,000 square miles of territory over the South. Florida and Oregon were acquired by the treaty of 1819, by which the South got 59,268 square miles, and the North 341,463, making the North about 1,000,000 of square miles the most. In 1845 Texas was annexed, which added only 325,520 square miles to the South, even if all Texas were included. In 1848 we obtained 526,078 square miles more in the Territories of New Mexico and California.* And now the North claims the whole of this also—and not only this but half of Texas besides, which would make the share of the North exceed that of the South nearly 1,500,000 square miles—a territory about equal in extent to the whole Valley of the Mississippi, and leaving the South only about 810,812 square miles, while the North retains 2,097,124, or nearly three-fourths of the whole! And this too when the South contributed her full share of the men and money by which the whole territory was obtained. In the Revolutionary war the South furnished an average of 16,714 men in each year, and the North 25,875, which nearly corresponds with their respective number of citizens, and that, too, although the war was waged chiefly against the large cities of the North—cities being in war the most tempting and the most vulnerable points of attack. In the war with Mexico the South supplied two-thirds of the volunteers which constituted three-fourths of the entire force employed. The revenue by which these wars have been supported, the public debt paid, and the price for the territory furnished, has been raised chiefly by duties which have notoriously operated designedly and incidentally to promote the industry and capital of the North, and to oppress those of the South.

* See Compendium of the Census for the exact figures of area, p. 32.—EDITOR.

If after all this the South should submit to be plundered of her share of the territory now in dispute, when, as an agricultural people, she requires her full proportion, she would be recreant to her interests, her power, her right, her honor, and her fame—recreant to her history and her destiny.

One of the proposed objects of these Northern reforms is to promote the prosperity of the South. I have shown that she wants none of their aid, and that there are at home thousands of criminals to reform and hundreds of thousands of paupers to be relieved, on whom their philanthropy may be exhausted.

Is it for the welfare of the slave they are contending? I hold it to be the duty even of him who undertakes to subvert the established order of things, to manifest at least as much respect for experience as experiment, and it so happens that the experience of emancipation has been ample and diversified.

In Hayti, the black, after exterminating the white population, remained independent and isolated, the exclusive architect of its own institutions and destiny. The result is that they have relapsed into pristine barbarism. The exports of Hayti amounted in 1789 to about twenty-five millions of dollars—they do not now amount to one-tenth of that sum. The Haytien contents himself with the cultivation of a few yams for a mere subsistence, and a mere hut for a dwelling. The blacks and mulattoes are at civil war, and yesterday's papers announced that an army of twenty thousand men was advancing against the principal town, Port au Prince.

Another plan of emancipation is to send the liberated to Liberia. But besides the expense of such a system, which renders it impracticable, it is attended with the death of from one-fourth to one-half of the emigrants by the coast fever.

The third plan attempted is that by the British in their West Indies—the plan of gradual abolition by apprenticeship and ultimate equality of black and white; and this also has failed. The exports of Jamaica have already, in the first ten years of the experiment, fallen one-half. The negroes refuse to work even for high wages, beyond what is necessary for mere subsistence, the planters are bankrupt, plantations are already abandoned, and the island is hastening to the condition of Hayti.

The fourth plan of emancipation is that which has been going on with us. That of manumission by the will of the master, the freedman remaining with black and white, or seeking other States. This experiment has not succeeded. The emancipated slave does not appear to be willing to perform the amount of work necessary to enable him to compete successfully with the white laborer. In the State of New York the Constitution conferred the right of suffrage on col-

ored persons owning \$250 worth of property. Yet in the city of New York in 1845, out of 11,989 colored people there were only 183 voters; and notwithstanding their numbers are augmented by frequent manumissions and fugitive slaves, they do not increase so rapidly as the slave population, which is evidence that their condition is not so comfortable. It is also a curious fact that of 386,293 free persons of color in 1840, nearly half (183,766) preferred to remain in the slave States, where certainly, as a class, they are treated with no peculiar favor. In Massachusetts, where so much sympathy is expressed for them, they cannot or will not live. There are less now of them in Boston than there was twenty years ago, and in both Virginia and Massachusetts there are ten times as many free colored people in the penitentiary as their proportion of the white population. Is it then for the sake of such emancipation as the West Indian, which results in idleness, barbarism, and civil war among the blacks, or for Liberian, which exterminates, or the American, which subjects them to crime and want, that philanthropy would undertake to overturn the unrivalled system of Southern civilization.

But we are told that slavery is an evil. Well, so is war an evil, and so perhaps is government itself an evil, since it also is an abridgment of liberty. But one of the first objects of our Constitution is to provide for war—for the common defense. And the people of the United States prefer the evil of war to the greater evils of being plundered and subdued. They prefer the evil of government to the greater evil of anarchy. So the people of the South prefer slavery to the evils of a dense manufacturing and commercial population which appear to be inevitable without it; and the black man may prefer the slavery of the South to the want, the crime, the barbarism and blood which attend his race in all other countries. In the practical affairs of human life in its present state, choice of evils is frequently all that is in our power. Good and evil in fact become relative and not positive terms. And the necessity is recognized by the example of our Saviour, who applied the extreme remedy of the lash to the money changers who profaned the temple. It is consistent for a rigid sect like the Quakers to oppose slavery, because they proscribe and repudiate war and luxury and all other evils. And we may all hope for the time to come, when in the progress of Christianity the evils of slavery in the South, and those of pauperism, crime, and mortality in the North will be greatly mitigated or abolished.* But the North can now make no protest against

* Mr. Fisher's admissions in this paragraph though qualified, are still not such as the Southern people are prepared to make. They do not and can not believe slavery an evil.—EDITOR.

the South, because the luxurious system of Northern civilization not only subjects the great mass of people to unwonted labor and privation, but actually sacrifices in peace a greater amount of life than is usually expended by communities at war. If then the welfare of neither white nor black in the South would be promoted by the restriction or abolition of slavery, would the prosperity of the North be advanced? The only thing of which the North complains on its own account is the ratio of representation fixed by the Constitution which gives the South a vote equal to three-fifths of the blacks. But on the other hand, in consequence of the existence of slavery in the South, the North has a monopoly of foreign emigration. This amounted as we have seen from 1829 to 1840 to a million and a half, including its increase. In the previous thirty years it must have been, with its increase to this day, at least half a million more. Since 1840 it has amounted to a million besides. So that the North has the vote and the power of three millions of people against the political power which slavery now confers, and that is equivalent to a white population only of about two millions.

And furthermore, by the peculiar agricultural employment of Southern industry and capital, the South is a customer and consumer of Northern manufactures and commerce and of Northwestern agriculture. Abolish slavery and convert the South into a people of mechanics, artisans, and merchants, and instead of being a customer, she becomes a competitor of the other section. And if the march of pauperism, crime, and mortality of the North be so great now, what would it be then?

The condition of modern civilization is far more laborious and oppressive than the ancient. The seats of ancient science and the arts were in the mild climates of the Mediterranean shore, or in the South of Asia and Europe. And in America the ruins of her unrecorded civilization are to be found in Palenque and Copan, all in a similar climate. The genius of England has carried civilization to a more Northern latitude, and that of America has extended it, if not higher in latitude, to a still more rigorous climate than that of England. The wants of such a climate are great and imperious. The cost of fuel alone in the city of New York exceeds \$16,000,000 annually. The clothing must be much warmer, the houses more substantial, the food more nourishing, and all more expensive than a milder climate. And this great augmentation of the burthens of civilized life must be borne in the North by freemen, not as of old by slaves. Hence have we seen the fearful struggle of Northern labor for subsistence; notwithstanding the immense aid it has derived from modern machinery and invention. But take from that labor the custom, and sub-

ject it to the competition of the South, where so much less is required for subsistence, and that so much cheaper, and the result would be as ruinous to the present system of the North as to that of the South. These two great systems have grown up together. That of the North could not have so much expanded without a market in Southern agriculture—nor could this have grown so great but for the demand and supplies of the North. Together they have flourished; together they must falter and fall. To restrict, therefore, the territorial extension of the South, and by circumscribing its industry render it unprofitable, is to restrict and paralyze the prosperity of the North in all its departments. Together these institutions have marched harmoniously to that eminence and success which have won the prosperity of both at home and extorted the admiration of the world abroad. If either should fall by the hand of the other, the crime would not only be fratricide—it would be suicide; and over the mouldering ruins of both would deserve to be written the epitaph: Here were a people who disputed about the capacity of the African for liberty and civilization, and did not themselves possess the capacity to preserve their own.

CONSEQUENCES OF ABOLITION AGITATION.

BY EDWIN RUFFIN, OF VIRGINIA.

NO. III.

Before coming to the particular matter of the navigation of the Mississippi, when under separate proprietors, it will be necessary to look to general principles, as furnished by the laws of nations, and to the past history and present usages of Europe, in respect to the general subject.

When the Roman Empire extended over the whole of the known civilized world, and much of the barbarian world, the Roman law, as to the rights of different countries and dominions, was the only law of nations. It not only was recognized and obeyed then, but its main and manifestly good principles were preserved and respected, if not always obeyed, in the understood commercial and political regulations between the many succeeding dominations of Europe in the middle ages. The ancient Roman law and the modern acknowledged laws of nations, both maintain the right of every nation, possessing one or both sides of the upper waters of a navigable river, to use the lower waters and outlet of the river, for navigation, and to transport its commodities to the ocean, or to foreign markets. The vessels and their freights of the upper country, so using the waters of a lower, while enjoying the benefit of free passage, are, of course, bound to respect the municipal laws of the country through which the lower navigation

passes, and to bear any reasonable charges (of inspection, &c.) necessary to prevent violation of these laws. Except for these necessary restrictions and safeguards of defence, the passage would be entirely free to vessels and people of the upper country, so long as the two countries were at peace. War between the neighboring powers, only would alter these, as it must alter all the other relations of peace.

It is true, that with the general recognition of this law of nations, there had been many attempted violations of its principle; and some of them, for a time, have been successful. But at the Congress of Vienna, in which all the great powers of Europe acted for themselves and for all the minor powers also, this great principle of the laws of nations was formally recognized and definitely explained, and made obligatory by treaty stipulations. Before that time, or if it should happen again hereafter, the particular violations of this law of nations would be no reason for general disregard, or for deeming it null and of no obligation. There is scarcely any provision of the laws of nations and especially of the laws of war, which has not been violated. Yet, the laws so infringed continue to be respected and deemed obligatory, and are generally obeyed. These exceptional violations are more and more rare as the world advances in age and in civilization, and governments and communities learn better to understand their own true interests. There will be little reason to expect future violations of this rule of free navigation by any civilized country; and, least of all, in regard to the common right of the Mississippi, which both the proprietary powers would be so deeply interested in preserving.

The law of nations in this respect, and the rights claimed under this law, are of less importance in this discussion than the actual practice and usages and the experience of Europe, and of the civilized world. All the great rivers of Europe, except a few in Russia, are, and mostly have been since the overrunning and dissolution of the Western Roman Empire, in precisely the situation which, for the Mississippi, is generally supposed would be an inevitable cause for war. If this doctrine is true or worth anything as to the Mississippi, then it would be as true of every other navigable river, of which different portions passed through different dominions. Now, precisely such divided property is held by different sovereign States in the upper and lower navigable waters of the Danube, the Rhine, the Po, the Elbe, (which passes through no less than seven separate dominions,) the Weser, the Vistula, the Niemen, the Dniester, the Scheldt, the Meuse, (and Maese,) the Moselle, the Douro, and the Oder in connection with its navigable tributary the Warta. Among the sovereign powers to which these divided properties of soil, and joint rights of navigation belong, are Russia, Turkey, Austria, Bavaria, Prussia, Hanover, Piedmont, Lombardy, (before being Austrian,) Belgium, Holland, Portugal, and Spain, besides other smaller powers. If then the mere condition of two or more powers, possessing severally the upper, or middle and lower waters of a navigable river, was a sufficient and sure cause of discord and war, all these countries would have been involved in war for ten centuries, or throughout the whole time of their separate political existences. Yet, many as have been the wars, and trivial their causes in most cases, not one

is remembered to have been produced by this cause alone. Some temporary difficulties have indeed occurred—and some wrongs have been inflicted, in this as in numerous other cases of supposed conflicting interests, by the strong on the weak. But though connected with these joint rights of navigation, these difficulties and injuries have in no case amounted, (at least in recent times,) to a permanent denial, by the power on the lower waters of a river, of the navigation and passage of the vessels of the upper country, to foreign markets. An exception to this position may appear to be presented in the noted case of the long continued closing of the lower Scheldt, where it passes through the territory of the former Dutch republic to the sea, against the vessels of the then Spanish and afterwards Austrian Netherlands, (now Belgium,) on the upper waters. And when Joseph II. of Austria, becoming the master of the before Spanish Netherlands, attempted to re-open this passage, the vessel sent by his order was fired upon and stopped by the Dutch fort on the Scheldt—and the Austrian power had to submit to be thus thwarted by a much weaker nation, whose right was sustained by the approval of Europe, and the faith of treaties. For this restriction, absurd as it was in a commercial aspect, was a solemn stipulation of the treaty of Westphalia, agreed upon for political considerations, by all the powers that concurred in making and maintaining that memorable treaty. This exceptional departure from the acknowledged general law of nations, was neither designed as a violation or abrogation of that law, nor a denial of its obligation in this case by Holland alone. As such, it would have had no force, and no power would have dared to attempt the course. But it was an agreement made by all the great powers of Europe, demanded by one part and acceded to by the other, as necessary to protect Holland, and in Holland, the protestant interest of Europe, by preventing the continual and easy ingress of the inimical and dreaded power possessing the upper waters. Besides, there were other important considerations. This was not the only passage, though the most convenient for the trade of the Spanish Netherlands. And further, the Dutch claimed that the navigation of the lower Scheldt was an artificial passage, opened formerly by their own industry. Thus, the Scheldt remained closed for some 150 years, until the French Republic, after becoming possessor of Belgium, forced and kept open the passage. But this act was deemed a cause of war, and was so counted in the war which soon followed between France and Great Britain and Holland. But even this long respected restriction has since been removed, and the lower Scheldt, as all other rivers in Europe held by different powers, under both the law of nations, and the treaty of Vienna, is of free navigation.

For centuries past, as now, Denmark has collected the "Sound Dues," or a tax levied on all vessels entering the Baltic sea—and Hanover in like manner levies the "Stade Dues" on all vessels entering the Elbe. But wrongful and extortionate as these charges are, (and as such, our Government has done well in resisting them,) they were originally demanded, and paid, not because of ownership on the lower waters but on the ground of supporting light-houses and beacons, and paying other expenses for facilitating the safe passage of vessels.

Perhaps unjust and vexatious claims may have been set up to obstruct or to tax navigation and trade in many other cases, where might defined right. But it is believed that, at this time, nowhere is the possession of the outlet of a river claimed, *per se*, as ground of right, and exercised as such, to exclude or to obstruct the passage of the vessels of a power owning the higher waters of the river. In stating this proposition reference is had to civilized nations and to recent times, and not to such exclusive policy as was adopted by Spain for her former American dominions, (and of which both the policy and the dominion have long been at an end,) and which would still be enforced (if such cases existed) in China and Japan. Even the government of Brazil, narrow-minded as it is, and both jealous and fearful of the entrance of foreigners, and strong, too, compared to all the neighboring dominions, does not pretend to oppose the passage of the vessels and freights of Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru from passing from their own upper and tributary waters down the Amazon to the ocean, or returning, through thousands of miles extent of Brazilian territory on both sides of the river. All that Brazil has claimed is, that the countries on the upper waters shall be the carriers of their own trade through Brazil, and that the route shall not be opened to all foreigners who may desire its use, to trade with the upper countries, or for any other purpose.

At this time Russia is striving to keep possession of the Isle of Serpents, near the mouth of the Danube, and the other great powers and parties to the late treaty of Paris are as anxious and determined to exclude Russia from the possession. Both parties understand that the possessor of this island, if able to hold it, will, in time of war, command the outlet and control the navigation of the Danube. This, indeed, would only be available during war. But it would then be a most formidable advantage to be possessed by a power so strong as Russia, and which has very little territory on or very near the Danube, and therefore would not suffer materially by closing its navigation. This case is entirely different from that supposed of the Mississippi; and yet, with all the danger to the dominions on the Danube, of the Emperor of Russia occupying merely the mouth of that river, even he would not dare to close or obstruct the navigation, except in war, and to his enemy in arms.

In applying the foregoing views to the particular case of the Mississippi, it is clear that, in the event of separate proprietorship, the lower occupant would have no right either to close or to obstruct the passage of the vessels and freights of the upper occupants. But there is still better assurance that there would be no such attempt, because, in time of peace, there can be no possible inducement for such a course, even if to be effected with certainty, and without danger of war, or reprisals, from the upper country.

The city of New Orleans derives nearly all its immense trade and wealth from the purchasing, or forwarding, and furnishing commodities in exchange for the products of the higher waters of the Mississippi, and (it may be and must be hereafter) mainly from the non-slaveholding region. Now, under any peaceful circumstances, what inducements can possibly operate on the city of New Orleans, or on the State of

Louisiana, or on any of the States bordering on the lower river, to exclude or to discourage by burdensome exactions, the free passage of the vessels and products which brings all the business and profits of the city, and is so greatly beneficial to the whole neighboring country! On the contrary, would not every reasonable facility be afforded for this trade, to prevent its being diverted, as much as possible, to New York and other Northern markets! And if there was no such action, and no motive for the proprietor of the lower waters to obstruct the trade of the upper proprietor, what ground would the latter have for complaint! And on what possible ground could either the upper or the lower power go to war with the other, for the benefits of a navigation and trade already fully enjoyed, and which enjoyment could only be prevented, and certainly would be prevented, by the very act of war! The contrary assumptions, or the equivalent assertions of the danger of and even necessity for war, merely on this ground, are ~~so~~ preposterous that they would not deserve to be answered, but for their extended currency.

If a government or private association constructs a canal, or a new artificial passage for navigation, through the territory belonging to the proprietor of the work, the proprietor has undoubtedly the right to forbid the passage to all foreigners, however beneficial to them the new facility might be. But was there ever such a prohibition, or even discriminating and heavier tolls and charges on foreigners, ever adopted in such a case! Or has any one ever feared such impositions! No such obstructions can possibly exist, until self-interest shall cease to direct the conduct of man. The State of New York, and Canada, have both opened canals to unite the navigation of the great lakes with the Atlantic. Each of these artificial passages may be used to great benefit by the people of the other country. And, so far from obstructing these uses, New York desires and strives to be the carrier for Upper Canada, and the Canadian canals are as open to convey American vessels to the lower St. Lawrence. But lately a vessel laden with flour sailed from Chicago, and without unlading or trans-shipment of cargo, passed through the Welland canal, around the cataract of Niagara, and from Lake Ontario through the Rideau canal to the Utawas, and thence into the St. Lawrence, and across the Atlantic to Liverpool.

In former times there was much diplomatic argument and conflicting claims, between the British and American Governments, as to the right of navigation of the St. Lawrence by American vessels. Probably each party claimed too much—the American Government for the perfect right to navigate the river, and the British Government the right to exclude American navigation. All these theoretical difficulties were finally settled by the recent "Reciprocity Treaty." But previous to that treaty being made, and in time of peace between the two countries, American vessels were (as now) as free to navigate the river as Canadian vessels. From Lake Ontario to near Montreal, the downward navigation is so difficult, because of the numerous rapids, that it is of little use to freight and sailing vessels, or to any that could venture to

cross the Atlantic. To ascend the river it is necessary to use the Canadian canals.

It is very true, and is so obvious as scarcely to need being stated, that the occurrence of war between two nations occupying the upper and lower navigable waters of a river, or the different places of production and of sale thereon, would necessarily shut out either party from navigating the waters of the other, and would prevent the continuance of the previous friendly trade. But the prospect of this sure and heavy penalty for war, and of the certain and great losses which would thence accrue to both nations, would serve as the strongest possible reason and inducement for the preservation of peace. Therefore, if the Mississippi was held in separate occupancy of its upper and lower waters, instead of this great river being a continual provocation to war, it would be the strongest possible bond of peace between the respective proprietary powers. For neither power could break the peace, without immediately and entirely cutting off the trade which had been the chief source of its prosperity and wealth.

In cases of war between two powers, thus holding the upper and lower portions of a navigable river, though both countries would suffer greatly, it would not be equally. Undoubtedly, for military or naval operations, the holder of the lower waters, or their outlet to the ocean, would have a great advantage over the upper proprietor. Hence, it is fortunate for the South, and for the better preservation of peace, that in every case of such prospective divided proprietorship of navigable rivers or straits, the weaker Southern States will hold the lower, and the Northern, which is the stronger, and also the aggressive power, will possess the upper navigable waters. The most noted and important case is the Mississippi river. But, though much the strongest, it is not the only such bond of peace. There are other cases, presented in the Ohio river, and in the Delaware, and still more the Chesapeake bay. These facts offer most important subjects for consideration, for the States and cities most interested in these future relations, which need not be pursued here.

Of course, all independent States are liable, at some times, to have causes of war with neighboring powers, or to be involved in war, whether with or without good cause. From this universal liability, the separated and independent Northern and Southern confederacies would not be exempt. Either, indeed, might make war on the other, if choosing the hazards of war, in preference to the benefits of peace. So the United States might have gone to war, (and as then deemed, for just causes,) in a dozen cases, with England, France, or other powers, where no war occurred, and where all differences were subsequently settled by peaceful negotiation. If the Northern and Southern States were two separate and independent powers, each would gain more by cultivating and preserving peace with the other, and each would lose and suffer more by being at war, without any possibility of gain, than would be in regard to any other two nations in the world. Under such circumstances may we not safely anticipate that peace would be maintained?

THE UNION AND THE RIGHTS OF THE STATES.

THE EXISTENCE OF DIVERSITIES AMONG THE STATES—THE VITAL PRINCIPLE OF STATES' RIGHTS, AND THE CEMENT OF THE UNION.

The reasonings of the author of this paper, furnished for publication in the Review, are able, ingenious, and novel. He is more hopeful, however, of the Union than it seems to us the signs of the times would warrant. No matter. Let us examine the subject in all its bearings. By the author it is denied that either a Southern or Northern Union would be practicable. Where either side then are in one condition, the argument is stronger against the endurance of wrong and oppression to secure union. But we do not admit that they are in the same condition, and have demonstrated, time after time, that the self-sustaining capacity of the South is incomparably greater than that of the North.—
EDMON.

A century or more ago, it was a very generally conceded point, in the science of government, that republics are unsuited to powerful and extended States, and are only suited to States of small territorial extent, whose populations are homogeneous in interests, wants, manners, customs, habits of thought, religion, etc.

It was contended that it was impossible for a government that draws its powers from the people, and legislates through representatives chosen by them, to frame general laws suitable for a State in which exist antagonistic or inharmonious interests, wants, manners, customs, etc., and that the requisite homogeneity is not attainable except in States of small territorial extent.

To show the correctness of the latter proposition, it was argued that mere differences in climate, *which must necessarily exist in a large State*, would cause differences in manners, customs, etc., and that the conflicting commercial interests of a State might be, and likely would be, as many as the navigable rivers within its limits.

The representatives of the people of a republic of widely extended territorial limits, it was contended, would be the representatives of so many and of such varied or conflicting interests as to make it *improbable* that a majority of them could ever agree on general laws for the government of the whole, and *impossible*, could they agree, to frame such general laws as would be wise and proper.

By such a process of reasoning, was it, that the statesmen of Europe arrived at the conclusion, that the republican form of government is unsuited to extended and powerful States.

It is evident that general laws, which will be wise, proper, and satisfactory, *cannot* be framed for the government of a large State, whose people have numerous and conflicting interests and wants.

We admit this to be a correct proposition, but assert that *it is not applicable to republics only*. IT IS JUST AS TRUE OF MONARCHIES.

Statesmen, whose hopes of preferment were dependent on the monarchs who ruled Europe, directed the force of the principle against republics, and not against monarchies as well, and experience seemed to confirm their theory of the practicability of the latter, and the impracticability of the former.

Republics had fallen as soon as they became of sufficient importance to attract the world's notice, while monarchies of advancing power ruled civilized Europe and uncivilized Asia.

Though statesmen, animated by the instinct of self-interest, have failed to apply the principle to the governments by which they derive honor and place, yet it is evident that it is *a general principle, applicable to all forms of government*, and not to republics only, that a wise, proper, and satisfactory system or code of general laws, adequate to the wants of a community, cannot be devised for a State whose people have conflicting or inharmonious interests and wants.

Though it be true that monarchies have survived while republics have perished in Europe, this has been—not because of the good laws of one and the bad laws of the other form of government, but because despite unwise and oppressive laws, the subjects of a monarchy are held in subjection by the bayonets of the monarch.

We concede that in absolute governments there exists a more effective power than in republics to enforce obedience to unwise or oppressive laws. This concession in no wise militates against the stability of republics, for in them the desideratum is not to make or to give the power to enforce oppressive laws. To carry out the theory of republican governments, the extent of power requisite is the amount necessary to enforce laws for the general benefit made by the majority acting in pursuance of law through their representatives. It is not desirable to arm the government with power to make and enforce laws repugnant to the popular will, and opposed to general interest. It is sufficient if it have the power to carry out the will of the people constitutionally expressed.

In practice monarchies have acknowledged their incapacity to devise a wise and satisfactory system of general laws, adequate to the wants of a community, whose people have diverse or conflicting interests and wants.

Rome, as she increased in power and territorial extent, felt and acknowledged her incapacity to draw up a code of general laws suited to her whole people. Her pro-consulor system was devised to provide *local* laws for the conquered provinces, as well as to reward distinguished or favored citizens.

This was a practical admission of the impossibility of legislating wisely by a *uniform* code for the government of the whole.

Spain made the same admission when she established her provincial governments, and England when she established her colonial governments.

France, as monarchy and republic, illustrates our principle.

Under each a uniform code for the whole was given in Paris.

The monarchies were broken to pieces by revolutions despite the military force of the monarchs and the republics failed despite the love of liberty which animates the French people.

The discontent of the people of France, in each case, was caused by the attempt to accomplish an *impossibility*, that is, to legislate wisely and satisfactorily for a great and powerful people, having a multiplicity of diverse wants, by a uniform general code.

In framing our system of Government, of *which the States are essential component parts*, our ancestors did not attempt the impossibility which has thus far baffled the efforts of the liberty-loving French to establish a republic.

We are not left to conjecture that the principle for which we contend was had in view by the framers of the Constitution.

The debates in the conventions held in the different States to determine the question of accession to the constitutional Union, abundantly show that this was a conceded principle.

In the New York convention Mr. Melancton Smith said : "The *State governments* are necessary for certain local purposes; the *General Government* for national purposes. The latter ought to rest on the former, not only in its form, but in its operations." * * * "In a country where a portion of the people live more than twelve hundred miles from the centre, *I think that one body cannot possibly legislate for the whole.*" * * * "Another idea is in my mind, which, I think conclusive against a *simple* government for the United States." * * * "The State constitutions should be the guardians of our domestic rights and interests, and should be both the support and the check of the Federal Government." * * * "He considered that the great interests and liberties of the people could only be secured by the State governments."

Governor Clinton said, "when we take a view of the United States, we find them embracing interests as various as their territory is extensive. Their habits, their productions, their resources, and their political and commercial regulations, are as different as those of any nation upon earth. *A general law, therefore, which might be well calculated for Georgia, might*

operate most disadvantageously and cruelly upon New York. However, I only suggest these observations, for the purpose of having them satisfactorily answered. I am open to conviction, and if my objections can be removed, I shall be ready, frankly to acknowledge their weakness."

Alexander Hamilton said, "the people have an obvious and powerful protection in the State governments." * * * "Where, in the organization of the government, the legislative, executive, and judicial branches are rendered distinct; where, again, the legislature is divided into separate houses, and the operations of each are controlled by various checks and balances, and, *above all*, by the vigilance and weight of the State governments—to talk of tyranny and the subversion of our liberties, is to speak the language of enthusiasm. This balance between the national and State governments ought to be dwelt on, with peculiar attention, as it is of the utmost importance." * * * "An honorable member from Duchess (Mr. Smith) has observed, that the delegates from New York, (for example,) can have very little information of the local circumstances of Georgia or South Carolina, except from the representatives of those States; and on this ground insists upon the expediency of an enlargement of the representation; since, otherwise, the majority must rely too much on the information of a few. In order to determine whether there is any weight in this reasoning, let us consider the powers of the National Government, and compare them with the objects of State legislation. *The powers of the new Government are general*, and calculated to embrace the aggregate interests of the Union, and the general interest of each State so far as it stands in relation to the whole. The object of the State governments is to provide for their internal interests, as unconnected with the United States, and as composed of minute parts or districts." * * * "It has been asserted that the interests, habits, and manners of the thirteen States are different; and hence it is inferred that no general free government can suit them. This diversity of habits, &c., has been a favorite theme." * * * "I acknowledge that the local interests of the States are, in some degree various, and that there is some difference in the manners and habits." * * * "This diversity to the eye of a speculatist, may afford some marks of characteristic discrimination, but cannot form an impediment to the regular operation of those *general* powers which the Constitution gives to the United Government. Were the laws of the Union to new-model the internal police of any State; were they to alter or abrogate at a blow, the whole of its civil and criminal institutions; were they to penetrate the recesses of domestic life, and control in all respects, the private conduct of individuals,

there might be more force in the objection; *and the same Constitution which was happily calculated for one State, might sacrifice the welfare of another.*" * * * *

"*The State governments are essentially necessary to the power and spirit of the general system.*" * * * "While the Constitution continues to be read, and its principles known, *the States must, by every national man, be considered as essential component parts of the Union*; and, therefore, the idea of sacrificing the former to the latter is inadmissible."

Mr. Jay said, "the adversaries of the plan seem to consider the General Government as possessing all the minute and local powers of the State governments." * * * "What are the objects of our State legislatures?" * * * "The objects of the General Government are not of this nature. They comprehend the interests of the States in relation to each other, and in relation to foreign powers."

In the Virginia convention, Mr. Corbin spoke as follows: "The honorable gentleman has objected to the Constitution on the old worn-out idea that a republican government is best calculated for a small territory." * * * "What has so often been deprecated will be removed by this plan. The extent of the United States cannot render this Government oppressive. The powers of the General Government are only of a general nature, and their object is to protect, defend, and strengthen the United States; but the internal administration of government is left to the State legislatures, who exclusively retain such powers as will give the States the advantages of small republics, without the danger commonly attendant on the weakness of such governments." * * * "A confederate government is, of all others, best calculated for an extensive country. Its component individual governments administer and afford all the local conveniences that the most compact governments can do, and the strength and energy of the confederacy may be equal to those of any government. A government of this kind may extend to all the Western World—nay, I may say, *ad infinitum.*"

In view of the principle for which we contend, and conceding it on all hands, the framers of the Constitution proceeded to solve the problem in the science of government which had theretofore baffled the efforts of the wisest statesmen who had gone before them.

The problem in the science of government which our ancestors had to solve, was, *to give STRENGTH TO LIBERTY.*

Strength in a government and liberty to the people had been, therefore, antagonists.

It was reserved for our fathers to make them allies.

Strength was given by union, and liberty preserved by the State governments.

Without the State governments being "essential component parts" of the system, strength in the government must have been antagonistic to the liberty of the people.

Had the attempt been made to legislate by a "*single body*" (as Congress) by a uniform general code for the whole United States, in proportion as the territory of the United States is more extended than that of France, and the habits, interests, manners, and customs among the people of the former more numerous and diverse than those among the people of the latter, so in the same proportion would the evils of alternate anarchy and despotism have been more distracting and cruel in the United States than in France.

The framers of the Constitution solved the problem and gave strength to liberty.

In the Union is strength, and in the State governments liberty.

That in the Union is strength, and in the State governments liberty, may be said to be the *cardinal principle* upon which our form of government was constituted.

The particular degree or intimacy of Union constituted by our ancestors secures the *maximum of strength* as well as the *maximum of liberty*.

There is a limit to the strength to be gained by increase of the closeness of the Union.

If an approach were made towards consolidation by an extension of the powers of the General Government over subjects now exclusively within the jurisdiction of the State governments, it is apparent that by every act of legislation by the former, which (designedly, through ignorance, or because of the impossibility of legislating wisely by a single body for the whole,) should injuriously affect local or State affairs, must weaken the feeling of affection or friendliness of the people of the States injuriously affected towards the General Government.

To disaffect any portion of the people must weaken our strength as a power among the nations.

To illustrate, no fair estimate of the relative strength of Russia and the United States can be made by mere comparison of population; for to arrive at the true strength in men of the former, from her sixty millions of population must be deducted all the unfriendly or disaffected, as the Circassians, etc., and the remainder thus found be still further diminished by the number of well-affected necessary to keep in check the disaffected.

By such a process alone can the ultimate strength in men of a nation be arrived at, and in particular is this true of republics, or of a confederacy of republics.

No one, for instance, would think of estimating, as a part of our available strength, the hostile, disaffected, or even neutral Indians, or, if accounts be true, the Mormons.

To arrive at our true strength, besides the deduction of these, there must also be deducted the number necessary to keep them in check.

The deduction to be made in this way, *on account of Indians*, is easy of ascertainment; but not so easy in the case of the Mormons or *other white race*, for the reason that, in the latter case, the inimical are not so distinguishable.

So, if, from any cause, ill-feeling be engendered among the people of the States, among the States themselves towards the General Government, the strength of the United States as one of the powers of the Earth must be diminished, "as the people of the United States" are the white race *to an unknown degree*.

Inasmuch as it impossible by a single body (as Congress) to legislate beneficially for the whole United States, it is clear that our strength, as a people, must be diminished by consolidation or any advance towards it.

The maximum of strength, therefore, is gained by our constitutional Union, which leaves to the component parts, the States, the exclusive jurisdiction of regulating each for itself its local affairs.

By the same Union is also gained the maximum of liberty.

If legislation of any kind be made to affect the citizens of New York, *for the reason* that such legislation is necessary or proper in Georgia, it is evident that less freedom of action will, in that case, be enjoyed by the citizens of New York than if affected exclusively by such legislation as is wise and proper for them only, and so of any other State.

Both the maximum of strength, and the maximum of liberty, are gained by a Union such as ours, in which the General Government can constitutionally exercise only the *general powers* conceded by the States.

Before the accession of New York to the constitutional Union, in the convention held in that State, 1788, ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON in chaste and dignified language expressed his appreciation of the step about to be taken.

"Ever since a pure and perfect religion has lent her mild lights to philosophy, and extended her influence over the sentiments of men, it has been a received opinion that the happiness of nations as well as of individuals, depends on peace, and that intimate connection which mutual wants occasion. *To establish this on the basis of a general Union of nations*, has, at various times, employed the thoughts and attention of wise and virtuous men. It is said to have been the last great plan

of the illustrious Henry IV. of France, who was justly esteemed one of the wisest and best of princes. But, alas! sir, in the old world, every attempt of this nature will prove abortive. There, governments are the children of force or fraud, and carry with them strong features of their parents' character. Disputes will not be referred to a common umpire, unless that umpire has power to enforce his decrees; and how can it be expected that princes, zealous of power, will consent to sacrifice any portion of it to the happiness of their people, who are of little account in their estimation? Differences among them, therefore, will continue to be decided by the sword, and the blood of thousands will be shed before the most trifling controversy can be determined. Even peace can hardly be said to bestow her usual blessings on them; their mutual jealousies convert peace into an armed truce. The husbandman feels the oppression of standing armies, by whom the fruits of his labor are devoured; and the flower of youth is sacrificed to the rigors of military discipline. IT HAS PLEASED HEAVEN TO AFFORD TO THE UNITED STATES THE MEANS FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF THIS GREAT OBJECT WHICH IT HAS WITHHELD FROM OTHER NATIONS. They speak the same language; they profess the same religion; and what is of infinitely more importance, they acknowledge the same great principle of government—a principle, if not unknown at least little understood in the old world—that *all power is derived from the people.*"

In the act of adopting our system of government, Mr. Livingston congratulated the New York convention that Heaven had vouchsafed to the United States, (by adopting the Constitution,) the means of carrying out the last great plan of the illustrious Henry IV., established on the basis of a general union of nations.

Grand and comprehensive as was the conception of Mr. Livingston of the capability of our system, seventy years have demonstrated that it fell short of the reality.

Already, two States and one territory, whose people do *not* "speak the same language," enjoy the benefits of our form of government.

LOUISIANA, one of whose constitutional languages is *French*, and CALIFORNIA, one of whose constitutional languages is *Spanish*, are now States of this Union of unimpeached patriotism and loyalty to the Constitution, and New Mexico is a territory the great mass of whose people are Spanish, and are peacefully and contentedly enjoying the substantial exercise of political power as to their local affairs.

"A confederate government (said Mr. Corbin) is of all others the best calculated for an extensive country. Its component individual governments administer and afford all the

local conveniences that the most compact governments can do; and the strength and energy of the Confederacy may be equal to those of any government.

"A GOVERNMENT OF THIS KIND MAY EXTEND TO ALL THE WESTERN WORLD; NAY, I MAY SAY, *ad infinitum*."

The experience of seventy years has demonstrated the correctness of this view.

From a letter of Mr. Wm. Darby, the Gazetteer, dated Dec. 13, 1852, we find the territorial increase of the United States since 1783, the date of our treaty with England to be as follows:

TABULAR VIEW.

| | Square miles. |
|--|---------------|
| Extent of United States 1783..... | 1,000,000 |
| The acquisition of Louisiana, 1803—added..... | 1,000,000 |
| “ “ Florida, 1822—added..... | 13,000 |
| “ “ Texas, New Mexico, and California—added..... | 1,400,000 |

Amount of territory of the United States, 1852.... 3,413,000

Mr. Darby continues:

"In concluding these remarks, we find that the revolution itself endowed the United States with one million of square miles, equal to six hundred and forty millions of acres. The cession of Louisiana doubled the already immense estate in square miles and acres. Texas, New Mexico, and California, add the joint amount of one million four hundred and thirteen thousand square miles, or nine hundred and four million three hundred and twenty thousand acres, presenting an almost overwhelming result to the mind.

"If you allow fifty thousand square miles as the mean of States, the United States territory will admit sixty-eight!

"The most remarkable fact, perhaps, is the following, which is afforded by the history of the United States: The territory has risen to three million four hundred and thirteen thousand square miles; gaining, in seventy-seven years, forty-four thousand three hundred and twenty-five square miles *annually*. In other words, the *pro rata* of annual increase of territory exceeds the mean extent of the original States."

That this healthy increase has not only added to our national strength, *but has also made more stable our institutions, we think is certain.*

Events have shown that the great danger to our institutions, or rather to the Union, has grown out of a tendency to consolidation. Such tendency, as we have already shown, must diminish alike liberty and strength, and when the dissatisfac-

tion that must necessarily arise from the attempt to do the impossible thing of legislating wisely, by a uniform code, for the whole United States, becomes sufficiently great—DISUNION must be the inevitable result.

To counteract, therefore, the tendency to consolidation, is preservation of Union.

A little consideration must make it apparent that *homogeneousness is centripetal* as DIVERSITY IS CENTRIFUGAL in its tendency; that is, homogeneousness of the States and people of the whole Union, as to interests, wants, manners, customs, &c., tends to accumulate power in the central or General Government, and diversity to distribute it among the States.

Had the people of the thirteen original States, at the time of the formation of the Constitution been homogeneous in religion, there can be but little doubt that the power would have been granted to the General Government to establish the general religion; but as there was a diversity of religions among the people and States, the Constitution provided that "Congress shall make no law respecting an established religion."

Had the people of all the States been homogeneous in all things, the laws beneficial for one part being beneficial for all, economy would have dictated a single government for the whole.

Why maintain fourteen (one general and thirteen State) governments for a homogeneous people?

It is evident that for a homogeneous people a single government is the best.

Again: What States are those which most strenuously urge the importance of preserving the constitutional rights of the States? We answer, those States which have a peculiarity to protect, as slavery—a something different from that generally obtaining among other States—a *diversity*, the regulation of which their interest makes them unwilling to trust out of their own control.

The slaveholding States are all adherents of the doctrine of States' rights, and it must be admitted that from the discussions of the slave interest have been derived more knowledge of the true line of demarkation between the jurisdictions of the general and State governments, than from all other discussions taken together.

Any other diversity of equal magnitude and interest would produce a like adherence to the doctrine of States' rights.

It is clear, therefore, that territorial expansion, by which, a greater number of diversities are brought into the Union, and the tendency to consolidation thereby counteracted, is conservative of the constitutional balance between the general and State governments, and conservative of the Union.

The bonds of the Union have been strengthened by territorial expansion. Certainly, conservative strength has been gained by the admission as States, of Louisiana, Missouri, Florida, Arkansas, Texas, and California.

Territorial expansion, if not the law of our existence, has, thus far, at all events, augmented our strength and fortified our liberties.

By the same expansion by which our strength as a power among the nations has been augmented, the liberty of the people has been made more secure.

The *reason* for preserving in-tact the rights of the States to jurisdiction over all matters of local concernment is abundantly evident, as a single illustration will show.

It would sufficiently startle the people of New York to propose to them to agree that a body composed of but 35 members was to legislate for that State as to all matters of local concernment.

In vain it might be urged that such a body is sufficiently numerous to bring together in consultation accurate information as to all the varied interests in the State, and that being all New Yorkers and chosen by New Yorkers, a wholesome body of laws might be expected of them. The people of New York would reject such a proposition without hesitation. They would say the happiness and well-being of the three millions of inhabitants of New York is not to be trusted to 35 men, *even though all of them are of us and chosen by us.*

Bad as is such a proposition, by contrast it will appear good. Suppose the proposition made to trust the making of the local laws for New York to a body composed 296 members of whom 35 are to be chosen by the people of New York.

The people of New York would reject this latter proposition with less hesitation than the other.

It is evident, that the 35 New Yorkers, who alone of the entire body would be affected by the legislation, and who alone could be acquainted with the legislative wants of New York, would be lost among the number of strangers composing the body; strangers over whom the people of New York could have no legitimate control.

The overwhelming number of strangers composing the body would be the objection to this proposition.

Certainly the people of New York would prefer that the 35 chosen by them, uninfluenced and uncontrolled by strangers to their interests and their feelings, should be their legislators.

The former proposition would doubtless be esteemed infinitely preferable to the latter.

For Congress to legislate as to the local affairs of New York is identical with the latter proposition.

Congress is composed of 62 Senators, and 234 Representatives—296 *in all*, of whom New York choses 2 Senators and 33 Representatives—but 35 in all.

The weight of New York in the House of Representatives is one-seventh, and in the Senate $\frac{1}{4}$. We have selected New York for our illustration because it is the most populous of the States, and presents the least striking case.

The weight of Delaware in the House of Representatives is but $\frac{1}{11}$.

The wisdom of the principle of non-intervention is forcibly illustrated by recent unhappy events in the city of New York.

In contravention of the principle, that *each locality best understands and can best provide for its own legislative wants*, the central legislative authority at Albany has undertaken to regulate the local police of the city of New York, and this contravention of a sound principle has engendered a discontent that has manifested itself in bloody riots.

Constitutionally, the General Government cannot interfere with the States in the regulation of their local affairs; and that this is a wise provision, the disturbances in New York, (growing out of the violation of so just a principle,) clearly evince. We trust that a consideration of the inciting cause of these riots may not be without value, in impressing upon the minds of our Northern fellow-citizens, a due appreciation of the importance of preserving the balance between the State and General Governments, by a strict adherence to the constitutional doctrine of States' rights—a doctrine but little valued and understood outside of the Democratic party in the non-slaveholding States.

When viewed as an abstract proposition, the *reason* for adherence to the doctrine of States' rights, or non-intervention by the General Government in the local legislation of the component parts, is abundantly evident.

But however well-defined may be the path that reason points out as leading to our best and highest ultimate good, it is unhappily the fact that there is no certainty that men will pursue it should immediate present interest incline them in a different direction.

That is a wise policy or arrangement, therefore, by which the inclinations of interest are harmonized with the dictates of reason.

A governmental policy or arrangement, by which the path of reason is made the path of interest, has stability for its characteristic.

A diversity, (existing or acquired by territorial expansion,) the regulation of which, its possessors, from any cause, are desirous themselves exclusively to control, is an ever present

and ever acting interest, working in harmony with reason in restraint of intervention.

African slavery is a diversity of this kind; and its conservative value in the past, not only in preserving the balance established by the Constitution between the State and General Governments, but also in fixing, through discussion, the true lines of demarkation between their respective jurisdictions, cannot be over estimated.

A diversity is valuable in preserving the "component parts" from encroachment, in proportion as its possessors (*wielding control in their respective localities*) are sensitive concerning it. It must have control in its locality, else the weight of the locality (State) may not be thrown in opposition to encroachment upon the diversity.

Thus, the diversity of African slavery exists in the State of Delaware, but does not have control in that locality or component part of the Union; and hence, Delaware resists intervention to the extent, only, that *reason* influences men's actions.

Were the diversity of African slavery of sufficient magnitude in Delaware to have control there, an *effective* interest, exerting its power in the direction dictated by reason, would cause that the resistance by Delaware to intervention, would, as in Virginia and other States where slavery *is* the controlling interest, be vigilant, certain, and unceasing.

That diversities more or less influential must ever exist among the people and component parts of this widely extended Confederacy, or, as Chancellor Livingston called it, "general union of nations," is certain; and that every diversity tends, in some degree, to resist the concentration of power in the General Government, is also certain.

But as those diversities, only, which have control in the localities in which they exist, can make their weight directly felt in the Electoral College, and in Congress, it is to such diversities that we must chiefly look to counteract the tendency to consolidation.

It is the interest of every diversity, by resisting consolidation, to preserve the form of our government as constituted. But it is the controlling diversities only *that have the power, effectively and directly*, through Congress and the Electoral College, *to carry out* the suggestions of interest.

The incorporation, therefore, into the Union, by territorial expansion of controlling diversities, is conservative of the constitutional balance between the General and State governments, and conservative of the Union.

Diversity is the salt that savors and preserves our system of government.

That there is nothing paradoxical in this conclusion, a little consideration will make apparent.

The particular form of government under which we live was constituted in view of existing diversities. *It was adapted to diversity.*

Should diversity cease, the adaptedness must cease also.

Homogeneousness prevailing, reason and interest in harmonious alliance would work to change a system not adapted to existing circumstances.

Diversity continuing, reason and interest in harmonious alliance would work to preserve and continue a system adapted to existing circumstances.

Sound policy, therefore, clearly dictates, that in admitting new States, and in extending our limits, we should, as far as we constitutionally may, seek to bring into the Union controlling diversities.

So far as territorial acquisitions are concerned, we may freely and unrestrainedly accept or reject proffered territory.

In regard, however, to the admission of new States, the Constitution restrains the exercise, by the General Government, of any control in establishing the institutions of an inchoate State, *and also* in prohibiting the establishment of such institutions as the people of the inchoate State, at the time of framing their constitution, may choose.

The territories (the common property, acquired by the common blood and treasure of all the States,) are held by the General Government for the common benefit of all the States.

The attitude of trustee thus occupied by the General Government, carries with it the duty so to manage the trust property, that all the beneficiaries may alike have the opportunity of enjoying it. It should itself erect no barriers to prevent their free and equal freedom to enjoy, *or suffer it to be done by others.* It violates its clear duty as trustee, if, in any way, it excludes any of the beneficiaries from the perfect freedom to enjoy the trust property, or permits such exclusion by others whom it has power to restrain.

We will illustrate by the diversity of slavery.

The people of all the States have an equal right to settle in, and enjoy the territories—the people of the slaveholding States as well as the people of the non-slaveholding States, and it is the duty of Congress, under a Constitution designated to “establish justice,” to see that all the States for whom it is the trustee, shall be free to enjoy their common property, the territories.

To erect a barrier (in the nature of a proviso or otherwise) which will prevent the slaveholders from settling any territory, is an act of *commission* in violation of constitutional duty,

and to neglect to pass such laws as may be necessary to secure them in their perfect freedom to enjoy, is an act of *omission* in violation of constitutional duty. We need not argue that a duty may be as flagrantly violated by the failure to perform as by performance, by omission, as by commission.

It was well said in the Dred Scott case by the court, that "while the right (of a master to his slave) continues in full force under the guarantees of the Constitution, and cannot be divested or alienated by an act of Congress, *it necessarily remains a barrier and worthless right, unless sustained, protected, and enforced by appropriate police regulations and local legislation, prescribing adequate remedies for its violation.*"

Congress with the power in its hands, ought, as a matter of duty, being trustee to take such steps as may be necessary, to make available and of value, the *right* of the slaveholder to immigrate to the territories, by sustaining, protecting, and enforcing that right, and by prescribing adequate remedies for its violation.

Coming short of this, by act of omission, Congress violates its constitutional duty.

By legislating for the protection of slave property in the territories, Congress does not introduce slavery there, for if such laws existed as to the Territory of Washington, for example, it is easy to see that though slaves might, they would not be taken there. New Mexico is open to slavery, there is not, however, a single slave there owned by a resident citizen of that Territory. There may be a few—half a dozen—owned by officers of the army who are sojourners.

By legislating for the protection of slave property (in case it be not done by the territorial legislature) Congress merely complies with its duty as trustee for all the States, and makes free for settlement, by the people of all the States, the territories which are the common property of all the States.

We do not wish to be misunderstood to impeach the wisdom of the legislation of 1850, and the subsequent legislation in pursuance thereof.

The Nebraska-Kansas act meets our approbation. It was legislation in the right direction, though by it Congress did not discharge its complete and entire duty as trustee.

The Territory of Nebraska is an illustration of this. This is yet a Territory, and should be open to settlement by the people of all the States, and continue open to such settlement until admitted as a State.

The right of slaveholders to go there at this time (and it may not be a State for the next five years) is a barren and worthless right, because not "protected and enforced by appropriate police legislations."

The territorial legislature has not provided laws to make effective the right to hold this kind of property, although it has passed laws to make effective the right to hold other kind of property. Many other territories have heretofore pursued a like course, failing to protect slave property, and protecting all other kinds.

Congress is the responsible trustee, and should guard against a recurrence of this, by so legislating as to make of value a right now worthless.

In our view, the duty of Congress, under the Constitution, is in entire harmony with good policy in regard to the diversity of slavery.

Another of the Union preserving tendencies of diversities may here be touched on.

Among the component parts of the Union free-trade perfect and unrestrained prevails. But free-trade is valueless without diversity of production.

No farmer, for instance, will haul from his farm a load of hay to exchange for another load of hay; and no planter will send from his plantation a bale of cotton to trade for another bale of cotton; and so of any other product unmanufactured or manufactured.

Without diversity of production the liberty to trade will not promote traffic.

But cotton, rice, sugar, tobacco, and hemp, the products of slave labor, can be readily and beneficially exchanged for manufactured goods, the products of free labor; and the diversity of production which promotes such exchange causes a mutual dependence, which is conservative of the Union, by virtue of which, the free trade exists.

One of the logical results of our argument, is, that a "Southern confederacy," if set up, must fail, and *for want of diversity*.

In a homogeneous slaveholding confederacy, "States' rights" must soon die out. No State of such a confederacy can feel jealousy of the action of a Congress composed exclusively of the representatives of slaveholding constituencies. Vigilance will slumber, and a homogeneous confederacy of slaveholding republics drift by degrees into a monarchy, more or less limited.

In like manner, and for the same cause, the non-slaveholding States, (or any group of them,) as a separate confederacy, will rapidly centralize, for want of the centrifugal force which the diversity of slavery now gives, and the gloom of despotism speedily cover the land. Such, in our view, must be the result of a dissolution of the Union. But we will not pursue this topic.

The duties of citizens and States, in preserving unimpaired, in form and substance, a government, which, for half a century, has secured the maximum of liberty and the maximum of strength to us as a people, and under and by means of which, with unexampled vigor, we have advanced to the front rank of nations, furnishes a more useful as well as more grateful subject for our consideration than speculations as to the fate of the fragments of the dismembered Union.

Reflection strengthens the hope for the perpetuity of the Union, to which, in Revolutionary days, the common sufferings and common glories of all the States gave birth.

A natural and unchangeable condition in so widely extended a confederacy as ours, is the existence of diversities among its component parts. Our form of government is adapted to this natural and unchangeable condition. The reason, therefore, for preserving a government adapted to our natural and unchangeable condition is apparent, and the existence of diversities has the effect of allying interest with reason to the same end.

A government, which is so constituted, that while it is adapted to the natural and unchangeable condition of a people, at the same time addresses itself to their interest, must have stability for its characteristic.

Another basis of hope, for the perpetuity of the Union, is to be found in the growing strength of the principle of States' rights among the people of the United States.

When Mr. Calhoun, not content that the Constitution should be a mere theoretical paper, applied its principles to the practical questions of the day, his views encountered the general disapprobation, which exhibited itself in ridicule as well as denunciation. He was stigmatized as a wild and visionary *theorist*!

South Carolina soon adopted his views, and, as regards the doctrine of States' rights, became a unit. The other slaveholding States followed, and the entire South is now a unit, and (within the bosom of the Democratic party in every non-slaveholding State in the Union) the doctrine of State rights finds ardent and consistent supporters.

The doctrines of Calhoun leaven the whole mass. On every component part of the confederacy his name is graven. The impress of his thoughts upon the minds of the statesmen and thinkers of the country constitutes a monument, raised by his own noble intellect, directed by a pure patriotism, more grand and sublime than any his countrymen can rear to his memory.

The acknowledgment of the rights of the States is and must be the bond of peace and *union* among the States.

AMERICAN CONSUMPTION OF IRON.

The policy of introducing on the largest possible scale, into the public works, custom-houses, etc. of the United States, the use of iron, inaugurated under the last administration, is being pursued with commendable vigor by the present. Mr. Secretary Cobb has lately issued a circular to the iron interests of the country, asking for specific information upon certain points, and especially, upon the question of oxydization of irons.

"If the inquiries and experiments now being conducted by the Government, (we quote from the circular,) shall establish the important fact, that we have irons entirely or nearly proof against the corrosion of oxygen, it will multiply the uses of such iron to a very considerable extent for purposes to which it is now applied, and give it the preference over other irons for many purposes for which iron is now used.

"The very large extent to which this material is superseding the use of wood and stone in the public buildings erecting, at a cost of many millions of dollars annually, under this Department, renders it of the greatest importance to know that irons resist for the longest period the action of oxygen. It is hoped that the great interest the iron-masters have in the result of this experiment will be considered a sufficient apology for requesting samples of their iron and the ores from which they are made.

"I have, therefore, to request that you will forward to this Department, by mail or express, two or three small samples of iron and a sample of ore from each of the mines worked by you; the samples of iron not to exceed a quarter of a pound each, and the ore not to exceed a half pound in weight. I would also request information on the following points, viz: The extent of the ore deposite; facilities of mining ore; its distance from furnace, and distance of furnace from market, and mode of transportation thence; the fuel used; relative cost of charcoal, coke, crude, bituminous, and anthracite iron; kind of flux, and its cost, &c.; the capacity of the establishment and the amount of iron produced during the last year, and what it would be capable of producing under a ready sale and remunerating prices; any peculiarity of the iron produced; whether there are rolling mills in the vicinity, and what descriptions of iron they roll; to what purposes most of the products of your furnaces are applied, and what description of iron the establishment mostly produces; when did your works first go into operation; what has been the annual production, and what the ruling prices each year since your works were first started."

THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER AND THE LEVEE SYSTEM.

We know that the difference of level between the Mississippi at the mouth of the Ohio, and the Gulf of Mexico at the Balize, is about 275 feet. Admitting that the Mississippi commenced forming land at or near the Ohio, we must see that it there first raised lands above the sea, so that the first section raised must have been at one time coincident with the surface of the Gulf. By annual inundations, it gradually elevated these first lands, whilst constantly pushing southward its inroads upon the bed of the sea. With every advance of new formation in the Gulf we can conceive a corresponding elevation of the soil previously formed. But there was another effect. Of course, if the Mississippi once met the sea at the chains, it must have precipitated itself from a height of 275 feet; filling the sea it finally destroyed this immense cataract, by prolonging its own course and reducing its plain of inclination. To pass from cataracts to an even and smooth flow, it must have gone through every stage of the velocity of waters—from fall waters to mere running waters. Can we not now conceive the Mississippi gradually forming its alluvion, and, by lengthening its course south and diminishing its plain, gradually lessening the velocity of its current? Such would appear to be the plausible theory; now a step farther. Taking the first sea-basin filled above tide-water, and the second basin coincident with it, naturally every rise of the river still continued to overflow the land of the first basin. So, when the third basin was filled, the first and second continued to be overflowed; and so on in succession with all the basins, all being yearly overflowed and elevated more and more. This has in it nothing surprising; because, as the river lengthened its course the water rose higher and higher at its different points—otherwise, the alluvial soil near Cairo would be no higher than at the Balize. Again, the rise and fall of the river increases gradually from the Gulf to the Ohio. At New Orleans it is some 15 feet, at Baton Rouge some 32 feet, at Helena about 45 feet, and so on; whereas at the Balize it is very small. In a natural condition, we should therefore understand the Mississippi to have overflowed annually all the lands of its own formation, from the Ohio to the Gulf, and annually to have elevated those lands to an increased height proportionate to the advancement of its mouth into the sea. But these overflows, what were they? Did the waters rise to the depth of several feet above the immediate banks of the stream! Not at all. They merely skimmed over these banks, and, as they thus escaped, laterally with a diminished velocity of current, deposited their sedimentary matter on

those banks or on their outer slopes. Thus the banks were raised higher and higher, and their slopes pushed farther and farther, so as finally to fill up all inner basins of flats.

Such, then, must be our conception of the manner in which the Mississippi formed its immense delta of lands. We are sustained in this theory, by what actually existed when the adventurous Lasalle first descended in the mighty river, and when the white race first settled its banks. True, many things go to cast doubt upon the theory, but there is nothing to invalidate it, and which cannot be well explained under it, when we consider that the many singularities of the topography of the Mississippi Valley can easily be accounted for by supposing very accidental causes. The mere falling of a tree in the bed of a stream, may form a bar, then an island, and, thus, may shift the entire channel.

The first settlers along the Mississippi found, therefore, rich lands, annually (or nearly so) overflowed by the river. They found, besides, on both banks of the stream, from Red River and Baton Rouge to the Gulf, numerous outlets, by which the waters were carried laterally to the sea. Everywhere, except in these outlets, the waters, barely to the depth of a few inches, passed over the banks of the river. Since then, nature has been at work, and man has been at work. Let us see if we can determine what nature has done.

There is no doubt that had man never interfered with the Mississippi, it would have continued to flow as explained above, forming new soil at its mouth, and elevating the surface of land previously made. There is no doubt, also, that many and extensive changes would have been brought about along its entire course. The topography of the country shows, conclusively, that the present bed of the river is not the one it has always occupied; that this bed has shifted time and time again. There is also one indisputable conclusion—that the river has changed its regimen from time to time. We are also struck with the fact that its current increases as we leave the Gulf, and that the channel becomes more and more tortuous as the current increases. As it is assumed a more tortuous condition, it naturally deepened its bends, and often these bends, breaking through the narrow necks which separated them, cut-offs were made, the old channel was filled at each extremity, and lakes, false rivers, etc., formed. To these natural changes add the elevation of the bed of the river, as explained before, and we have the extent of the workings of nature.

Now, what has man done? Paradoxical as it may appear, he has too much, and too little. He has had no foresight, and he has worked without having or entertaining a proper view

of the consequences of his works. Taking the Mississippi, and its alluvial lands, as we find them, as above explained, let us proceed. The first settlers on the banks of the river found that they were periodically subject to overflows. They found that by throwing up a small dike in front of their settlements they protected themselves from these overflows; because the waters, on account of the inclination of the land perpendicularly to the line of the river, were carried off on either side of their habitations. Adopting this as a proper system, they resorted to it everywhere. The French Engineer, De la Tour, traced out the city of New Orleans, under the order of Bienville, in 1717, and recommended a dike for its protection. In 1727, this levee is reported completed. Below New Orleans, and above, the leveeing system is continued, and, by 1770, we have a levee from the English Turn to more than fifty miles above. But it is not necessary to trace out the history of levees along the Mississippi. It is sufficient to remember that levees were gradually built along the banks of the Mississippi, cutting off the waters from their natural lateral flow over the lands, and, through innumerable outlets, up as high as Baton Rouge and Red River, with the exception of Bayou Lafourche, Bayou Plaquemine, and the Atchafalaya. Above Red River and Baton Rouge levees have been built, or are being built, so as to exclude the Mississippi waters from all the large districts of flat lands previously mentioned in this report, and which are to the number of eighteen. Not only individual enterprise, but the combined efforts of States, have been applied to this stupendous work. * * * *

Let us now consider how levees have effected the river, and interfered with its natural regimen. It is evident that with every foot of levee built up there was a proportionate volume of water confined to the bed of the river, and, consequently, an interference with its regimen. A still greater effect was produced by the closing of outlets. As we gradually confined these waters, we necessarily raised the surface of the river, and at every step in the construction of levees and dikes, we found the necessity of building them larger and higher. So that now, in places where there was sufficient protection afforded by levees of one or two feet in height, we require levees of six, seven, or eight feet. Another consequence of the confining of the waters is, that we thus have increased the current, and by causing the river to advance more rapidly in the Gulf than it naturally would have done, have elevated its bed in a like proportion. The Gulf has, however, resisted this artificial encroachment upon it, and to such a degree as to force the river to seek its regimen by slightly widening, in a few localities, its bed, and especially by increasing its length.

In fact, the Mississippi is now more tortuous than it ever was, and will continue to become more and more so. I have said that as we recede from the sea the stronger is the current; another fact is, that as we recede from the sea the more winding is the stream. Is it not, then, evident, that as we increase the current we lengthen the river? We are also forced to the conclusion, that nowhere has the Mississippi deepened its channel, although, by confining its waters, and by making, at times, cut-offs, we have increased the force of its current. The Po, in Italy, once ran between low, natural banks, as did the Mississippi. Small levees were built at first, and proved sufficient, and as the Po was controllable by man, it was confined to one almost invariable channel. Did this channel deepen? No; it has filled up; and now its bottom is as high as the soil which the waters at first merely covered. Had not the Mississippi been uncontrollable, and had it not sought to resume its natural regimen, by yearly breaking through our feeble barriers, and particularly by lengthening its course, our levees would even now have reached the height of fifteen feet in lower Louisiana. Our salvation has been, that we have not done all that we intended to do—that the Great River has rendered null some of our efforts to seek our own destruction. *Let us, therefore, hear no more of the scouring out, by the force of the current, of a deeper channel for the Mississippi.*

Without going any further into remarks or arguments, we conclude, then, that man has built up levees and closed outlets, to the extent of confining the Mississippi to its channel, (or will very soon,) throughout its course from the sea to the Big and Little Chain. Now it must be recollected, that the amount of lowlands thus rescued from overflow, is about 4,000 square miles. Of these lands, all above Red River and Baton Rouge, acted by districts, as immense reservoirs, in which the surplus waters collected at time of floods, to be there retained until the river began to subside. Below Baton Rouge and Red River, every drop of water that left the river left it altogether, and, flowing seaward, gave room for the escape of more. We can thus see how it is that the river, in its natural condition, could never overflow its banks to more than a few inches, and how it is that we see it now many feet above those same banks.

Another effect of man's labors must here be noticed. He has cleared the lands of their natural growth, and has brought them into cultivation. One effect of this has certainly been to increase the amount of evaporation of the water that falls upon these lands by rains and snows; but another counter-effect is, that every drop of the water has been facilitated in its course to the sea. Every farmer has his ditches, drains, &c., so that the water, which once remained on his lands in a vir-

gin state several days, is now rushed off in a couple of hours.

Again, for cultivation and drainage, and, in many important instances, for navigation, creek, bayous, rivers, have been cleared out, and now bring down their waters in much less time than they did naturally.

And we must remember, that in the matter of cultivation, and clearing out of streams, we must not look to the delta of the Mississippi only, but also to the thousand of its tributaries, and the thousand and thousand tributaries of the last. A drop of water artificially hurried into the Ohio, at Pittsburg, or one so hurried into the Missouri, at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, contributes to the overflow of our lands in Louisiana.

To sum up, then, we see that, by artificial means, we have interfered with the Mississippi:

1. By the building of levees, and the closing of outlets.
2. By the cultivation and drainage of lands, and by improvements of streams for drainage and navigation.
3. By making cut-offs between bends of the river.

And we see that all our labors are the direct causes of the evils under which we suffer. In our greediness to rob the Mississippi of its rich soils, we have taken no precaution to protect ourselves from its wrath; but on the contrary, have gone on to outrage it still more and more. We should have steadily kept in view that we were seeking the reclamation of lands, and, at the same time, increased their liability to overflow. We should have kept in mind that, as we confined the great river at one point, we should have given it artificially easier exit elsewhere. It is true that we have been allowed to confine it, to a certain extent, without danger. Until 1828, it never admonished us that we were going too far. Up to that time, we were comparatively left in security. Since that time, repeatedly have we been punished for forgetting a part of our duty. We conclude, then, that the more we build levees, and close reservoirs and outlets, the more we expose ourselves. We should have stopped somewhere in our reclamation of lands, or else have applied means to counteract the influence of our own works upon the rises of the river.

WHAT CAN BE DONE BY FARMING.

Every one has heard of the enormous results which have accrued to the regions around Norfolk, Virginia, by the opening of a direct farming market with the great cities of the North. The following figures were combined by the Norfolk Index from various sources, of the value of the peas, cucumbers, beans, potatoes, tomatoes, radishes, rhubarb, asparagus,

apples, peaches, pears, etc., for the month of June and July, 1857:

| | Packages. | Value. |
|---------------------|-----------|--------------|
| To New York..... | 50,504 | \$126,260 00 |
| “ Philadelphia..... | 4,329 | 10,822 50 |
| “ Baltimore..... | 40,216 | 100,540 00 |
| “ Richmond..... | 1,050 | 2,625 00 |
| Total..... | 96,099 | \$240,147 50 |

The above packages are estimated at \$2 50 each, which is a very low figure; the largest proportion of the packages were barrels of cucumbers, potatoes, radishes, &c., which in the early part of the season commanded six to ten dollars each. This large amount of truck, it might be safe to say, was shipped in the space of forty days, and very serious inconvenience was felt by shippers for the lack of facilities to get off all that came to market. Although we have a daily line to Baltimore, and a semi-weekly line to Philadelphia and New York, each provided with steamships of large capacity, more were required, and nothing short of a daily line to New York will ever be sufficient to meet the demands of the trade.

The above statement shows a very large amount shipped to Baltimore, and it may be proper to remark that much of it went through to Philadelphia via the former city.

From the 28th of July to 5th of August, thirty-three thousand watermelons were shipped hence to a Northern port.

OUR EXTRAORDINARY COMMERCIAL GROWTH.

The amount of the Foreign Commerce, for the year ending 30th June last, has just been aggregated at the Treasury. We combine the figures with those of several preceding years.

FOREIGN IMPORTS.

| | Dutiable. | Free Goods. | Specie & Bullion. | Total. |
|--------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|---------------|
| 1846.. | \$96,924,058 | \$20,990,037 | \$3,777,732 | \$121,691,796 |
| 1856.. | 257,684,236 | 52,748,074 | 4,207,632 | 314,639,942 |
| 1857.. | 294,160,835 | 54,267,507 | 12,461,799 | 360,890,141 |

FOREIGN EXPORTS.

| | Dom'e Produce. | For'n Produce. | Specie & Bullion. | Total. |
|--------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|---------------|
| 1846.. | \$101,718,042 | \$7,865,206 | \$3,905,268 | \$113,488,516 |
| 1856.. | 266,438,051 | 14,784,372 | 44,745,485 | 326,964,908 |
| 1857.. | 278,906,713 | 23,964,079* | 60,078,352 | 362,946,144 |

* The foreign produce exported consisted of specie, \$9,058,570; free goods, \$4,313,862; dutiable, \$10,591,647.

SOUTHERN STEAM MARINE.

MR. BAERNY'S LETTER TO THE SOUTHERN CONVENTION.

In introducing this important subject, to the notice of the Convention, I can find no stronger language in its favor, than that of Senator Rusk, delivered in the United States Senate on the 3d of May, 1852:

"Sir, as I said before, you cannot stop the course of events. Steam is revolutionizing the world; it is bringing men of different nations face to face, it is bringing distant nations close together, and it draws after it in its train, consequences which the most daring statesmen cannot now foretell, or foresee. You must control it, or it will control you. In the hands of others it will control you. Controlled, as it is in our power to control it, it will become the element of infinite prosperity to us, but, in the hands of rival nations, it must become the source of national degradation and loss to us.

"Steam is your own invention, and England is using it. I think the Senator from Virginia said he was in favor of free trade and an 'open ocean.' Sir, I could not regard the ocean as very open when a thousand British war steam vessels were hovering upon our coasts, while we have but forty to meet them.

"This is a sort of openness of the ocean, from which may God deliver me. It would indeed be open to England, and our ports would be open to her too. This, however, is a kind of 'open ocean' and free trade, against which I solemnly protest."

England has now ninety-one lines of ocean mail steamers, consisting of over four hundred steamships, running between England and foreign countries, connecting with twenty-five lines, consisting of one hundred and five British steamers, plying between foreign ports.

France is also alive to the importance of a steam marine, and that government has, within the last three months, made contracts for three important ocean steamer lines; one from Havre to New York: one from St. Nicaire to the West India Islands; one from Marseilles to Rio Janeiro; each line to make semi-monthly trips; the total annual compensation to the three lines is fourteen millions of francs, and the contract is to continue for ten years. I append a table of the French navy, from which, it appears that France has two hundred and twenty steam vessels of war; and the United States has but nineteen.

Spain is not neglectful of this important, ay, necessary commercial and naval power. She has now thirty-two war steam-

ers, and is constructing two of the largest class; that government has made a contract for the transportation of the Spanish mails once a month, between Cadiz and Havana for ten years, at the compensation of twenty-three thousand dollars per trip.

Here then is England with her five hundred and five mail steamers, which, with her five hundred steamers belonging to the navy, make one thousand and five steamers ready for war purposes, in addition to the mercantile steam fleet, of nine hundred and seventy-five steamers, making a grand total of one thousand nine hundred and eighty.

France has two hundred and twenty steam vessels of war. Austria has one hundred and ten, Russia one hundred and five, and the *United States has only nineteen war steamers*, twelve of which carry from one to fifteen guns, some of which are not fit to be sent out of the harbor. And the ocean mail service of the United States is now performed by twenty-four steamers. The following is the language of President Buchanan, in his address to the citizens of Baltimore in May, 1856:

"Our foreign relations demand their serious attention. Our mercantile marine is now the largest in the world, and our merchant vessels cover every sea; but where is the navy to protect them.

"To be sure what we have is composed of the best and bravest materials; but we have too little of it, although we do not require anything like so large a navy as that of Great Britain or France. The first commercial people in the world, we are but a third or fourth rate power. Never have I been so convinced as during my residence abroad, of the wisdom of the maxim of the Father of his Country, that the best mode of preserving peace is to be prepared for war."

I would call the attention of the Convention to the value of the exports from New Orleans to foreign countries for the year ending 30th of June, 1857, which was \$91,517,286, whereas the importations do not exceed eighteen millions, I would ask how does New Orleans get back the seventy-three millions of dollars of excess of exports over her imports? Of course the consumers of her exports pay for them by importations to the North.

I do not hesitate to say, that a frequent and regular steam communication between New Orleans and Europe, will be of greater advantage to the prosperity of the whole United States, than any other means which man could devise. I select for my line New Orleans as the point of departure from the United States, because New Orleans is the natural outlet of the immense products of the fertile Valley of the Mississippi; and I

select Bordeaux as the terminus in Europe because it is the nearest European port of consequence, and because the trade of New Orleans is now principally with France and Spain. On this route the steamers will touch at Havana, also at Santander, on the coast of Spain, thus opening facilities for an increase of our commerce with this latter country, which, during the year 1856 amounted to fifty million of dollars, at the same time our commerce with France was ninety-one million of dollars.

The channel through which trade flows cannot be regulated by resolves of man, but where the material of commerce exists, trade is vastly benefitted by affording facilities for transportation.

In conclusion, I will say, that I do not solicit any pecuniary aid, but of course the enterprise will not be closed to capitalists either from the South or the North. What I desire is, that the great advantages of this proposed line to the Southern and Western States should be understood by the Representatives in Congress from those sections of the country, and that they will be prepared to grant to this line such an annual pay for mail services as its importance demands.

I do not think any arguments are necessary to show the line to be, not only a great commercial feature for the South, but a paying enterprise. New Orleans has about one-fifth more exports than New York, and there is no doubt of having full freights to Spain and Bordeaux, and as certainly would the European manufactures, destined for Southern and Western consumption take this route, for the simple reason that the expenses of transportation would be about thirty per cent. less than via New York. I hope the Convention will look at the superior merits of this route, which no one can doubt, is superior to those of any other projected, or that can be projected, for the trade is at the termini and other way stations; whereas on any other ocean route, from Southern ports, the trade is to be made.

I have expressly stated that I do not ask any pecuniary aid, having made my financial arrangements, but I do not think it would be proper to refuse subscriptions, especially from Southern capitalists; and in this view, I enclose a prospectus of my company, showing estimated expenses and receipts; and any gentleman who may desire to take an interest in this enterprise, can sign his name for such number of shares in the company as he may desire to take. As yet, I am alone in the enterprise.

P. S.—In my prospectus, you will see, that I have put down the receipts at \$53,500, which is, in my opinion, about \$10,000 less than they would be per voyage. I have put

down the expenses at a high figure, but even say \$50,000 for the voyage, there would be \$3,000 for dividends, or \$36,000 a year, exclusive of any mail pay.

Prospectus of the proposed New Orleans, Havana, Santander, and Bordeaux United States mail steamship company.

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----------|
| Capital..... | \$500,000 |
| 1,000 shares, at \$500 a share. | |
| Material of the Company— | |
| 2 Steamships to cost..... | \$450,000 |
| Working capital..... | 50,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | \$500,000 |

It is intended to make a round trip each month, until the business in a post office contract would call for semi-monthly trips.

From New Orleans— *Estimated receipts.*

| | |
|---|-------------|
| 50 1st class passengers to Bordeaux, at \$150..... | \$7,500 00 |
| 10 2d class passengers to " at 70..... | 700 00 |
| 20 1st class passengers to Havana, at 30..... | 600 00 |
| 30 1st class passengers Havana to Spain at 150..... | 4,500 00 |
| 10 2d class passengers " " at 70..... | 700 00 |
| 600 tons freight to Spain and Bordeaux at 15..... | 9,000 00 |
| | <hr/> |
| | \$23,000 00 |

From Bordeaux—

| | |
|---|-------------|
| 50 1st class passengers from Bordeaux, at \$160.. | \$8,000 00 |
| 30 2d class passengers from " at 70.. | 2,100 00 |
| 30 1st class passengers to Havana, at 160.. | 4,800 00 |
| 20 1st class passengers to N. O. from Havana, at 30.. | 600 00 |
| 600 tons at \$25..... | 15,000 00 |
| | <hr/> |
| | \$30,500 00 |

Eastern passage receipts..... \$23,000 00

Western passage receipts..... 30,500 00

Total receipt for one voyage..... \$53,500 00

Estimated expenses for one voyage.

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Per day, running out and home, 40 days, at \$1,000..... | \$40,000 00 |
| Commissions, etc., 2½ per cent. per annum, 53,000..... | 1,315 00 |
| Office expense and advertisements..... | 500 00 |
| Extra expense, incidental..... | 1,000 00 |
| Wear of machinery, and repairs..... | 1,500 00 |
| Light dues, etc., in foreign ports..... | 1,000 00 |
| | <hr/> |
| | \$45,315 00 |

Profit per voyage..... \$8,185 00

United states mail contract pay per trip. \$12,500 00

Spanish government mail contract per trip, for mail between Havana and Spain..... 5,000 00

Interest on 500,000 capital (20 per cent.) per month. \$8,333 00

Insurance per month..... 3,000 00

11,333 00

Thus leaving for extra dividends per trip. \$14,302 00

AGRICULTURAL BRANCH OF THE PATENT OFFICE AGAIN.

Our readers will acquit us of any very great partiality for the Agricultural branch of the Patent Office, as now organized, if they will refer to the note, which we added by way of preface, to an article furnished in our July number, by Mr. Magnus Gross, a chemist of some standing, and one of our adopted citizens.

Since the appearance of that article an active demonstration has been made upon the South, through all the newspaper scribes resident at Washington, extolling the benign and almost indispensable services of the "Bureau," and the ability and skill of its management. A circular has also appeared, stating that one Dr. Jackson, of Boston, has been appointed to take especial charge of our cotton-plant, soil, sugar, corn, etc., analyses and enlighten us in due time in regard to their characteristics. Grateful indeed will the South be for this boon. Where then are Avequin and Riddell, of Louisiana; Gibbs and Ravenel, of Carolina; Laurence Smith, of Kentucky, and others of our able agricultural chemists that they are not expressing their gratitude for the new light which Boston is to shed upon their benighted labors? Our purpose in this note, however, is not to complain, but merely to introduce another paper from Mr. Gross, which will speak for itself, and may be of service to the agricultural world. Certainly the country has the right to expect some great and decided modifications in the affairs of the office, if they are to be conducted upon the same extended scale. With a new head to the Interior Department, a worthy successor of a most worthy man, a new Commissioner of Patents, (for the first time from the South,) the season seems to be propitious.

J. D. B. DE BOW, Esq.:

Having read the instructions which the Commissioner of Patents (Mr. Mason) has lately given to Dr. C. T. Jackson, of Boston, regarding the analysis of various soils and plants, I consider it incumbent upon the "Review" to have spread before it a few remarks for the information of its readers.

In the first place, it must be hinted, that the quantitative relations of the ascertained "silica, alumina, lime, magnesia, potash, soda, peroxide of iron, and manganese, ammonia, creusic acid, apocremic acid, humic acid, extract of humus, sulphuric acid, phosphoric acid, nitric acid, chlorine, carbonic acid, carbonaceous matter, and oxalic acid," noted in the circular, would, in itself, give little satisfaction, if we are not, at the same time, informed—

1st. Whether the potash, soda, magnesia, and lime, are respectively present as carbonates, sulphates, phosphates, silicates or chlorides, and *vice versa*, as regards the other cases extant.

2d. Whether the silica, besides its being present as siliceous sand, is in combination with potash, soda, lime, magnesia, or humus; and,

3d. Whether some of these combinations are present as salts, soluble in water, or all insoluble; because on this feature of a soil's constituents very much depends the necessity of the presence of ammonia in a greater than the natural

or genuine proportion; in other words, the necessity of an application of ammoniacal manures like guano, urine, etc.

It is true, that the demand embraced in the foregoing three points, makes the analysis a more subtle, tedious, and difficult task; and it is likewise true that analytical chemists are sometimes accustomed to determining and grouping the various combinations of bases with acids, &c., by means of calculation, approximately. But the very fact, that we apply bodies to soils, as for instance, marl, gypsum, ammoniacal salts, with a view of not so much acting directly as fertilizers as of bringing about a transformation in the originally present, yet less easily assimilable constituents of a given soil, is enough to show the importance of a most scrutinizing research in all such cases where the means to be applied to that end permit of it. Private individuals cannot be expected to bear the costs of such expensive investigations, but if once undertaken by the Government they should be complete and satisfactory ones.

It is therefore to be hoped that Dr. Jackson will not look upon his trust as to a mere job, but will view it as one of the most fortunate opportunities ever offered in this country to a chemist alike to distinguish himself and to benefit his fellow-citizens. In this last regard it is most desirable and necessary, therefore, that Dr. Jackson, in his series of investigations, should endeavor to avoid falling into errors which he has previously committed, and especially such as are contained in his analysis in the Agricultural Report for the year 1855. If Dr. Jackson's new analytical inquiries should form a continuation or succession only of his corn-cob investigations, we shall indeed be sadly disappointed. If it is, however, meant in right good earnest to pursue the subject and carry out the results, no matter what they may tell, a great and lasting effect will be conferred on some branches of our national agriculture.

Such being, in a few words, our high ideas of what the Agricultural Bureau ought to be now, or to become in future, we can but look with regret upon the petty favoritism, narrow-minded irritability, unjustifiable partiality, and unworthy puffery which seems to have become habitual in its management. It is in vain for the competent student and enthusiastic lover of agriculture to approach that "Bureau" with sound and practical views and propositions. He would not be listened to.

More than a year ago it was proposed by a chemist of Washington to carry out the investigations with which Dr. Jackson is at present charged. That chemist waited in vain for the commission, which now appears to have been awarded to Dr. Jackson, perhaps for the very reason that his former errors were privately pointed out to the Bureau by the chemist aforesaid.

By a glance at pages 163 to 167 of the Patent Reports for 1855, it will be seen that Dr. Jackson analyzed the ashes from the cobs of six varieties of corn. He employed one single cob of each variety, and the per centage of ashes, said to be obtained after the burning of the cobs, varied as follows: $\frac{1}{4}$ of one per cent., $1\frac{1}{2}$ do., $1\frac{1}{2}$ do., and 2 per cent. The disproportion in the per centage of ashes thus obtained is so great that the investigator ought to have instituted a test to prove the correctness of the result of the experiment.

As stated above, Dr. Jackson used but one single cob from each variety of corn, and their respective weight was found to present the following figures: 1,000, 480, 290, 560, 630, and 830 grains. Of these cobs the Doctor gives such a description of their physical appearance as to convey the idea, that he supposed each specimen of a cob he chose, a full-grown, normal, and healthy one. How can he account for such a conception? Why did he not take, in order to ascertain the per centage of ashes beyond a doubt, an equal weight of a number of cobs from each variety of corn, burn them together, and employ so much from the ashes obtained as was necessary for reliable quantitative determinations? As it was, he worked to that end in one case 12.2, in another 9.5, again 7.6, then 4.2, and even such a quantity as "nearly 4" grains, and he expects us to believe in such results. Whenever the analytical chemist can have it, he does not, for quantitative determinations, take less than *one gramme*, or 15.4 grains of substance; to operate, however, with 4.2, and even with "nearly 4" grains, as in Dr. Jackson's case, almost unavoidably jeopardizes a reliable result, for the most skilled hand cannot prevent the usual losses and differences in the course of analytical operations with inorganic bodies being felt.

What do we know, after all, of the nature of corn-cobs, as far as regards their growth, weight, density, and completeness, to select them in particular as a standard or basis in ascertaining the universal constituents of the corn-plant, instead of choosing, at this period of analytical data at least, the whole plant, *i. e.* the stalks, leaves, and cobs? A superficial observer must have noticed, that of all the different parts or parcels of that plant, the cobs show the greatest variations as to their development; and from Dr. Jackson's own results we are able to prove the correctness of this, our assertion. He obtained, for instance, from a cob weighing 1,000 grains, only 9.5 grains, or about seven-eighths of one per cent. of ashes, while another cob of but 630 grains yielded him 12.2 grains, or nearly two per cent. of ashes. Supposing the weight of both these cobs having been equal, say 1,000 grains each—the one would have given 9.5 grains of ashes as above, the other, however, 19.36 grains. Notwithstanding such an insecure and indistinct inquiry, Dr. Jackson ventures to account for the great difference by maintaining "that the considerable variation in the relative proportions of the inorganic constituents, is owing probably to the chemical natures of different soils." Of what value whatsoever can be the analytical results of Dr. Jackson, if the nature or composition of the soils upon which his cobs have grown is unknown? Did the Doctor imagine, granting that all was right, to tell us something new about the mineral constituents of the ashes of corn-cobs, (stalks or leaves?) Such a conception of the services to be tendered to the practical cultivator, by means of chemical analysis, would render them perfectly useless and superfluous—"is owing probably to the chemical natures of the different soils"—whether that is, or is not, is the very question to be decided in every such case. But let us ascertain now how it stands with his results of the analysis proper.

We find varying the quantity of potash, expressed in per cent., from 0.2581 to 0.6430; of silica, from 0.0714 to 0.1720; of phosphate of lime and magnesia, from 0.0340 to 0.1260; of phosphoric acid, (other than combined with the lately named bases, lime and magnesia,) from 0.0230 to 0.0910; of soda, from 0.0492 to 0.2200. In one analysis the relation between potash and soda is as 3.204 to 0.492; in another they are nearly equal, *viz.*: potash 2.581, and soda 2.104. In the analysis which contains most soda, *viz.*: 0.2200 per cent., the smallest proportion of chlorine is found, *viz.*: 0.0110 per cent. Again we find the relative proportions between soda and chlorine in one place like 1.00 to 0.30, in another like 1.00 to 0.05. If we should continue these comparisons through the list of the constituents found, and then reduce the various figures to *chemical equivalents*, (the proportions in which bodies combine with each other,) we would establish the fact that, on the whole, no *natural* combination can be made out of what Dr. Jackson maintains to have found, and that, therefore, the pretended constitution of the ashes of his corn-cobs is one of his own making.

In the analysis, too, which has been undertaken with "nearly 4" grains of ashes, the investigator obtains 1.7480 per cent. of inorganic ingredients in a cob of 290 grains weight. From this minute quantity of ascertained inorganic constituents, we are required to swallow nearly one-half, *i. e.* 0.8114 per cent. as "unburned carbon, carbonic acid and loss."

Will the analyst insist upon calling this an analysis? In the first place, he takes the license to analyze the unheard of quantity of "nearly 4" grains, and after having gone through with his experiment, he wants us to admit of unburned carbon and loss to the amount of nearly two grains. Does he really believe that he has performed a chemical analysis? Well, then, let him prove it. Let him reconcile with established chemical laws and analytical rules all of his incongruous figures. Dr. Jackson, (we say so in the utmost good humor,) may either do better in future, or console himself with the celebrated French chemist, Dumas, in whose analytical labors Professor Liebig never believed until their correctness had been established by the best analyses from other chemists, though he implicitly trusted in the results of Professor Deise, of Copenhagen, for instance, who not only was a wonderfully patient and highly skilled experimenter, but was in the habit of using unusually large quantities—say too grammes and over, thus to avoid all differences or losses influencing his results.

THE LOW LANDS OF VIRGINIA.

NO. II., (CONCLUDED.)

A CHEAP AND READY WAY TO FIND OUT THEIR EXTENT—BY A FARMER
OF PIEDMONT.

In general, it may be said that our alluvial lands are our best lands: originally most fertile, less exhausted by ignorant and improvident cultivation, and more easily restored under judicious treatment. Our uplands, for the most part, may be greatly improved or injured by good or bad management, but of the others it might in a sense be justly said, that "man did not make and cannot destroy;" and this is true in a degree of the margins of the lesser streams as well as the greater. The injury received under the former system was often but superficial, and a deeper culture—which they would better bear—has frequently brought to light a fresh soil never before stirred. For their level shape forbade their being washed into gullies, as were too many of the uplands, and manures, when applied, were longer retained or yielded a better return. If, in some cases, they have been damaged by freshets, in others they have been benefitted by their depositions. Added to which, they had, besides their own intrinsic virtues, received the strength of the adjacent hills for untold ages before they were cleared.

Of those above tide, it may be affirmed that they are almost universally adapted to artificial grasses for the maintenance of their fertility; and if some of those below are less so, from an undue proportion of sand in their constitution, these are not unsuited to other valuable staples, and their texture may often be modified by deeper tillage or manures, whether mineral or putrescent. Low-grounds are cultivated with less danger to tools and implements when these are properly chosen, and afford greater facilities for gathering their crops into repositories. The operations on such lands are more easily inspected, and the results more readily and accurately calculated. As they admit of a deeper culture, so also do they better resist drought and the ravages of insects in unfavorable seasons. Whether as corn-field or meadow, they have furnished sustenance to man and beast—proving even in disastrous years a reliable source of income to their owners, and of food to others; and it henceforth will rest with their owners to say whether that source shall be perennial. Being, moreover, a monopoly of no particular county or district, but ramified throughout the entire State, the fear of general suffering from the want or high price of bread may be forever dismissed.

While they are more susceptible of renovation, they also allow a more frequent growth of the same crop, and thus les-

sen the draught of the uplands of the same estate. Such of them as lie on navigable rivers are of course nearer to the ultimate markets, and often contain in the neighboring hills the means of their improvement; or if these be wanting they may be more easily brought from a distance. Many of those on streams of a lesser grade are susceptible of *irrigation*, by taking water from their channels at higher points. Where there has been a surplus of water, much valuable soil has been reclaimed and rendered salubrious by draining ponds or marshes, and yet more by the substitution of lateral canals for useless mill-ponds. The channels of not a few of the minor streams have likewise been straightened, whereby the danger of overflow has been lessened, and the cultivation of their margins facilitated.

As low grounds yield a better return for the labor bestowed on them, and lighten the burden that would otherwise fall on the adjoining high-land, they give a character to the latter which they would not otherwise possess. For such localities from the first invite settlements, are ever afterwards in demand from the more intelligent and liberal class of cultivators, and can afford more costly and permanent improvements, whether in the character of the buildings, or enclosures, or ornamental grounds. Where several such lie together, or others like them at a convenient distance, they make a desirable neighborhood, and many such will generally indicate a prosperous and intelligent community. For such neighborhoods are sought by public highways and other works of internal improvement, by the common arts tributary to our daily recurring wants, by trade and commerce, and in the aggregate they furnish the surest basis for the higher education.

If the early proprietors of some of these estates set an example of improvident culture and wasteful expenditure, which was the more injurious to their neighbors less favorably situated, as these were less able to afford it, their successors in the same class have in a measure repaired the mischief by establishing a different precedent. For it is well known that many of our most important improvements have been initiated on such lands, and they still present the fairest examples of neat, scientific, and profitable management to be found among us.

Who, then, will not desire to know the extent of this the most valuable portion of our territory? We have a wide—an ample domain, and much of it, we believe, partakes of this character; far more perhaps than any one as yet can positively aver. We also know that these are *not the whole of our good lands*. Particular belts or isolated spots of greater or less area, in many counties below the ridge, were early noted as of superior excellence, and have ever since maintained their repu-

tation. Such favored localities are found in the counties of Louisa, Goochland, Powhatan, Amelia, Mecklenburg, Halifax, Buckingham, Amherst, Nelson, Albemarle, Loudon, and others, and a yet larger proportion of the valley, which, originally rich, has been farther improved under the hand of culture. Nor should we forget, because they are dispersed, the multitude of orchards, gardens, yards, lawns, standing pastures, small lots for raising roots and other auxiliary crops, chiefly for home consumption, larger lots for tobacco, where that culture still obtains, small farms near cities for supplying their markets with fruits and vegetables, and where the entire surface has been manured by well directed efforts; nor the numerous fields of larger dimensions which, within a generation, and since wheat has become a more important staple, have been improved by the use of marl, lime, green-sand, gypsum, clover, and other grasses, or the more equable spread of the manures of the farm. When such estates are made up in part of low-grounds, much of this improvement should, in fairness, be credited to the latter, as these, by their products, have furnished the capital, and by the offal of their crops, the manures that have been thus expended. So true is this, that instances are not rare in which upland fields had been exhausted and abandoned to the care of the fern and the sedge, and a lot of alluvial land has served both as fulcrum and lever for raising them to more than their pristine fertility. But all these for the present must be left out of view.

If any among us should have heretofore undervalued the capacities of our State, this bare statement, limited and modest though it be, should lead to a reconsideration; and yet we know that very diverse representations have been given as to its condition, whether natural or superinduced, both by friend and foe; by some of our citizens as well as by travellers from a distance. Our Northern brethren habitually reproach us with the general poverty of our soil, and have persuaded themselves that it is the inevitable consequence of the labor we employ. This last opinion which once had some currency among ourselves seems now pretty generally exploded. The inferences of both parties were hasty, yet were their mistakes not wholly unjustified by appearances.

Before the era of railroads the body of our people had been little noted for travelling, and when they did, their observations were confined to a few particular estates besides those of their own neighborhood. This is still too much the case. Our public roads for the most part are located on the ridges, lead through forests or farms of minor interest, or barely touch on those of a superior character. As much may be said of the railroads which cut *across the country*, traversing it from North

to South, and of those which tend westward from the Metropolis. The only two which avowedly seek the more fertile districts for the transport of their products, may be within convenient reach of the good lands throughout their lines, sometimes touch or cross them where this is inevitable, but at best afford the passing traveller a rapid glance at only a few favorite spots. He naturally infers from what he does see, the condition and proportions of that which is hidden from his view. There may be a lurking suspicion that this is not just; for he has heard, perhaps, the aggregate yield of Virginia lands is certainly not small, nor her exports of little value; but he is at a loss to divine where these come from. It might be thought that those who ascend our navigable streams could hardly be liable to such mistakes; but neither is the deck of a steamboat the most eligible situation for inspecting the adjacent levels, presenting as they do, but little more than their edges to the viewer. The James river canal is perhaps the only public highway within our limits that permits the traveller to form anything like an adequate estimate of the valley through which it winds; yet who shall say that other of our streams do not present continuous scenes as worthy of observation?

And how shall we correct the erroneous impressions of strangers, or the unjust depreciation of our domestic croakers, or the ranting eulogies of declaimers, or the random guesses of indifferent speculators, or the vague conjectures of the well meaning, or satisfy the enquiries of the considerate patriot, or strip the whole subject of the mystery in which it is at present involved, unless we adopt some comprehensive measure for obtaining the desired information? That we have a country, a good land, a land worth living in and taking care of, we have never doubted. But if this can be reduced to a certainty, and if it shall turn out to be better than we had supposed, may not some who now meditate flight, whether from country or city, be induced to forego their purpose, and will not those who remain, be the more content in adhering to her fortunes? Nay, may it not be the means of inviting immigrants and capital from abroad? And can it fail to have an indirect influence for the better on our PUBLIC CREDIT, when we shall have shown the solid foundation on which our agricultural prosperity rests?

We propose no inquisitorial search that shall minister to the pride of some and expose the nakedness or short comings of others. That, alas! has already been done by a higher authority. We only desire to have a juster idea of the bounty of Providence in this regard. The lands in questions are readily distinguishable from others, those on any single stream

are fixed and invariable in amount, and as a whole they can be neither increased or diminished. Any portion of the task when once accomplished need never be repeated, and when completed entire it is done forever.

This constant quantity may be unequally distributed among proprietors by the policy of our laws and the spirit of our Government, but the general aggregate remains, a prize to be contented for by the most worthy. And let not those despond who are excluded by circumstances from participating in this portion of our general inheritance. For, did they but know it, SCIENCE has at length diminished the distance between them and their neighbors, whom they have habitually regarded as so much more fortunate than themselves, and that without detracting from the advantages of the latter. Let them rather seek this knowledge, inquire whether there is nothing in the practices of those neighbors which they may safely imitate as being suited also to their operations, and endeavor to make up what is lacking by diligence and thrift. Then would they find the returns sufficient for the supply of all their real wants, and many of the comforts—nay, the luxuries of life.

We have indulged in no vague, suspicious declamation, but have endeavored to view this matter in the light of common sense. If our readers approve the proposal, let them—not order, but sanction it with their public opinion, and it may be done, and done gratuitously. Five years ago this might have been pronounced impossible without governmental aid. But the farmers of Virginia are now happily associated, nay, *organized*, as they never were before, and this were no longer a Herculean enterprise. Its accomplishment will be but one of the first fruits of their exertion.

The Agricultural Society of Virginia has members and zealous ones, in perhaps every county east of the Ridge, and in all or most of those in the Valley, besides others who are scattered throughout the Transmontane. Let the Executive Committee of that Society give this matter their consideration, and order their Secretary to prepare a circular letter explanatory of the object and method of procedure. Let copies of this be sent to some one in each county who would probably take an interest in its accomplishment. Such an one could surely enlist others in each neighborhood or Magisterial District. These while in attendance at Court, or in other places of Assembly, might obtain from the citizens generally the information desired. Clerks, Surveyors, Assessors would lend their aid. Patriotic Physicians, who as men of science must be the friends of an improved Agriculture, who go every where and visit every house, would not withhold their assistance. Most proprietors who have any notable quantity of such land, have gen-

erally ascertained the amount, and would hardly refuse a statement when sought for such a purpose. These separate items of information when gathered, could easily be embodied in a report for the county and forwarded to the Secretary, who would consolidate all such returns in a single report for the State. The aggregates under the three first and the fifth heads might probably be relied on as sufficiently accurate. Many of those under the fourth—which however are the least important; may as yet be conjectural and we must be content for a time with an approximative estimate, subject to correction when actual survey shall have made them more exact. It may be that all the counties will not at once respond to the call; but many would, and their separate returns will not only be so much gained towards the general object, but will furnish materials for a document well worthy the attention of our Farmers' Assembly. Should such a movement be commenced the writer is assured by friends that he may engage for his own county, and he believes that in more than twenty others it would be zealously and promptly executed. With such a measure of success he cannot doubt that the rest would in time wheel into line.

We know not that any measure similar to that now proposed has been executed, or so much as contemplated, elsewhere in our country, but a knowledge of this branch of statistics would be desirable any where. If other States have also been delinquent, should we therefore fail to take the initiative, or postpone it longer? Let us rather take precedence in this, if we have been tardy in other respects, and if the result be as we anticipate, they would not fail to follow so worthy an example.

THE NATIONAL EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

We took occasion some months since to denounce, as it deserved, the silly and impertinent appeal to the South, made by the "Living Age," endorsing the insane declamations of one of its noisy agitators, whose capacities to serve the world, it has long been evident, are far greater with the anvil and sledge-hammer, than with either pen or tongue. Well as we understood the visionary character of the abolitionists and reformers at the North, it never occurred to us that anything quite so preposterous as this would have been seriously pressed by any portion of their ranks. It seems, however, that in a large convention, they have adopted Mr. Burritt's scheme, and seriously propose it, in generous and brotherly spirit, to the people of the South. In kindly reciprocity, what shall the good people of the South propose in turn? Brother yankees, as you are so modest in your proposals, we shall strive to imitate

you. Will you be kind enough to make us a present of a thousand or fifteen hundred millions of dollars for the "honor of mankind" and the "good of souls," and you have our word that good use will be made of it. This is the value of the property which, on your calculation, we shall lose by emancipation. What if the amount is double that of the entire personal property of the "free States"—*the value of your lands will be increased by it in a much larger proportion?*

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|---|-----------------|
| Slaves at the South, 3,600,000 ; at \$600..... | \$2,160,000,000 |
| Indemnity proposed, \$250 to each slave, to be raised by taxation, on which the South will pay at least half, leaves..... | 450,000,000 |

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| South's loss..... | \$1,710,000,000 |
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But these arguments are ridiculous. Let us rather present a few of the sage resolves of the emancipation conventionists:

1. *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Convention it is highly desirable that the people of the North should co-operate, in a generous and brotherly spirit, with the people of the South, and share liberally with them in the expense of putting an end to so great a moral and political an evil as American slavery.

2. *Resolved*, That the American people should make their common Government their agent in this matter, and should call on Congress to pay to each State that shall abolish slavery a sum not exceeding two hundred and fifty dollars for each and every slave emancipated, each State providing for any additional remuneration that it may deem proper.

3. *Resolved*, That the American people, when helping the emancipators, should help the emancipated also. No measures of aid in this direction could exceed our wishes. Nevertheless, the small sum of twenty-five dollars to each of these wronged and destitute ones would go far towards supplying them with humble homes upon this continent, or upon another, should they prefer so wide a removal from the land of their birth.

* * * * *

8. *Resolved*, That notwithstanding the press of the South condemns, as unauthorized and impertinent, our taking this subject in hand, we, nevertheless, justify ourselves on the ground, 1st, that what vitally concerns one part, vitally concerns every other part of the human brotherhood; and, 2d, that the North has as much right to save from, as the South has to hurry to destruction the ship of State, which carries both the North and the South—the dearest interests of the one as well as the dearest interests of the other.

9. *Resolved*, That the declaration that our undertaking involves the recognition of the right of property in man, is as groundless as it is astounding; and that this undertaking, so far from blinding those that embark in it from inculcating, as all should do, the unconditional duty of the slaveholder to set the slave immediately free, does but impart to them a special fitness for such inculcation, and a special power to make it effectual.

CLOSING NOTES ON TEXAS AND TEXANS.

In two preceding articles, we presented very fully the physical, historical, and political features of Texas, reserving many notes in regard to its public men, to be the subject of a third and closing paper. Absence from our post and domestic afflictions, have prevented the consummation of this purpose, except in part, with which at present it will be necessary to rest, relying that, upon some future occasion, it will be practicable to resume and complete the subject.

The treaty of annexation was rejected in the Senate by a vote of 35 to 16.

In the House, joint resolutions of annexation were moved by Mr. Ingersoll on the 12th of December, 1844, and other resolutions were also introduced by Douglas, Weller, Burke, Brown, Robinson, King, &c. Most of these were silent upon slavery. In Douglas', the Missouri Compromise was explicitly recognized as of binding force. In Burke's, of New Hampshire, and Milton Brown's, of Tennessee, was inserted a clause admitting the territory south of 36° 30' to come in with or without slavery, "as the people of each State asking permission may desire."

On the 28th January, 1845, Mr. Milton Brown moved his resolutions, to which an amendment by Mr. Douglas was accepted, as follows: "In such States as shall be formed out of said territory, north of said Missouri Compromise line, slavery, &c., except for crime, shall be prohibited." The resolutions were then adopted by a vote of 120 to 98. In the Senate, on the 27th of February, the resolutions from the House came up, and were amended by Mr. Walker, of Mississippi, (by inserting the third resolution,) and passed by a vote of 27 to 25. The House concurred the next day by a vote of 135 to 76.

Texas having assented to and accepted the proposals, guarantees, &c., of the resolutions providing for annexation, a bill was reported on the 16th December, 1845, by Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, for her admission into the Union, which passed by 141 to 57 in the House, and 31 to 14 in the Senate. On the 26th March, 1846, Gen. Rusk took his seat in the Senate, and four days afterwards, Gen. Houston. In June, Kaufman and Pillsbury took their seats in the House of Representatives. The following are the resolutions of annexation:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Congress doth consent that the territory properly included within and rightfully belonging to the Republic of Texas, may be erected into a new State, to be called the State of Texas, with a republican form of government, to be adopted by the people of said Republic, by deputies in convention assembled, with the consent of the existing govern-

ment, in order that the same may be admitted as one of the States of this Union.

2. *And be it further resolved*, That the forgoing consent of Congress is given upon the following conditions, and with the following guaranties, to wit: *First*, Said State to be formed, subject to the adjustment by this Government of all questions of boundary that may arise with other governments; and the constitution thereof, with the proper evidence of its adoption by the people of said Republic of Texas, shall be transmitted to the President of the United States, to be laid before Congress for its final action, on or before the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and forty-six. *Second*, Said State, when admitted into the Union, after ceding to the United States all public edifices, fortifications, barracks, ports and harbors, navy and navy-yards, docks, magazines, arms, armaments, and all other property and means pertaining to the public defence belonging to said Republic of Texas, shall retain all the public funds, debts, taxes, and dues of every kind, which may belong to or be due and owing said Republic; and shall also retain all the vacant and unappropriated lands lying within its limits, to be applied to the payment of the debts and liabilities of said Republic of Texas, and the residue of said lands, after discharging said debts and liabilities to be disposed of as said State may direct; but in no event are said debts and liabilities to become a charge upon the Government of the United States. *Third*, New States, of convenient size, not exceeding four in number, in addition to said State of Texas, and having sufficient population, may hereafter, by the consent of said State, be formed out of the territory thereof, which shall be entitled to admission under the provisions of the Federal Constitution. And such States as may be formed out of that portion of said territory lying south of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, commonly known as the Missouri compromise line, shall be admitted into the Union with or without slavery, as the people of each State asking admission may desire. And in such State or States as shall be formed out of said territory north of said Missouri compromise line, slavery, or involuntary servitude, (except for crime,) shall be prohibited.

3. *And be it further resolved*, That if the President of the United States shall in his judgment and discretion deem it most advisable, instead of proceeding to submit the foregoing resolution to the Republic of Texas, as an overture on the part of the United States for admission, to negotiate with that Republic; then,

Be it resolved, That a State to be formed out of the present Republic of Texas with suitable extent and boundaries, and with two representatives in Congress, until the next apportionment of representation, shall be admitted into the Union, by virtue of this act, on an equal footing with the existing States, as soon as the terms and conditions of such admission, and the cession of the remaining Texan territory to the United States shall be agreed upon by the Governments of Texas and the United States: And that the sum of one hundred thousand dollars be and the same is hereby appropriated to defray the expenses of missions and negotiations, to agree upon the terms of said admission and cession, either by treaty to be submitted to the Senate, or by articles to be submitted to the two Houses of Congress, as the President may direct.

James Hamilton, of South Carolina, who is several times referred to in our notes upon Texas, has had the reputation of being the Chevalier Bayard of the South. With an eminently military mind, and with large military experience acquired in his native State, his position at the head of the army of Texas, had it been accepted, would have undoubtedly been a commanding one, and given an impulse to her cause throughout the Union. Want of success in negotiating the Texan loan, after the most Herculean labors, and in consequence of circumstances which were altogether beyond his reach, was the occasion of pecuniary embarrassments and reverses to Gen.

Hamilton, from which he has never yet recovered. Other misfortunes have befallen him, but nothing has soiled the bright escutcheon of his fame and honor, by even the impress of a breath. An officer of the army in the war of 1812, soon after Mayor of Charleston, he was in 1824 elected to the lower House of Congress, to the seat then vacated by the death of the great Lowndes. Here he served with highest honor and influence, until about 1830, when he was elected, during the exciting times of nullification, to be Governor of the State of South Carolina. "As Governor of the State, (having been specially elected as best fitted for the crisis,) he was the very life and soul of resistance to federal usurpation. Every citizen of Carolina at that eventful and anxious period felt the utmost confidence in his indomitable energy and his high executive ability, his lofty and serene courage—for to no human being could more justly be applied the epithet once appropriated to an illustrious statesman—" *Mens serena in arduis.*"

Since that period, Gen. Hamilton, with the exception of his Texan services, has been in comparative retirement, though actively engaged in the management of his greatly embarrassed private affairs; but we are glad to perceive that he is still held at home in high estimation, and even now is strongly advocated, in some of the prints, as in every respect, the proper man to fill the seat in the United States Senate lately vacated by the decease of Judge Butler.

Gen. Memucan Hunt has but recently passed from the stage of action. His was a noble and generous spirit, which preserved its enthusiasm and hopefulness amid every scene of trial and difficulty. A chivalrous and high-toned gentleman, a warm and devoted friend, a just and brave man: he may be scarcely said to have made an enemy in life, and will ever be regretted by all who knew him. To us, who indite these lines, his memory will always be cherished. We knew him in later years, when misfortunes came thick and fast, and can readily close the eye to faults, which were not a few, (it may be said of all of us,) when calling to mind the many sterling qualities of his heart. Peace to his repose.

Gen. Hunt did good service to the cause of Texas. He removed in 1835 from North Carolina to Mississippi, where he found much excitement existing in regard to Texan affairs. He immediately aided a company to embark for the seat of war, and soon afterwards, at New Orleans, pledged his personal credit to a large amount in aid of the enterprise of Gen. Thomas Green. His arrival in Texas was later than the battle of San Jacinto, and he was immediately honored by President Lamar with the rank of Major-General. He aided by

his private means, several companies to embark from Virginia and North Carolina, and was shortly afterwards appointed by Gen. Houston as Envoy and Minister to the United States. Here his services in procuring the recognition of the Republic were unremitting, and attended with signal success. His letters to Mr. Forsyth, in 1837, urging annexation, were able documents. In 1838 he signed a treaty of limits of the two Republics, and, on leaving Washington, was tendered a public dinner by Messrs. Calhoun, Clay, Preston, and others. Returning to Texas, he was appointed by Mr. Lamar, Secretary of the Navy, and, afterwards, filled the posts of Commissioner to settle the boundary, Inspector, and Adjutant-General, &c. When the war broke out between Mexico and the United States, Gen. Hunt hastened to join the regiment of Col. Hayes, taking his position in the ranks.

Gen. Rusk is, at this moment, beyond all question, the man of largest influence in Texas. He is a frank, open-hearted, manly, and unassuming gentleman, possessing the largest practical intelligence, and the most estimable and endearing traits of character. Simple in manners, incapable of affectation or concealment in his views, prompt, bold, and unhesitating in their utterance: his circle of friends is always enlarging, and his devotion to them is unbounded. It will be recollected, that Mr. Webster paid the highest compliment to the great qualities of Gen. Rusk. In the Senate of the United States he has acquired an influence possessed by scarcely another of that body. At the last session he was elected, by a flattering vote, its presiding officer. Gen. Rusk is still a man of middle age, and, considering his wide national influence, would yet become a formidable competitor for the highest posts in the Republic, if his modesty and retiring disposition would permit.

He is by birth a South Carolinian, and distinguished himself in all of the affairs of Texas. He was at the siege of San Antonio, was appointed to raise supplies, called to head quarters, and elected Secretary of War. In all these positions, his energy, skill, and bravery, were manifested. At San Jacinto he was present upon the field of action, cheering and encouraging the troops; and, after the action, succeeded to the command of the army. His Indian wars were numerous and decisive, and added largely to his military reputation. He was in the Cabinet of Gen. Houston, and was elected to the head of the military establishment of Texas by a two-thirds vote in both branches of Congress. After annexation he was the first Senator from that State that repaired to Washington. For nearly twelve years he has been unflagging in the duties

of that exalted position, and, with but rare exceptions, has given eminent public satisfaction.

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This much had been written by us in testimony of the distinguished merits and high public services of Gen. Rusk, when the wires accomplished their melancholy mission, and brought home to our hearth the sad intelligence "Gen. Rusk is dead." For three weeks our notes have remained untouched, and even now we have but little heart to refer to them again. Crushing, overwhelming sorrow, in those brief words. A dear personal friend has gone—one who had proved his affectionate fidelity in the hour of greatest trial. We had known him long, and loved him. Every day added to our affection and respect. Not a pulse of our heart that would not have bounded with joy to have aided in adding to his honor and his happiness. He was a true, a noble, and an honest man. In these days of public obliquity his counterpart will not often be found. Ambition he had none, except to do his duty. Though his name was often mentioned for the highest office in the Republic, he ever shrunk from the association; and, more than once in our intercourse, has declared with warmth and modest self-depreciation, when it was alluded to, "I have not the talent for such a place." The Vice-Presidency was once or twice within his reach, and, in 1856, few will doubt that had the nomination of either of three prominent parties proved impracticable, the Presidency would have been tendered to Gen. Rusk with great unanimity. It was the feeling of hundreds of delegates whom we met on their passage to the Convention. But he has gone, and now all that was revered of him, can only

"Smell sweet, and blossom in the dust."

The following biographical sketch of Gen. Rusk, taken from the Galveston News, will be read with interest throughout the Union, and it will be a fitting chapter in our historical sketches of Texas with whose whole existence his career is so intimately blended:

The sudden and untimely death of this distinguished soldier and statesman, has thrown over our community, and, indeed, over the whole State, a shade of sorrow and gloom unprecedented in the history of Texas. Identified, as he has been, with almost every important event connected with her progress, from the condition of an oppressed colony of Mexico to her present proud position among the sovereign States of the American Union, his noble presence seemed the personification of that Commonwealth whose independence he had so bravely and successfully struggled to achieve—whose interests and honor he has so long and faithfully represented. In his departure, the people of Texas truly have cause to mourn the loss of one of their purest and most capable public servants—one whose whole manhood has been devoted to their welfare—whose only thought was for the advancement of their prosperity.

Thomas J. Rusk was born in the year 1807, in the Pendleton district of South Carolina. His father, who had emigrated from Ireland, was an honest and in-

dustrious stone-mason, and lived upon land belonging to the late Hon. John C. Calhoun. "Tom," as the subject of this memoir was then familiarly called, at an early day displayed such a strength and capacity of mind as to attract the attention of Mr. Calhoun, who at once took a decided interest in the boy, and assisted to advance him in various ways. Through his influence, Tom was placed in the office of William Grisham, Esq., clerk for many years for Pendleton District, where he not only earned his livelihood, but made himself familiar with the law, to the practice of which he was soon admitted. He subsequently removed to Clarksville, Habersham county, Georgia, where he married the daughter of Gen. Cleveland, at that time one of the leading men of that section of the State.

In the year 1832, Mr. Rusk, then but twenty-five years of age, stood at the head of the bar in the upper counties of Georgia, known as the "Gold Region," and enjoyed an extensive and lucrative practice. The spirit of speculation was very active in that State, and it was but natural that one so young and sanguine should partake of the general excitement. Unfortunately for Mr. Rusk, he became largely interested in the stock of a company of miners and speculators in land, whose managers were faithless and corrupt, and who finally absconded in 1835 with the property of the company, and left him, with others, in poverty and in debt. He followed them to Texas immediately, with the hope of recovering some of the funds of the company, but he overtook them west of the Sabine, only to find that they had squandered and gambled away the whole of their ill-gotten gains.

Arriving at Nacogdoches at a time when the people of that vicinity were greatly excited by the reports of atrocities committed by Mexicans in the West upon Americans who had fallen into their hands, Rusk mounted the platform at a public meeting, and, after electrifying his audience by an eloquent appeal to their patriotism, volunteered to be one of a company to march at once to the rescue of their living countrymen and the avenging of the slain. The enthusiastic response of the crowd before him was evidence enough that the youthful stranger had found the way through their rough and tough exteriors into their warm hearts. A company was immediately formed, and Rusk was chosen to lead it to the seat war. From that time until the day of his death, Thomas J. Rusk was a Texan, in every just and honorable sense of the word.

We first hear of him in actual service before the walls of San Antonio, where he distinguished himself by his daring attempts to draw the enemy from the works. Immediately after the first successes at San Antonio, Col. Rusk was appointed by the Governor and Council to proceed east of the Trinity to procure reinforcements and supplies for the besiegers, with power to press such as were deemed necessary, if not otherwise obtainable. Although San Antonio fell before these wise provisions could be carried out, the valuable assistance collected by Rusk, in men and munitions of war, were of great service to the army in the succeeding events.

Early in January of 1836, the Provisional Government called a convention of delegates to assemble at Washington on the 1st of March, to consider the question of an independent republic. The election was held on the 1st of February, and Thomas J. Rusk, with others, was chosen from the department of Nacogdoches. The early sessions of the Convention were disturbed by reports of the near approach of the Mexican army, and the members on the second day of March declared the independence of the Republic of Texas, and on the 16th adopted the Constitution which had been hastily thrown together. They also elected a President and Cabinet, David G. Burnet being chosen to the first office, and Thos. J. Rusk, among the latter, as Secretary of War. The Convention adjourned on the 17th, and Rusk soon after joined the army on the Brazos, then under the command of Gen. Houston. He was very active in collecting supplies for the campaign, and adopted stringent measures to prevent the misdirection of the available means of the country. The seat of government had been removed to Harrisburg, but the Secretary of War continued at the headquarters of the army, so that the orders which he should give for the general direction of the campaign might not be intercepted by the enemy.

The defeat of Fannin at the Coleto, and other reverses in the West, having

induced the Commander-in-chief to order a retreat, the line of march was taken towards the East. Gen. Houston intended to proceed beyond the Trinity, and perhaps as far as the Sabine in that direction, but the rank and file of the army, as well as a large majority of the officers, were desirous of meeting the enemy as soon as possible, and of putting a stop to his further devastating progress. In this sentiment Col. Rusk participated, and although disposed to give Houston, as far as possible, the direction of the tactics of the campaign, he in this instance gave positive orders which Houston did not endorse. While the army was encamped, on the evening previous to its reaching the forks of the road, the Commander-in-chief called Col. Sidney Sherman to his tent and directed him to go through the camp and inform the officers and men that on the next day they would take the road to Harrisburg—that Col. Rusk, Secretary of War, had given him a positive order to move in that direction, and that he was bound to obey the order as coming from his superior. The order was received by the whole army with the greatest enthusiasm, as it ensured a speedy termination of the retreat and gave hope of a battle with the advancing Mexicans—a hope which was gloriously fulfilled on the field of San Jacinto a few days thereafter. Thus, it will be perceived, the most decisive and the most memorable event in the history of Texas, was brought about by the wise assumption of responsibility by Col. Rusk, at a time when the destinies of the Republic hung in dubious suspense. It was upon the pivot of this order that the whole weight of our subsequent history depends, and it was doubtless the realization of this, that induced its author to apply to Col. (now General) Sherman, several years afterwards, for a certificate of the facts as here related, which certificate was given and is probably yet preserved among the papers of our lamented Senator.

The events of the 21st of April, 1836, are too familiar to all to need recapitulation. The part which Col. Rusk performed upon the battle field was second to none in point of wisdom, courage, and effective service. While the Texan columns were advancing towards the enemy's front, the General-in-chief received a wound in his ankle and immediately called on the troops to halt, but Rusk, perceiving that to halt at that moment would be certain ruin rode forward and cried, "push on boys, push on," and they did push on under the lead of the gallant Secretary, shouting, "*Remember the Alamo*," "*Remember Goliad*," and they won a victory in one hour which has secured freedom and prosperity to an empire. It was the mission of Rusk to win the laurels of that day, and for other men to wear them.

The wound of General Houston disabling him from active service, he resigned the command of the army, which he had held since the preceding 6th of March. The whole army together with President Burnet and his Cabinet, united in urging Rusk to assume the office of Commander-in-chief, with the rank of Brigadier General, to which he finally assented, and was succeeded in the Cabinet by M. B. Lamar.

Santa Anna who was taken prisoner after the battle of San Jacinto, having entered into preliminary arrangements for a treaty of peace, sent word to General Fillisola, who was advancing from the west to his assistance, to evacuate the country. Gen. Rusk dispatched Col. Sherman with a small detachment of troops, to watch the movements of Fillisola, who had begun to retire at the command of his superior. Gen. Rusk followed soon after with the remainder of the army, and joined Col. Sherman at Victoria. From thence they both proceeded Goliad, the scene of Fannin's recent defeat and the inhuman slaughter of his little garrison. The remains of the unfortunate victims, which had been partially burned by the Mexicans, were scattered here and there over the field of conflict, presenting a most revolting spectacle. Gen. Rusk ordered them to be collected together, and when this was done and everything prepared for their interment, the General pronounced an oration, which, for eloquence and pathos, surpassed anything that had ever reached any sympathetic ear in that heroic audience. Many a rough and hardy soldier, with eyes unused to weeping, shed copious tears on that occasion over the seared remains of his compatriots. The oration was subsequently published, and we venture to say that no one has ever read its thrilling lines without feeling his nature stirred from its inmost depths. Upon the conclusion of the oration the remains were deposited in one common grave with the rights and honors of military burial.

Some two or three days after this, Col. Ugartechea, who had been in command of the Mexican garrison at San Antonio arrived at Goliad with his forces, on his way to evacuate the country, in accordance with the orders of his superior officer, Gen. Fillisola. The latter had left at Goliad a few provisions which Ugartechea was to obtain for his own use, but such were the exasperated feelings of the Texan army, so recently excited by a review of the atrocities of Fannin's massacre, that it was with much difficulty that Gen. Rusk could restrain them from attacking the Mexicans and taking retributive vengeance for the wrongs of their own countrymen. The army stores were, however, given to Ugartechea, and he proceeded on his route to the coast. Gen. Rusk then fell back to Victoria, where, on the 17th of June, he received a dispatch from Captains Karnes and Teal, who were held as prisoners at Matamoras, to the effect that the Mexicans were making active preparations for another invasion of Texas. This dispatch was brought through by Mr. Joseph J. Powell, a brother of our well known fellow-citizen Samuel Powell. The most active preparations were entered upon by Gen. Rusk to meet the threatened invasion, but the Mexicans, learning that their plans had been anticipated, abandoned their hostile intentions.

In the fall of 1836, Gen. Rusk was appointed to a seat in the Cabinet of President Houston, which he accepted, leaving the command of the army to Gen. Felix Houston. He remained in the Cabinet but a few weeks, his private affairs requiring his whole attention at home. In the year following he was elected to the second Congress of the Republic, from Nacogdoches, and was continued as a member of that body for several successive terms. In 1838 his friends desired to elect him President, but he would not consent, preferring to see Gen. Lamar in the executive office, who was accordingly chosen. In August of the same year, a rebellion broke out among the Mexicans of Nacogdoches and vicinity, against the authority of Texas, and the rebels were joined by several hundred Cherokee Indians. By the prompt action of Gen. Rusk, who immediately organized a corps of volunteers and proceeded against the enemy, the revolt was speedily subdued and its discontents effectually dispersed. Two months after this he captured and disarmed a portion of the Caddoes, the most dangerous tribe in Eastern Texas, and handed them over to the agent of the United States at Shreveport, Louisiana. During the following summer he was at the head of the Nacogdoches regiment, fighting the Cherokees and other tribes, which had been incited to numerous acts of violence and murder by Mexican enemies, and were evidently preparing for a general rising against the Texans. In the memorable actions of the 15th and 16th of July, 1839, in which "Bowles," the Chief of the Cherokees, was killed, Gen. Rusk was in the thickest of the fight, and won new laurels for other brows than his to wear.

In all of these movements against the Indians on the frontier, although acting nominally under the orders of Brigadier General Douglass, Gen. Rusk was the most efficient officer of that campaign, and deserves the credit of its success.

The Congress of 1838-9 elected Rusk to the office of Chief Justice of the Republic, which he held until 1840, and then resigned. His attention was now given to the practice of the law, in which he stood the foremost at the bar. In 1843 he was elected Major General of the militia for one year, in which office he was succeeded by Gen. Sydney Sherman, who was elected for four years—the tenure of the office having been changed to that term. This office, under the Republic, was a very responsible one, conferring as it did almost unlimited powers upon the incumbent.

In 1844-5 the question of annexation was prominent before the people, and Gen. Rusk was among the first and warmest advocates of the measure. He was elected to the Convention of 1845 to form a State Constitution, and of this Convention he was unanimously chosen President. His eminent legal abilities, and his long experience in the affairs of the Republic, combined with the native excellence of his character, rendered him the foremost in influence, as he was in position, of that Convention, and enabled him to render invaluable service to the State.

The first Legislature of Texas conferred upon him the office of United States Senator, in March, 1846, and in that position he has ever since continued to serve

his country with fidelity until the day of his death. In that august body of which he was a member, he held a proud and influential position. For several terms he was at the head of the Post Office Committee, and on the election of Mr. Buchanan to the Presidency, the voice of the whole nation seemed to unite upon the name of Rusk, as the most proper and acceptable, in connection with the Postmaster Generalship of the new cabinet. It was understood that this appointment was offered to him by the President elect, and that Mr. Rusk per-emptorily declined it.* Early in the last session of Congress, Mr. Rusk was chosen to the high and responsible position of President *pro tem.* of the Senate, in which he continued until the close of the session, administering the duties of the chair with all that dignity, impartiality, and ability so necessary to their acceptable discharge, and winning the unanimous commendation of the members. No one, in fact, was more popular among his fellow Senators, and none more trusted, honored, or beloved. Seldom rising in his place to deliver a set speech, he was nevertheless watchful of the interests of his constituents, and the honor and welfare of the Union, and when he did address the Senate his words had their desired effect. The weight of his influence was more generally felt in the committee of which he was a member, and in his private intercourse with his colleagues, where his sound practical sense, yet modest and unassuming manners, carried the force of conviction with the charm of integrity.

Had Thomas J. Rusk lived, he could have reached any official position in this Union to which he would aspire. Always retiring in his disposition, it was with difficulty that his own best friends, who knew and appreciated his true worth, could induce him to accept the honors they were ever ready to confer upon him. Social and domestic in his habits, warm in his friendship, and devoted in his attachments, he preferred the quiet joys of private life at home to the noisy plaudits of the multitude abroad; yet, while he sought not the latter at any time, he often yielded to the former at the call of his constituents, and for the benefit of his country. But the death, last year, of the life-long partner of his bosom, who had shared with him the sorrows of exile and the dangers of revolution, as well as the pleasures of honorable distinction and pecuniary prosperity, seemed to unnerve him for the conflict of a public career, and cause him to shrink from the world into the sacred retreat of home. It was to him like the rupture of his strong heart-sinews, and the tearing asunder of the cords of life. Other causes may have contributed to his fatal despondency, but this was undoubtedly the heaviest weight of sorrow that dragged him down to death. Only noble and sensitive natures are capable of such depth and intensity of woe. Let us throw the white veil over the scene of his final struggle. With reverence let us consign that noble form to the mausoleum of the past, and with gratitude inscribe upon the tablet of our memory the record of his manly virtues and his patriotic deeds.

NATIVE GRAPES OF NORTH CAROLINA.

The soil and climate of North Carolina are peculiarly adapted to the growth and profitable culture of many choice varieties of grape. When the first colonists, sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584, landed on Roanoke Island, off the coast of North Carolina, they were charmed with the great abundance of grapes which greeted their eyes. In the quaint but forcible language of Barlowe, one of the leaders of this early adventurous band, "we viewed the land about us, being, where we first landed, very sandy and low toward the water-side, but so full of grapes as the very beating and surge of the sea overflowed them, of which we found such plenty, as well there as

* This, perhaps, is an error.—EDITOR.

in all places else, both on the sand and on the green soil, on the hills as in the plains, as well as on every little shrub, as also climbing towards the tops of high cedars, that I think in all the world the like abundance is not to be found." This is not an overwrought picture, applying as it does, to the Soupernong and other varieties in their native luxuriance.

The original *species* of the grape are *few*, but the *varieties* are almost innumerable. A brief description of some of our more important native species and varieties will be here presented.

SOUPERNONG GRAPE.—This is a variety of *Vitis Rotundifolia*. It is a white grape, very luscious and sweet. In the whole Albemarle region of North Carolina it is found in great abundance. It attains its greatest perfection on the sandy soils of the eastern portion of the State, although it has been successfully raised in more elevated localities. A vine on Roanoke Island, said to have been planted there by the first colonists, covers nearly half an acre of ground, and bears abundantly to the extremity of its branches. According to a late eye witness, "it continues to grow, and only wants an extension of scaffolding. It should never be pruned; give it room and let it run." Seedlings from this grape, in most cases, show a propensity to run into the common *muscadine*, the usual specific type found in many States of the Union.

THE CATAWBA GRAPE.—This is a variety of *Vitis Labrusca*, so called from the province of Labrusque, in France. The name, however, is a misnomer. It should have been called *Vitis Americana*, as it is distinct from any species of the Old World. This excellent variety originated on the headwaters of the Catawba river, in a mountainous portion of Western Carolina—the Switzerland of America. It is a red grape, with fine, aromatic flavor, and, in the language of Mr. Longworth, of Ohio, whose success in wine-making is well known, is destined to prove a mine of wealth to many an enterprising citizen of the United States. A superior wine, the "Sparkling Catawba," is now made from it, and its cultivation is extending into many localities of the South and West. Other choice varieties of grape are occasionally found in the western part of the State, embracing the counties of Gaston, Lincoln, Catawba, Burke, Buncombe, and others, all watered by the Catawba and its tributaries, only requiring skillful culture to bring them into notoriety.

THE ISABELLA GRAPE.—This is another variety of *Vitis Labrusca*. It was sent from Brunswick county, North Carolina, to Col. George Gibbs, of Brooklyn, about the year 1810, and planted in his garden. The elder Prince first saw it there, some years afterwards, in a flourishing condition, and gave it the complimentary name of *Isabella*, after Mrs. Isabella Gibbs,

wife of Col. Gibbs. Although not so highly esteemed as the preceding variety, yet it is still used as a table grape, and successfully raised in certain localities.

THE LINCOLN GRAPE.—This is also a variety of *Vitis Labrusca*. It originated a few years ago in Lincoln county, North Carolina, and is regarded as a fine table grape. Under proper culture it might, no doubt, be turned to good account. There are still other varieties of this species of grape found in different parts of the United States, which our limits will prevent us from noticing.

It will be thus seen that the low sandy soils of the eastern and the high table lands of the western portion of North Carolina have furnished their respective choice varieties of grape, the Soupernong (Indian *sweet-water*) the representative of the one, and the Catawba of the other. And what, it may be here asked, prevents North Carolina from becoming, at no distant day, eminently a wine-producing State? Blest by nature with a congenial soil and climate, success would surely attend well-directed efforts in cultivating the grape. Let some of her enterprising citizens engage judiciously in the business, and ere long we may expect to see the *tasteful* addition of *wine* included among the staple commodities of the Old North State.

WEALTH OF MISSISSIPPI.

From the report of the Auditor of Public Accounts, made at the recent session of the Legislature, we make up the following statement, showing at a glance the wealth and resources of the State of Mississippi:

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Money loaned at interest..... | \$6,718,658 |
| Merchandise sold by regular merchants..... | 15,552,194 |
| Amount of bank stock..... | 615,100 |
| Merchandise sold at auction..... | 51,772 |
| Number of pleasure carriages..... | 11,486 |
| Value of same..... | \$1,666,079 |
| Number of watches..... | 13,941 |
| Value of same..... | \$815,140 |
| Number of clocks..... | 18,599 |
| Value of same..... | \$168,939 |
| Number of cattle over 20 head..... | 220,664 |
| Number of taxable horses..... | 6,443 |
| Value of same..... | \$896,044 |
| Value of gold and silver plate..... | 223,178 |
| Number of pianos..... | 2,233 |
| Value of same..... | \$494,628 |
| Number of slaves taxable..... | 334,886 |
| Number of free white polls taxable..... | 53,301 |
| Amount of State tax on personal property..... | \$227,114 70 |
| Number of acres of land now taxable..... | 15,913,522 |
| Value of same..... | \$88,705,203 |
| Number of acres held by State for taxes..... | 421,553 |
| Total value of lands held by the State for taxes..... | \$501,325 |
| State tax on lands now taxable..... | \$146,702 47 |

SOUTHERN CONVENTION COMMITTEES.

Acting in pursuance of the several resolutions adopted by the late Convention at Knoxville, I hereby nominate the following committees, and earnestly call upon them to perform the duties assigned to each before the next session of the Convention at Montgomery, on the second Monday of May next:

1. To present to Congress the subject of the repeal of fishery bounties: Roger Pryor, of Virginia; Maunsel White and Wm. A. Elmore, of Louisiana; J. L. Jones, of Georgia.

2. To prepare and publish a call for the next meeting of the Convention: Hon. James Lyons, of Virginia; T. B. Bethea, of Alabama; Hon. W. M. Churchwell, of Tennessee; Hon. W. W. Boyce, of South Carolina; B. C. Yancy, of Georgia.

3. To memorialize Congress upon the repeal of tobacco duties in foreign ports: W. M. Burwell, of Virginia; Hon. James Guthrie, of Kentucky; General Tench Tilghman, of Maryland; Thomas C. Reynolds, of Missouri.

4. On Southern School Books: The following names are added to the committee raised at the last session of the Convention: Rt. Rev. Leonidas Polk, of Louisiana, chairman of the committee; Hon. John Perkins, Jr., of Louisiana; William Gilmore Sims, LL. D., and R. B. Carroll, of South Carolina; C. K. Marshall, of Mississippi.

5. On the comparative expense of selling cotton in the several Southern cities: G. P. Elliott, of South Carolina; ——— Stuart, of Mississippi; J. L. Jones, of Georgia; T. J. Prince, of Alabama; General Sparrow, of Louisiana.

6. To suggest suitable business for the next Convention: David Hubbard, of Alabama; J. M. Clay, of Arkansas; Governor Mosely, of Florida; B. H. Overby, of Georgia; J. A. Acklen, of Louisiana; J. Clapp, of Mississippi; Romulus Saunders, of North Carolina; General Gideon Pillow, of Tennessee; Edwin Ruffin, of Virginia. (The President of the Convention is made by the resolution chairman of this committee.)

7. On the culture of the grape at the South: Herman Bokum and Rev. J. Esperandieu, of Tennessee; A. G. Summer, of South Carolina; Dr. Cloud, of Alabama; Thos. Affleck, of Mississippi.

8. To collect facts bearing upon the re-opening of the African slave-trade, to be presented at the next session of the Convention: L. W. Spratt, of South Carolina; Hon. Thos. Clingman, of North Carolina; Hon. R. Toombs, of Georgia; Hon. Wm. M. Yancey, of Alabama; General Quitman, of Mississippi; Governor James E. Brown, of Florida; Hon. John Perkins, of Louisiana; Dr. Ramsey, of Tennessee; Hon. Albert Rust, of Arkansas; Dr. Brewer, of Montgomery County, Maryland; Roger A. Pryor, of Virginia.

J. D. B. DE BOW,
President Southern Convention.

SORGHO SUCRE EXPERIMENTS.

A great deal of interest just now is manifested throughout the country in regard to the cultivation of the Sorgho or Chinese Sugar Cane, which many have thought would substitute very materially the old cane cultivation. We scarcely take up a Southern paper which has not something upon the subject. In South Carolina, particularly, the experiment is being fairly tested, and we await with interest the result.

The great question is, "will the Sorgho granulate," for upon this will depend almost entirely its value, since there is no

scarcity of syrup producers and approved grasses and other materials of fodder. Still the virtues of the plant in these respects may prove to be considerable.

The *Charleston Courier*, of September 14, says:

"We are indebted to the politeness of Capt. A. Roumillat, proprietor of the well known manufactory in this city, for the results of a trial which he has given to the Sorgho cane, for the purpose of testing its possibility of crystallization.

"Capt. R. procured 300 canes from the farm of Thos. H. Deas, which, after being properly crushed, produced 21 gallons of juice. This juice, after boiling and evaporation, yielded 3 gallons and 3 quarts of syrup. He then boiled it to the granulating point, but the syrup refused to granulate. It was rather inclined to burn. This experiment was made under Capt. Roumillat's own eye, and every care was taken that it might be successful. He is satisfied, therefore, that the syrup is not susceptible of granulation—and that sugar cannot be made from the Sorgho."

The *New Orleans Delta*, of September 10, says:

"I have cultivated about three-quarters of an acre of *Sorghum saccharatum* for an experiment; got about thirty bushels of seed, and find all the stock, horses, cattle, and hogs, very fond of the stalks. I think it will make a good substitute for green corn and oats, but the stalks will not bear curing for fodder, unless cut very often and cured when small; if allowed to ripen, they must be cut whenever wanted for immediate use. They are very nutritious when ripe, but much more watery than sugar-cane; and, in my opinion, the Chinese cane will never successfully compete with our old-fashioned sugar-cane for the purpose of making sugar."

SLAVERY IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA, AND MEXICO.

General William Walker, the Nicaraguan chief, has lately written a letter, in which he exposes, with great ability, the true state of the slavery question as it connects itself with our southern neighbors of Mexico and Central America. We give an extract from his letter:

The events which have followed the abolition of slavery in tropical America strikingly illustrate the fact that government is a science and not a fine art, and that its laws are to be sought for inductively—not through the sentiments or emotions. The pharisaical philanthropy of Exeter-Hall has made Hayti and all Spanish America the seat of dire and almost endless civil war; it is fast converting Jamaica into a wilderness. Further than this, it is making the whole western coast of Africa one vast slave ship, before which the horrors of the middle passage sink into insignificance. The slavery of the negro to his fellow-savage—productive as it necessarily is of cannibalism and human sacrifice—has been a hundred fold increased by efforts to suppress the slave-trade; and the vices of the smuggler have been added to those properly belonging to the slaver, by forcing him to carry on his trade with the halter around his neck.

A comparison of the negro in Africa with what he is in the United States, or even in Cuba and Brazil, shows the advantage of Western slavery to the inferior race. The condition of tropical America, where slavery does not exist, indicates its necessity for the development of the natural wealth of that portion of the world.

And of all the countries of tropical America, Nicaragua has most need for a thorough re-organization of labor. The revolutions of nearly forty years have made idlers of a large majority of the population, and but for the exceeding fertility of the soil, would long since have converted it into a desert. The re-

introduction of negro slavery constitutes the speediest and most efficient means for enabling the white race to establish itself permanently in Central America, and it is the consciousness of this fact which is leading to a combination of the mixed races of Spanish America for the purpose of excluding slavery forever from the territories now occupied by them. The tendency of this combination is, of course, to confine slavery on the American continent within its present limits; and it appears to me of some importance that the evidences of the combination should be placed before the people of the Southern States.

Nor are written and palpable evidences of this combination lacking. You may find them in the archives of Costa Rica at San Jose, and in those of New Granada at Bogota. Still nearer home you may find the evidences not only of the Spanish-American combination, but also of British complicity with it, among the archives of Washington and of Westminster. It is strange that these facts have attracted so little attention on the part of the Southern people; but they may feel the importance of them long after they have lost the power to control the consequences of the combination.

To the facts. In the month of May, 1856, a treaty was entered into between the States of New Granada and Costa Rica. Ostensibly the main object of this treaty was the settlement of a boundary question long pending between the two republics; and the treaty was signed soon after the English government had agreed to furnish arms to Costa Rica for the purpose of fighting the Americans in Nicaragua. But in this treaty the strange and singular clause is inserted whereby the contracting parties agree that slavery shall never be introduced into the territories of either. No intimate relations exist between those republics; for, although coterminous, a vast uninhabited region extends between the cultivated districts of the two countries. And yet these two sovereignties yield to each powers over the other, which one State of your Confederacy will not yield either to a sister State or to the Federal Government.

It must have been a powerful influence which secured the insertion of such a clause into a treaty concerning boundaries. Nor are we left to conjecture the source of this influence.

Not many weeks after the treaty between Costa Rica and New Granada was signed, Great Britain entered into a treaty by which the Bay Islands were given up to Honduras, with the proviso that slavery should be forever excluded from them. And this treaty signed by the Honduras Commissioner and the British Secretary of State, is afterwards embodied in what is known as the Dallas Clarendon treaty. It receives the signature of the American Minister at London, is approved by an American Secretary of State, and an American President sends it for ratification to the American Senate. One is almost tempted to believe that the United States itself is not unwilling to become a party to a treaty which is an insult as well as an injury to the whole Southern people.

And other Spanish-American States have shown their desire to join in this league. Not only was the proposition for a general combination of these republics discussed in the Chilean Congress, but a Chilean Commissioner was sent to San Jose for the purpose of negotiating a treaty with Costa Rica. A Chilean brig of war, too, having commissioned and warrant officers furnished by England and France, came to the coast of Central America with a view of aiding in the combination against the Americans at Nicaragua.

Nor is Mexico indifferent in the matter. Her border territories furnish a place of refuge for the runaways of the Southern and Southwestern States; and the new Mexican constitution just adopted has, I am told, a clause by which the central government is precluded from making a treaty with the United States for the extradition of fugitive slaves. In fact, you have but to read the journals of the Spanish-American republics from Mexico to Chili, to be satisfied of the enmity—active as well as passive—to the people and institutions of the Southern States.

Independent, then, of the importance to the whole United States and to civilization generally of Americanism in Nicaragua, I cannot but regard our success as of more immediate and vital consequence to the people of the Southern States. It involves the question whether you will permit yourselves to be hemmed in on the South as you already are on the North and on the West—

whether you will remain quiet and idle while impassable barriers are being built on the only side left open for your superabundant energy and enterprise. If the South is desirous of imitating the gloomy grandeur of the Eschylus Promethæus, she has but to lie supine a little while longer, and force and power will bind her to the rock, and the vulture will descend to tear the liver from her body. In her agony and grief she may console herself with the idea that she suffers a willing sacrifice.

COTTON CROP AND STATISTICS, 1857.

The New York Shipping List publishes as usual its annual statement of the Southern crop, though we have not received it in time for a full transcript into the pages of the Review :

The crop of the year ending Sept. 1st, reaching market, is ascertained to amount to 2,939,519 bales, against 3,527,845 last year, and 2,847,339 the year before. The total foreign export is 2,252,657 bales against 2,954,606 last year—a decrease of 701,949 bales. Of the crop 45,314 bales were Sea Islands, against 44,512 last year, and 40,841 the year before. The consumption of the country north of Virginia is shown to be 702,128 bales, in that State 18,541, and in the other Southern and Western States 119,246—making the entire consumption of the country to Sept. 1, 1857, say 840,000 bales, against 788,000 last year.

Home consumption of Cotton South and West of Virginia.

| | 1850. | 1852. | 1855. | 1856. | 1857. |
|--------------------------|---------|--------|--------|---------|---------|
| North Carolina, bales... | 20,000 | 15,000 | 18,500 | 22,000 | 25,000 |
| South Carolina..... | 15,000 | 10,000 | 10,500 | 15,000 | 17,000 |
| Georgia..... | 27,000 | 22,000 | 20,500 | 25,000 | 23,000 |
| Alabama..... | 6,000 | 5,000 | 5,500 | 6,500 | 5,000 |
| Tennessee..... | 12,000 | 7,000 | 4,000 | 7,000 | 9,000 |
| On the Ohio, &c..... | 27,500 | 16,000 | 26,000 | 42,000 | 38,000 |
| Total to Sept 1..... | 107,500 | 75,000 | 85,000 | 117,500 | 117,000 |

The above figures, adding stocks, etc., and excluding old cottons, make the aggregate crop reach 3,014,000 bales against

| bales. | bales. | bales. | bales. |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1856.. 3,335,000 | 1853.. 3,360,000 | 1851.. 2,450,000 | 1849.. 2,840,000 |
| 1855.. 3,178,000 | 1852.. 3,100,000 | 1850.. 2,212,000 | 1848.. 2,357,000 |
| 1854.. 3,000,000 | | | |

SOUTH CAROLINA COLLEGE.

We are rejoiced to perceive that this venerated Institution has been reorganized, by the re-instatement of the old faculty, and are assured that its efficiency has never been greater than it will be during the approaching term. The late President has alone been omitted in the reorganization. Considering the weighty interests involved, the Trustees have done well to postpone the election of a President, until their meeting in December. The public require a full canvass of the merits of all of the candidates. It is practicable for the College, if properly regulated, like the University of Virginia, to attract many hundred students from every section of the South and Southwest.

The following are among the Board of Trustees, some of the most enlightened and liberal men in the State:

Gov. R. F. W. Allston, *President*. Hon. J. Chesnut, jr., Hon. J. Simons, Chancellor Chancellor Dargan, Johnston, Chancellor Wardlaw, Judge O'Neill, Judge Wardlaw, Judge Glover, Judge Munro, Judge Whitner, J. L. Pettigru, W. Hempton, Rev. J. H. Thornwell, C. G. Memminger, B. F. Perry, F. J. Moses, J. Buchanan, R. W. Barnwell, J. H. Means, J. F. Townsend, W. F. DeSaussure, J. H. Adama, J. Farrow, T. S. Dawkins, Hon. W. C. Preston.

EDITORIAL, BOOK NOTICES, ETC.

We express our indebtedness to the Secretary of the *Smithsonian Institution* for a copy of the last Annual Report, (for 1856,) and find it to be as usual, a most interesting and valuable volume. At the same time our acknowledgements must be made to Senator Slidell of Louisiana, for a copy in quarto form of the *Second volume of the Pacific Railroad Surveys*. The volume embraces the reports of Lieut. Beckworth and Clarke, Capt. Pope, Mr. Engineer Lander, and Col. Emory, made under the directions of the Secretary of War in 1853-'54.

Report on the Commercial Relations of the United States with all Foreign Countries, made under the direction of the Secretary of State, Vol. III, Washington, 1857. This is a quarto, very handsomely printed and bound, and is placed upon our table through the courtesy of Edward Flagg, under whose charge it was prepared for the press. All the responses of our foreign Consuls to the circulars issued from the Department in 1854, are fully presented, and they will be found to embrace a vast accumulation of valuable matter. A fourth volume will contain the residue of these returns. The second volume referring exclusively to tariffs must be still postponed.

Mechanical Report of the Patent Office, 1856. This is presented in three volumes, which is an evidence of the great increase in the business and importance of the Office. The third volume is an entirely new feature, being devoted to drawings and illustrations which are handsomely executed under the direction and by M. C. Gritzner. Certainly the Mechanical Department of the Patent Office, in its superb and well arranged repository furnishes one of the most extraordinary museums in the world, and should be visited by every citizen who can reach the Federal Metropolis.

The National Pronouncing Speller, by Richard G. Parker and G. M. Watson authors of the National Series of Readers.

Introduction to the Manual of Geography, designed for junior classes in public or private schools, by Jas. Monteth.

These works constitute parts of one of the school series issued from the ex-

tensive house of A. S. Barnes & Co., New York.

The Political Text Book or Encyclopædia, containing everything necessary for the reference of the politicians and statesmen of the United States, edited by M. W. Cluskey, of Washington City, 1857. Too much praise cannot readily be accorded to the editor for this most useful manual. It condenses in small type, and in alphabetical order, almost all the leading documents, which are of constant reference in the political developments of the country from the earliest period to the present date, such to wit, as the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, the Ordinance of 1796, the Dred Scott case, the annexation of Texas, the Nebraska act, Kansas affairs, the platforms and history of all the great national parties, etc., etc. Such a compilation, so full, so minute, and so accurate has never been made before, and it is all reduced into convenient size. We have consulted the work frequently, and shall retain it by our side. It must be a perfect *vade mecum* for every one interested in the movements of the political world, and in a country like ours, who is not? The price of the work is \$3; and it can be had from the Author, at Washington City.

Life at the White Sulphur Springs, or pictures of a pleasant Summer, by Mary J. Windle, author of *Legends of the Waldenses*. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1857. A pleasant little volume this for fireside reading and to while away an occasional half hour. It embraces a great many lively sketches of persons and things at one of the most fashionable watering places during the Summer season, and it is easy to recognize the leading portraits. Several tales, elaborated to considerable length, are also incorporated, such as the Lady of the Rock, Pocahontas a Legend of Virginia, Grace Bartlett an American Tradition, &c. This graceful and modest, yet pleasant volume can be had in all the book stores of the South.

We are indebted to the Engineer Department of the United States for a copy of a most valuable map of our Western regions, extending from the Mississippi to the Pacific ocean.

The title of the map is "A Map of

the Territory of the United States, from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean," and it contains all the authentic explorations which have as yet been made in this extensive region, having a breadth east and west of 1,900 miles, and north and south of 1,600 miles. The map is one three millionth part of the size of the country represented, or on a scale of a about 47 miles to the inch, which, though too small to represent every feature and locality, is still large enough for all general purposes, and makes a sheet of 37 by 4 feet.

On this map trails of the exploring parties are all represented, with the name of the explorer and date of exploration, so that those interested in any particular section, have the proper authorities pointed out from which to seek for more extended details, making it as far as possible an index map.

Such portions as have not yet been explored are left blank on this compilation, or such rivers, lakes, and mountains as are known to exist therein are but faintly indicated. The whole, therefore, presents somewhat a skeleton appearance, and shows how much is yet to be learned. It must be remembered, however, that this appearance is increased by the unfinished state of the map; as large areas in California and Oregon, and the trail from Great Salt Lake to Southern California, although reduced upon the manuscript map, have not been engraved.

No general map of the country yet published contains one-third as much certain information, and where the portions left blank on this map, with the exceptions just indicated, are filled up on others, it has been on vague and uncertain information, or is merely the expression of the theories or surmises of the compiler.

The topography of the mountains has been copied as nearly as possible from the original maps, and the assemblage thus presented, so different from anything before published, goes far to overthrow many of the prevailing ideas concerning the mountain ranges, and systems into which theorizers have separated this great mountainous region. Though the ranges are, in general, in directions parallel to each other within certain limits, yet the same direction is not continued throughout the mass, nor is any range continuous from Mexico to the British possessions, they are for the most part separated by valleys or pla-

teaus, or linked together in such a way as to defy us at present to say in many cases what range is the continuation of another.

The divides between the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific are not always mountain ridges, nor do mountain ranges always form divides, as many of them are broken through by rivers.

The map shows that, having once entered the mountain region, the traveler is constantly surrounded by them, and there seems a necessity for considering all the mountains from the western border of the plains to the Pacific ocean, as but one great system.

A brief memoir will accompany the map when finished, giving an account of the routes pursued by the different explorers, the methods of observation employed, etc.

The map gives the names of locations of the Indian tribes, represents all the mountains that have been explored, and in every part gives the elevation of the country above the level of the sea. It has served the War Department greatly already in pointing out the routes for new explorations, and copies of it have also been furnished to the offices of the other Departments, and it was used in determining the location for the new wagon roads, for the construction of which the last Congress made provision under the Department of the Interior.

The work of compilation has been one of no little labor, and has been in progress nearly three years.

It is the design of the War Department to continue to add to it all authentic information, and, to make it in every respect a complete record of the progress of the explorations in that country which separates the settlements in the Mississippi valley from those near the Pacific coast.

M. V. Moore, of Taylorsville, Tenn., proposes to edit a volume entitled "*Gems from Southern Poets*," illustrated, and requests us to invite, from all sources, contributions, so that his collection may be full. We do so with pleasure.

Our thanks are due to Plowden C. Weston, Esq., of South Carolina, for a copy of his very interesting address delivered before the *Citizens of All Saints Parish*; and, also, to William W. Holden, Esq., of North Carolina, for his address before the *State Educational Association* at Warrenton. The in-

formation which is afforded upon the education system of North Carolina, and of the country, is most valuable, and will aid us in future labors.

It is comfortable to continue to receive the approval of Southern men, while pursuing the course marked out for ourselves in the conduct of the Review, for such constitute by far the largest part of the reward. At this time but two or three extracts will be made from the correspondence on our table. Says a gentleman, at Beaufort, S. C., "I hope, most sincerely, you will ever remain as you are now, perfectly independent of parties and party ties, and continue to conduct a Review, which, I think, has had as much to do in making the South feel her power and strength, as any press published south of the Capitol."

Another, at Raleigh, N. C., adds: "There is no man who deserves more of the gratitude of the whole South than you do. You have done more to develop her resources, and infuse a spirit of self-reliance in her people, than all the wrangling politicians of the day. We want commercial independence! Considering the insults, assaults, wrongs, which we are incessantly receiving from the North, our present dependence upon them, and our disposition to encourage *their* industry at the expense of our own, is indeed humiliating—yes, *degrading!*"

Another, at Columbus, Geo., says: "I am highly pleased with the strong Southern stand you have taken, and for one, am willing to go with you *any length in that direction*. Your Review is by far the most thorough expounder and defender of our political principles and rights, and, as a Southerner, I feel grateful to you."

But we are ashamed of this egotism.

Those who are interested in medical education will refer to the advertisement of the "*New Orleans School of Medicine*," on another page. This Institution was opened twelve years ago under the most flattering auspices, and is now on the verge of its second season. The professors are all known as men of high professional skill, great zeal and intelligence, and esteemed personal character. The College building is almost at the door of the Charity Hospital, and its faculty are among the visiting physicians and surgeons of that Institution. We predict great and

growing success to the new school, and that New Orleans will become in the event one of the most prominent points for medical education in the Union. The number of its students will soon be augmented five fold.

A friend in Virginia called our attention lately to some remarks appearing in the papers by Python, published by us last Spring, to which as a Presbyterian, he takes exception. Had the particular remarks complained of attracted the editors attention, he would not have consented to their appearance. It is a question of religious controversy which he would be unwilling to have discussed in the Review. His Virginia friend, however, most nobly and zealously vindicates the conservative position of the Old School Presbyterian Church, and he takes great pleasure in quoting from his remarks:

"The sentiment uttered by one of our greatest Northern men, was as eloquent, as it is true, when he said: 'This civil Union may be divided, but the Old School Presbyterian Church will remain one.' She knows neither North, South, East, nor West, but one people, and her great commission is to preach to that people the gospel. This and this alone is her work as a Church of Jesus Christ. That our ministers and laymen differ, honestly, on many questions, and even on the question of slavery, we do not deny. As individuals they have a right to differ, for we hold that the *right of private judgment is universal and unalienable*. But as Presbyterians they are bound to study the *peace* as well as the purity of our Church, and they have no constitutional or moral right to introduce sectional issues and questions of strife, the tendency of which would be to disturb our peace, weaken our influence, and pervert the design of the great commission to preach the *gospel* to every creature, irrespective of climate, condition, or color. This we hold to be our work as a church of Christ. Occupying this position, our pulpits have not been disgraced with the isms of the day. Our ministers have gone to the sacred desk to glory only in the cross—holding it up as the great centre of attraction and hope—the power of God for a world's redemption. Nor have our church courts been agitated with strife and bitterness of feeling, forgetting their appropriate work, to devise ways and means for the spread

of the gospel, that it might be preached to Greek and Jew, Barbarian, Scythian, bond and free. And if this church has stood firm and unshaken amid the storms of fanaticism that darkened our political horizon, and sailed safely through the heaving billows that threatened to engulf our Ship of State—true to her position, and firm in her purpose to preach only the gospel to every creature, she may now rejoice in the clear sky which lights up her future.”

In a late editorial of the Charleston Courier appears the following, which, in justice to our brethren, as well as to ourselves, we incorporate, trusting that the delicate hint will not be lost upon the Southern fraternity. The Editor of the Review is, however, far from entering a complaint, having been too long the recipient of courtesies from a large portion of the Southern press:

“We ask of our editorial brethren if they do not perceive generally throughout their exchange lists, more full and more frequent references to *Northern* than to *Southern Magazines*? And we ask further, if this discrimination is not found to be increasing in favor of the *Northern Magazines* in proportion as we recede from the great lines and routes of travel and communication? How common is it to meet a “Backwood’s exchange” whose first page is occupied week after week with tales from some namby panby vehicle of rosewater literature and sentimental syllabus? How common is it to find offers for clubbing—flaring and glaring announcements of prospectus, &c., &c., in favor or behalf of *Northern Magazines*?

“We need only suggest two questions, and leave the answers to the observation and experience of all concerned—whether in the magazine or the newspaper province—and beg leave, in conclusion, to submit two practical inferences and lessons:

“1. Let our newspaper brethren South and Southwest, give at least as much notice and publicity, in all forms of advantage, to *De Bow’s*, the *The Southern Literary Messenger*, *Russell’s Magazine*, and other organs of magazine literature, as they do to *Northern magazines*, which, to say the least, are not superior in literary claims.

“2. Let our Magazine friends see to it, that they embrace and employ all law-

ful and proper means of assisting publicity and challenging notice, and affording opportunities for all readers to examine and test their monthly views.”

The well-known Irish patriot, John Mitchell, in conjunction with Wm. G. Swann, a citizen of Knoxville, proposes to publish in that city a new journal, to be called the “*Southern Citizen*.”

We endorse the movement with all our heart, for surely in no part of the South is an advocate of sound Southern opinion so much needed as at Knoxville and its vicinities. The following is a part of the prospectus of the *Southern Citizen*:

“It will uphold the Federal Union, provided the sovereignty of the confederated States be respected: if not, not.

“Holding that the institution of negro slavery is a sound, just, wholesome institution; and, therefore, that the question of re opening the African slave-trade is a question of expediency alone, the conductors of “*The Southern Citizen*” will, in view of the late action of the Southern Commercial Convention, at Knoxville, apply themselves to search out and bring to light all accessible information bearing upon that important subject—on the whole industrial condition and necessities of the South—on the actual state of the negro races of Africa, and on the policy and action of European powers in reference to the slave-trade.” Weekly \$2 per annum.

The following list of *Works relating to Slavery and the South*, which appeared lately in the New Orleans Delta, though incomplete, is still very valuable, and should suggest to Southern men the propriety of collecting them together for their libraries. We have added a few to the list:

The Pro-Slavery Argument, containing the papers of Hammond, Harper, Dew, &c., edited by Simms. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co.

The Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign, by H. C. Cary. Philadelphia: A. Hart.

Liberty and Slavery, by Prof. Bledsoe. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co.

Bible defence of Slavery, by Priestley. *Slavery ordained by God*, by Rev. F. A. Ross. Philad.: Lippincott & Co.

Fletcher’s Studies on Slavery. Natheez: Jackson Warner.

Slavery—Scriptural and Statistical, by Stringfellow. Richmond: J. W. Randolph.

A Southern view of Slavery, by Dr. N. Adams, of Boston.

Defence of Negro Slavery, by M. Estes, of Columbus, Miss.

Domestic Slavery Discussed, by Dr. Fuller, of S. Carolina, and Dr. Wayland, of Rhode Island. Boston: Kendall & Lincoln.

Philosophy and Practice of Slavery, by Wm. A. Smith, D.D., of Randolph, Macon College, Va. Nashville: Stevenson & Owen.

Slavery and the Slave Institutions of the South, being volume 2 of the Industrial Resources of the South and West, by J. D. B. DeBow.

The American Citizen, by Bishop Hopkins, of Vermont. New York: Putney & Russell.

Cannibals All, or Slaves without Masters, by Geo. Fitzhugh, of Virginia.

Negroes and Negro Slavery, pamphlet by Dr. J. H. Van Everie.

A modern Presbyterian's second Letter on Slavery, by Nathan Lord, of Dartmouth College.

The Cabin and Parlor, by J. J. Randolph, of Virginia.

Clara; or, Slave Life in Europe: from the German, translated by Archibald Alison. Harper & Brothers.

Negro Mania, by J. Campbell, 1851.

The White Slave; or, Memories of a Fugitive: Boston, Tappan & Whitman.

The Mud Cabin; or, Character and Tendencies of British Institutions, &c., by Warren Ishman: New York, D. Appleton & Co.

White Acre and Black Acre. A case at law, reported by J. G. Esq., a retired barrister of Lincolnshire, Eng. Richmond, Va., J. W. Randolph.

South Carolina in the Revolutionary War. Being a reply to certain misrepresentations and misuses of recent writers, in relation to the course and conduct of this State. By W. Gilmore Simms, Charleston, S. C., S. C. Courteney.

The Hivling and Slare, and other Poems, by Wm. J. Grayson, of Charleston, South Carolina, McCarter & Co.; with valuable illustrative and statistical notes.

Israel's Ancient Slavery.

Slavery and the Church, by Thos. J. Taylor, 1851.

Inquiry into the History of Slavery, by Rev. T. C. Thornton, of Miss., 1841.

Climatology of the United States and of the temperate latitudes of the North American Continent, &c.

J. B. Lippincott & Co., of Philadelphia, provide us with a copy of one of the most beautiful and substantial works issued from the press of this or any other country. It is in the finest style of the typographical art, and is illustrated with numerous superb engravings, lithograph colored charts, etc. The volume is the result of the labors of Lorin Blodgett, whom the public well knows in connection with several recent reports upon climatology. It embraces a full comparison of the climates of our own, and the other American climates, with those of Europe and Asia most especially in regard to sanitary investigations, agriculture, and engineering, with isothermal and rain charts for every season. A vast amount of statistical matter is added, representing the meteorological observations of the United States condensed from all sources of information.

In a very short time hence it is our intention to present a summary of the valuable information embraced in Mr. Blodgett's work, but in the meanwhile, cordially recommend it to the student and the man of leisure, as well as of science, in every section of the country.

Those of our subscribers who preserve their numbers of the Review, and believe that they will have a future value, ought not to neglect the opportunity of completing their Volumes or Series of the Work. We have still a great many duplicates of particular months and years, although others are unfortunately wanting. If any one should have the time and inclination to hunt up his numbers, and will, by letter, inform the office at Washington City what are wanting, they will be speedily supplied, on almost any terms that will be satisfactory to the party. Orders also can be registered at the New Orleans office, which has a bindery attached.

A few sets of the Industrial Resources may still be ordered; 3 vols. \$6, postage free.

Our subscription list is stationary. It is in the power of every friend of the Review, with a little effort, to send us a new name, and thus largely increase our lists and save us from the continued expense and annoyance of sending out "canvassing agents." Will you begin the work? For \$10 we will send to three persons for a year; for \$15, to five; for \$30, to ten.

DE BOW'S REVIEW

NOVEMBER, 1857.

SOUTHERN THOUGHT AGAIN.

WHEN a public opinion is formed on a state of existing facts, and of anticipated results, and an entire change of facts and anticipations takes place, public opinion itself must also change.

Fifty years ago all christendom believed that if the negroes were emancipated, they would become more moral, intelligent, and industrious. The experiment of emancipation has been tried in every form, and on the large as well as the small scale.

Whether in South America or the West Indies, in our Southern or Northern States, in Liberia or Sierra Leone, the free negro is an idler and a nuisance. Besides, his emancipation has so diminished Southern tropical products, that the poor laboring whites cannot afford to purchase the common necessities of life. Moreover, to obviate this great evil, we see France and England reviving the slave-trade, under new forms, and Cuba actively engaged in it, under its old form, rendered far more cruel, however, by the abortive attempts to suppress it.

Now, we say that, with the experience of the last fifty years, it is impossible for public opinion, in any part of christendom, to remain on the subject of negro slavery, what it was fifty years ago. Mistaken philanthropy has had full sway, and its entire failure must give rise to new doctrines on this subject.

These doctrines begin to be openly preached, and practiced on, too. The South leads opinion; she virtually proposes a renewal of the old slave trade. But the North and Europe are ahead of her in practice, for they are carrying on the trade, whilst she is only discussing its propriety. Yet, even

in the British Parliament, regret is expressed for the great blunder of negro emancipation; and some speakers went on to palliate, if not to justify, the old slave-trade. One of them saying in debate, that only five per cent. of the negroes died on the middle passage, whilst ten per cent. of English troops sent to India perished on their way.

The latest accounts from Marautius show that she is flourishing. Because near two hundred thousand Asiatic slaves, or coolies, have been introduced into that single little colony within a few years past.

Abolitionism is dying out, because it is deprived of its old arguments and golden expectations, because it has done no good, and stands convicted before the world of infinite mischief.

The extreme pro-slavery men are the last to discover this state of facts; because a Northern sectional party is on the increase, they think abolition is increasing. But the origin and growth of that party has been all owing to the advance of pro-slavery doctrines at the South, and the consequent, seeming, aggressions of the South. At the time of the ordinance of 1789, the South seemed willing to give up all share in the territories. Under the Missouri Compromise she claimed more; and now she claims equal right in all the territories with the North, and she is successfully maintaining her claim. She leads public opinion everywhere, because she is in advance of that new counter-current of opinion, that has set in everywhere, about slavery. Soon the Democratic party will be in a majority again at the North. The South will take some other advance step on the subject of slavery, and then a new Northern party will be formed to resist Southern aggression. But nature is sure in the long run to conquer, and nature is on the side of the South. Negro slavery is as indispensable to the North as to us. They begin to see it, and to feel it, too. The introduction of more negroes, and the extension of slave territory, are new doctrines with us. Give the North a little time, and she will eagerly adopt them. We are her slave colonies, and she will command the commerce of the world. In the conduct of France and England about coolies and apprentices, we have a foretaste of what the North will do. Those nations need slave colonies, and if Northern fanatics are tired of union with the South, France or England will be ready to unite with us on favorable terms.

The world sadly needs works on the general subject of slavery—on slavery in the abstract—a history and philosophy of the institution.

Though it has been through all time the most common condition of mankind, little is to be found in the literature of the

world about it, except a few pages of Aristotle and our own crude suggestions.

The attempts to defend negro slavery as exceptional, have been written with signal ability by the ablest men in the South. But it is vain to preach against the prejudices of mankind, especially where those prejudices have some foundation in truth. Negro slavery gave rise to abolition, (which never existed before,) because, in its inception, it was attended with much that was odious and cruel, and continues so to be attended in Cuba and Brazil. There, slaves are still worked to death, and it requires large annual importations to keep up the supply.

The strongest argument against slavery, and all the prejudice against it, arise from the too great inferiority of race, which begets cruel and negligent treatment in the masters, who naturally feel little sympathy for ignorant, brutal savages. Inferiority of race is quite as good an argument against negro slavery as in its favor.

We, of the South, have most successfully shown that, as the negro advances in civilization, the master becomes attached to him; and that, eventually, this attachment secures to him kind treatment and an abundant supply of the necessities of life. But the whole history of the institution shows, that, in giving up slavery in the abstract, we take the weakest position of defence that we could possibly select. We admit it to be wrong, and then attempt to defend it in that peculiar form which has always been most odious to mankind.

We set out to write something of a rambling essay, and, indeed, the subject of Southern Thought is so large and suggestive, that it is difficult to write otherwise.

The first great Southern thought will be to refute the political economy of the "let alone" Free Trade School, and adopt some more social, protective, and humanitarian, in its stead. We make no war on political economy in its large and extended sense, for we indulge in disquisitions ourselves on national and social wealth, and what will best promote social and national well-being; but only on that Adam Smith School, who encourage unlimited competition, beget a war of the wits, and propose to govern mankind by "letting them alone, and encouraging the strong, skillful, and rich, to oppress the weak and ignorant." The science of political economy, strictly understood, has but one principle, or at least one distinctive principle. This is variously expressed by the terms, "*Pas trop gouverner*," "Every man for himself," "*Laissez-faire*," "Demand will regulate supply," &c. It is this narrow and selfish philosophy which the South must refute; and, yet, which it is teaching in all its higher schools. It leads directly

to the "No Government" doctrines of the abolitionists and socialists, and only involves slavery, in one common ruin, with all the other institutions of society.

Nothing is so directly adverse to slavery as a philosophy, which teaches that society succeeds best, when all are let alone to make their own way in the world. In truth, "Political Economy is the philosophy of universal liberty," and the outgrowth of that competitive society where the few wallow in luxury, and the unprotected masses, without masters to provide for them, are left to the grinding, unfeeling oppression of skill and capital, which starve them by the million. We must teach that slavery is necessary in all societies, as well to protect, as to govern the weak, poor, and ignorant. This is the opposite doctrine to that of the political economists.

Again: We should show that slave society, which is a series of subordinations, is consistent with christian morality—for fathers, masters, husbands, wives, children, and slaves, not being equals, rivals, competitors, and antagonists, best promote each others selfish interests when they do most for those above or beneath them. Within the precincts of the family, including slaves, the golden rule is a practical and wise guide of conduct. But in free society, where selfishness, rivalry, and competition are necessary to success, and almost to existence, this rule cannot be adopted in practice. It would reverse the whole action of such society, and make men martyrs to their virtues.

Here we may pause awhile, and consider that new system of ethical philosophy and of moral duties which slavery naturally suggests and gives rise to. Outside the Bible, the christian world has now no moral philosophy, except that selfish system, which teaches that each individual most promotes the good of others, and of the whole of society, by a continuous struggle for his own selfish good, by making good bargains, and by giving as little of his own labor as possible for as much as he can obtain of other peoples.

The scale of moral merit is nicely graduated, and he is universally considered most meritorious, who works least and gets best paid. The difference between honesty and dishonesty being, that the latter takes short cuts, whilst the former gets greater advantages, appropriates more of other people's labor, by deliberately bleeding all with whom it deals a little, than dishonesty does by grabbing at too much at once.

Lawyers, merchants, artists, mechanics, and professional and skillful men, of all kinds, are considered more honorable and meritorious than common laborers, because they work but little, and exchange a little of their light labor for the results of a great deal of common labor. All merit, in free

society, consists in getting the advantage in dealing: all demerit and disgrace, in laboring more for others than they labor for you. This system is called by the French philosophers "exploitation," which means taking honest advantages. In the general, no other moral rule of conduct is practicable in free society, because separation of interests and competition arm men against each other, and keep up a continual social war of the wits. It is true, the doctrines of the Bible are as extensively known as those of the political economists, and those doctrines touch and mollify the hearts of men, and neutralize in some degree the poison of the selfish system.

We, of the South, can build up an ethical code, founded on the morality of the Bible, because human interests with us do not generally clash, but coincide. Without the family circle it is true competition and clashing interests exist, but slavery leaves few without the family, and the little competition that is left is among the rich and skillful, and serves to keep society progressive. It is enough that slavery will relieve the common laborers of the evils of competition, and the exactions of skill and capital.

We have thus attempted to show that Southern thought must build up an entire new system of ethical philosophy. The South must also originate a new political science, whose leading and distinctive principle will be, "the world is too little governed." Where government restraint and control and protection are most needed, modern politicians propose to have, and in practice have, no government. They express a holy horror of sumptuary laws, of Roman censors, of Jewish and Catholic Priests, and of all interference with the family. Ignorant fathers must riot in unrestrained despotism. They have "a right divine to govern wrong," and maltreat wives and children as much as they please. Modern, so called liberty, robs three-fourths of mankind, wives and children, of all rights, and subjects them to the despotism of brutal and ignorant fathers and husbands. The most important part of government is that which superintends and controls the action of the family, for society is composed of families; and if the parts be rotten, the whole cannot be sound. Slavery secures intelligent rulers, interested in the well-being of its subjects, and they never permit the maltreatment by slaves of their wives and children. Every mail teems with accounts of wife murders at the North, and yet we have never heard or read of a negro murdering his wife at the South. Nothing but the strong arm and inquisitorial superintendence of a master, can restrain their wife murderers; they need "more of government."

Southern thought will teach that protection and slavery must go hand in hand, for we cannot efficiently protect those

whose conduct we cannot control. (Hence, the powers and obligations of husbands and fathers.) We can never be sure that our charities will not be misapplied, unless we can control their expenditure.

It is the duty of society to protect all its members, and it can only do so by subjecting each to that degree of government constraint or slavery, which will best advance the good of each and of the whole. Thus, ambition, or the love of power, properly directed, becomes the noblest of virtues, because power alone can enable us to be safely benevolent to the weak, poor, or criminal.

To protect the weak, we must first enslave them, and this slavery must be either political and legal, or social; the latter, including the condition of wives, apprentices, inmates of poor houses, idiots, lunatics, children, sailors, soldiers, and domestic slaves. Those latter classes cannot be governed, and also protected by mere law, and require masters of some kind, whose will and discretion shall stand as a law to them, who shall be entitled to their labor, and bound to provide for them. This social organization begets harmony and good will, instead of competition, rivalry, and war of the wits.

Slavery educates, refines, and moralizes the masses by separating them from each other, and bringing them into continual intercourse with masters of superior minds, information, and morality. The laboring class of Europe, associating with nothing above them, learn nothing but crime and immorality from each other, and are well described by Mr. Charles Dickens as "a heaving mass of poverty, ignorance, and crime." Slavery is necessary as an educational institution, and is worth ten times all the common schools of the North. Such common schools teach only uncommonly bad morals, and prepare their inmates to graduate in the penitentiary, as the statistics of crime at the North abundantly prove.

There certainly is in the human heart, under all circumstances, a love for all mankind, and a yearning desire to equalize human conditions. We are all philanthropists by force of nature, for we are social beings, tied to each other by invisible chords of sympathy. Nature, which makes us members or limbs of the being society, and affects us pleasantly or painfully, as any of those members or limbs, however distant from us, are affected, would teach us how to promote the well being of each and all, if we would but attend to her lessons. The slaveholder feels quite as sensibly the vibrations of the nervous system of humanitarian sympathy which makes society one being, as the abolitionist, the socialist, or the christian. They are all in pursuit of one object—the good of the whole—feeling that the good of each is indissolubly connected with

the good of all. By observing and studying the habitudes of the bees and the ants, of flocking birds and gregarious animals, we must become satisfied that our social habits and sympathetic feelings are involuntary, a part of our nature, and necessary to our healthful and natural existence. This induces us to reject the social contract of Locke, which presupposes a state in which each human being has a separate independent existence; and also the philosophy of Adam Smith, which grew out of Locke's theory, and goes still further by insisting that "every man for himself" is the true doctrine of government.

Now, the question arises, how are man's social wants and habitudes to be satisfied, after rejecting the philosophy which dissociates him? How is that equality of social happiness and enjoyment to be attained which we all involuntarily desire? Has not nature, which made us social and gregarious, taught us ere this our best governmental policy? Has man no instincts, no divine promptings and directions; or is he accursed of God, and been left to grope and blunder in the dark for six thousand years, whilst other social animals have understood the science and practice of government from the first?

We, of the South, assume that man has all along instinctively understood and practiced that social and political government best suited to his nature, and that domestic slavery is, in the general, a natural and necessary part of that government, and that its absence is owing to a decaying and diseased state of society, or to something exceptional in local circumstances, as in desert, or mountainous, or new countries, where competition is no evil, because capital has no mastery over labor. But how does slavery equalize human conditions, whilst it vests with seemingly unlimited and despotic power a few, and subjects the many to all the ills or evils which that power may choose capriciously to inflict?

First: There is no such thing as despotic power in the moral world, for human beings act and re-act on each other, and affect each other's course of action, just as in the physical world all bodies, by the laws of gravitation, mutually attract and control each other's motions. The difference being, that in the moral world, the smaller and weaker bodies not only neutralize the despotism of the larger, but often control and rule them. The wife, the infant, the slave, by virtue of that nervous, social sympathy, which connects us together, by means of domestic and family affection, which shield and protect the weaker members of the household, and by that singular influence which compassion and pity for the helpless and dependent exercises most especially over the conduct of the strong, the brave, and the powerful, are in the general far

more efficiently shielded from tyranny and ill treatment than they could be by the interposition of any human laws and penalties. Within the family circle it is impossible to interpose usefully many such laws and penalties; hence, Providence has abundantly supplied those checks to power which man in vain attempts to fabricate. "I am thy slave, deprives me of the power of a master!" All acknowledge and admire the truth and beauty of this sentiment, and thus tacitly admit the correctness of our theory.

But another step in the argument is necessary. This only proves that the despotic power of the master, the husband, and the father is no engine of tyranny, but usually and naturally a tie of affection, and a means of support and protection. Yet, it does not prove that the condition of the inferiors is equally desirable with that of superiors.

The labors of life devolve on inferiors, its cares on superiors. Their obligations are mutual, and each in a broad sense equally slaves, for the superior is as much bound by law, natural feeling, self-interest, and custom, to take care of, govern, and provide for inferiors or dependents, as they to labor for him. Which is the happier condition, in general, none can determine.

Faith in God, which establishes and perpetuates the two conditions, should make us bow in humble submission to his will, and with reverential respect for his wisdom, benevolence, and justice, be ready to believe that in a naturally constituted society, high and low are equally happy.

We cannot dismiss this part of our subject without giving two extracts, the one from Shakespeare, the other from Virgil, portraying, as mere philosopher can never portray, those anguishing and corroding cares that oft afflict the breasts of kings; and masters, husbands, and fathers are but kings on a small scale.

KING H.—"How many thousand of my poorest subjects
Are at this hour asleep!—Sleep, gentle sleep,
Nature's soft nurse, how have I frighted thee,
That thou no more wilt weigh my eye-lids down,
And steep my senses in forgetfulness!
Why rather, sleep, liest thou in smoky cribs,
Upon uneasy pallets stretching thee,
And hush'd with buzzing night-flies to thy slumber;
Than in the perfum'd chambers of the great,
Under the canopies of costly state,
And lull'd with sounds of sweetest melody?
O thou dull god, why liest thou with the vile,
In loathsome beds; and leav'st the kingly couch,
A watch-case, or a common 'larum bell?
Wilt thou upon the high and giddy mast
Seal up the ship-boy's eyes, and rock his brains
In cradle of the rude imperious surge;

And in the visitation of the winds,
Who take the ruffian billows by the top,
Curling their monstrous heads, and hanging them
With deaf'ning clamors in the slippery clouds,
That, with the hurly, death itself awakes!
Can'st thou, O partial sleep! give thy repose
To the wet sea-boy in an hour so rude;
And, in the calmest and most stillest night,
With all appliances and means to boot,
Deny it to a king! Then, happy low, lie down!
Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown.

Second Part of KING HENRY IV., Act iii.

The passage we shall quote from, Virgil, describes a Queen in love, whose unrequited passion afflicts her with so much anguish and mortification, that she spends sleepless nights whilst all is profound peace and quiet around her. Her's are not the cares of the master for his family, or of the sovereign for his subjects; but, still, it is mental pain and anxiety, which the master and the sovereign continually feel, which follows them by day and by night, depriving them of appetite, and disturbing their rest; whilst moderate labor, under the superintendence and protection of a superior, is free from care, conduces to health, whets the appetite, and brings on profound and luxurious sleep. The anxious, wretched, sleepless Dido, well represents the frequent condition of the master, whilst the profound repose around her, is but the sleep of wife, children, and slaves, freed from care by a master, of whose sleepless vigils they are all unconscious. At all events, the most fastidious reader will not object to an occasional oasis of poetry, 'mid the dreary waste of philosophical disquisition. In collating the passages which we have selected, one is at a loss which most to admire, the turbid passion of the English Bard, or the delicate tracery of the Latin Poet. Each is perfect in its kind, and perfectly adapted to the subject of the story:

"Nox erat, et placidum carpebant fessa soporem
Corpora per terras, sylvæque et sæva quierant.
Æquora: cum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu:
Cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes, pictæque; volucres,
Quæque; lacus latè liquidos, quæque; aspera dumis
Rura tenent, somno positæ sub nocte silenti
Lenibant curas, et corda oblita laborum.
At non infelix animi Phœnissa; neque unquam
Solvitur in somnos, oculisve aut pectore noctem
Accipit."—ÆNEID, Lib. iv.

The cares of life are a full offset to the labors of life, and thus, and thus only, may human conditions be equalized.

But the free laborer has nightly care superadded to incessant daily toil, whilst his employer is exempted as well from the labor of life, as from most of its cares. The former is a slave, without the rights of a slave; the latter, a master, without the

obligations of a master. What equality of condition can there be in free society?

Socially, slavery is quite as promotive of human happiness as it is morally and politically. "It is not good for man to be alone." His nature is social, and most of his happiness and enjoyment is reflected, and proceeds from his sympathy with the pleasures of others. Too small a family circle is injurious to happiness, as well because it circumscribes the pleasures of association, and prevents much interchange of ideas, as because it brings us nearer to that state of helplessness to which the solitary man is subjected. We cannot conceive of much pleasure or enjoyment in the life of a man and wife, with five or six infant children, living to themselves and cultivating their own lands. The sickness of either parent would render the situation of the whole family desperate. The healthy parent could not nurse the sick one, attend to the children, and to all domestic concerns, and also cultivate the land. The apprehension of this common event would suffice to mar enjoyment. But such a family, as we have described, would have scarcely any sources of social enjoyment at any time, for the constant drudgery of labor would confine them at home, and deprive them of the opportunity to acquire subjects for conversation, or ideas for interchange. Such a life is solitary and monotonous, begets cruel and despotic exercise of power on the part of the husband, who is not brought in contact with public opinion, negligence and slovenliness in the wife, and ignorance with the children. The boasted independence of such a life will not bear examination. The wife and six children are the slaves often of a cruel, capricious husband, who treats them badly, and provides for them insufficiently.

All this was obviated by the admirable slave institutions of the Romans, and other nations of antiquity. Society was divided into circles sufficiently large to insure against want, and to secure social enjoyment and intellectual improvement. These circles revolved around a common central head, thus securing order, concert and coöperation, and promoting kind and sympathetic feelings, instead of jealousy, rivalry, and competition. The Roman patrician had hundreds of followers, or clients, bound by hereditary ties to his house. For six hundred years, it is said, there never occurred an instance of faithlessness to the tie of patron and client. The nobleman never failed to protect, and the client never proved recreant to his duties when his patron needed his services. Next in the circle came the freedmen, who, although liberated from slavery, rarely forgot their allegiance to their late master—for they still needed his powerful protection. Lastly, were the slaves, who performed all common labor, but were relieved

from the cares of life, and from the perils and privations of war. We can see in such society all the elements of social order, and of social happiness, and adequate *insurance* against casualties, sickness, injustice from without, and from hunger, nakedness, and poverty. Insurance is the business of government. Insurance is the object of society, and necessitates society. Modern free society neglects it, and foolishly says "the world is too much governed," thus forcing mankind to supply the deficiency of government, by thousands of forms of insurance, such as the Odd-Fellows, the Masons, the Sons of Temperance, Rappites, Mormons, Shakers, and Socialists of every hue; besides, the regular insurance companies, from fire and other casualties. Ancient slave society insured all its members, and so, in a great degree, does modern slave society—for master, mistress, and slaves, will never be all sick, or die at once, so that the weak and infirm are always secure of sufficient provision and attention.

Economically, slavery is necessary to bring about association of labor and division of expenses. Labor becomes far more efficient when many are associated together, and the expenses of living are greatly diminished when many families are united under a common government. The socialists are all aiming to attain these ends by an unnatural association, let them adopt the natural one, slavery, and they would show themselves wise and useful men.

We will cite a single example to illustrate our theory, that of farming. A single family, man, wife, and two or three children, under twenty-one years of age, cannot carry on farming profitably. Indeed, we believe their labors *on their own lands* would not support them, if mere grain producers, as well as slaves are usually supported. At least, where the family consisted of husband and wife and four or five young children, their labor would be inadequate to their support.

The expenses of small farms are proportionately much greater than those of large ones. To make and keep up an enclosure around a five acre field, of ordinary land, would cost more than the gross amount of sales of crops. Farmers of fifty acres must have a wagon, a fan, granary, and many other things quite as costly as those on a farm of three hundred acres. The labor or expense of sending to mill, to the blacksmith's shop, to stores, and to market, and the general labor of providing and superintending, are as great on a small farm as on one of much larger size. Every day's experience of the world shows the great economy of carrying on business on a large scale. Mammoth steamships are taking the place of sail vessels, mammoth hotels of ordinary taverns, and railroads and omnibuses are supplanting common roads and carriages.

Now, slavery, as an industrial institution, bears the same relation to independent, separate, free labor, that these modern improvements do to those which they have supplanted. But we have proof incontestible of the superior availability of slave labor in the fact, that the South, with a thin soil, is now producing a larger agricultural surplus than any other population of the same amount in the world, whilst the general comfort of its people, and its domestic consumption, exceed that of any other people.

We have thus attempted to show that Southern thought must inaugurate a new philosophy of ethics or morals, (in the restricted sense of the term morals,) because the present system resulting from the competition, and every man for himself, theory of free society, is selfish and anti-scriptural. That it must originate a new theory in politics, because the present system proposes to govern men by "letting them alone," and encouraging the strong, astute, and wealthy, to make a continual war of the wits and of capital, upon the weak, poor, and ignorant.

That we must have a new social philosophy, because man is by nature helpless when alone, and social from taste, feeling, and necessity; and yet, political economy proposes to disintegrate society, and set every man up for himself.

And lastly, that we must have a new economic philosophy, because association of labor and division of expenses is the true secret of national and individual wealth, and that this is brought about by slavery, and prevented by free society. We know that after such society has lost its liberty, though still retaining its name, after a few have monopolized all capital, their power over the masses is greater than that of slave-owners. Then, association of labor and division of expenses is more perfect than in slave society. Then is (so called) free society more productive than slave society; but it is because slavery to capital has taken the place of domestic slavery. The employers profits become greater than those of the slaveholder, because he pays less wages to his laborers.

The Black Republicans and Abolitionists, with Sumner at the head, have displayed a degree of intellectual imbecility on the subject of the settlement of the public lands, that is absolutely marvellous and astounding, especially in a party, who, for thirty years, have done little else than study, write, speak, and agitate about sociological questions.

They boast that lands are dearer and labor cheaper at the North than the South. They say, (and say truly,) if you introduce white labor into Kansas, lands will be more valuable than if it be settled by slaveholders. Now, is it possible that they are such simpletons as not to see that they are asserting

that the white laborers of the North, as slaves to capital, get less wages than our slaves? Lands do not breed produce of themselves nothing valuable, and, if as common to all as air and water, would be as valueless as air and water. Their value is the amount which land monopoly enables the land owner to exact from the laborer. Where the laborer is allowed most of the proceeds of his labor, there lands are cheapest. Where he is allowed least, there lands are most valuable. Dogberry wished to be "written down an ass;" these men write themselves down asses twice in one sentence. Say they, "lands are dearer and labor cheaper at the North." If either proposition be true, their white laborers are more of slaves than our negroes. If it be true, as the abolitionists assert, that lands are dearer North than South, then our negroes are freer than their white laborers, for the price of land is the thermometer of liberty. But there is a vast deal more of knavery and hypocrisy than idiocy about these men. They are deliberately planning the enslavement of white men. The most active and influential man among them was the first man in America to demonstrate that land monopoly occasioned the enslavement of the laboring classes, and that as population became denser, this slavery to capital became infinitely worse than domestic slavery. He says, "during the last five centuries there has been a complete, a disastrous revolution in the ordinary condition of the toiling millions of civilized Europe—a revolution which has depressed them from comfort to wretchedness, from careless ease to incessant anxiety, and struggle for the bare means of existence." Now, Mr. Greely, for it is his language we quote, well knows that five centuries ago, when the laborers of Europe lived "in comfort and careless ease," they were slaves. Besides, this same Mr. Greely said free immigrants were worth a thousand dollars a head at a time negroes sold for five hundred. That is, yankee employers could cruelly and unmercifully squeeze twice as much from the labor of the immigrant, as the more generous and humane Southerner from the negro. In other words, the white laborer is just half as free as the negro slave, for he works twice as much for other people, and half as much for himself. Mr. Greely is the most active man in sending white laborers to Kansas to enhance the price of lands there. He is doing so with the deliberate purpose of enslaving them. Others, such as Sumner, may put in the plea of idiocy, for Sumner is a simpleton, but he, Mr. Greely, understands the subject, and has well expounded it in a controversy with Mr. Raymond, as the following extract will show :

"Will any say, you are talking of *British* distresses: what do they prove as to us? Ah, sirs! the same general causes which have produced this fearful change in Europe are now at work here. Population is rapidly increasing;

wealth is concentrating; the public lands are rapidly passing into private ownership, often by tens of thousands of acres to a single individual. And as our population becomes compact, and land costly as in England, the evils now experienced by the many in Europe, will gradually fasten upon their brethren here. Our political institutions may do something to mitigate this; but how much! The master-evil in the condition of the English and Irish is the monopoly by the few of the God-given elements of production, which are necessary to all. Abolish monarchy, titles of nobility, church establishment, national debt, and whatever else you please, so long as the land shall remain the exclusive property of a small and isolated class, competition for the use of it as active as now, and rents consequently as high, so long will nothing have been accomplished beyond clearing away some of the elementary obstacles of the real and essential reform.

"But in our own country the footsteps of advancing destitution and abject dependence for the many, already sound ominously near. In our journals are advertisements to let out some hundreds of robust men from the immigrant alms-houses to work through the winter for their board, while tens of thousands in our city would gladly have been so disposed of from December to April. Nor is this lack of employment by any means confined to immigrants with those displaced by them. Thousands of American-born women are at this moment working long days in our city, for less than the cost of one good meal of victuals per day, say twenty-five cents;) and it was but yesterday that a friend, living in the country, casually informed me that he could hire as much farm labor in winter as he wanted, for the laborer's own board, or for 37½ cents per day without board. And these laborers are not foreigners, but the descendants of those who won our liberties on the battle-fields of the Revolution."

The South should daily remind the abolitionists that they, themselves, in effect, are continually asserting that the condition of our slaves is better than that of their free laborers—for if lands be dearer and labor cheaper with them, it only proves that their laborers, who cultivate the soil, get less of the proceeds of their labor than our slaves, and the land-owner more of those proceeds than our slaveholders.

But the abolitionists are mendacious and hypocritical, for it is not possible, constituted as the human mind is, that since the universal and disastrous failure of negro emancipation, they can hold the same opinions that they did thirty years ago, when they were sanguinely expecting the entire success of the emancipation experiment. Many were then sincere—all are now false and hypocritical.

SOUTH SIDE VIEW OF THE UNION.

The author of the annexed article says in a note, from which the Editor will take the liberty of extracting:

"I am a native of the South, a planter, have always been a Whig, and until this summer's visit to the North, always opposed, in every shape and form, disunion. You here have my present convictions of the line of policy necessary to the slaveholding interests."

SOME twenty-seven years ago, sojourning in New England for purposes of education, we were led one evening, by youthful curiosity, to a public meeting called by a new born society styling itself, we believe, "the society for the Abolition of

slavery." Similar motives had gathered a full house. The wild glare of an unsettled brain marked the countenances of most of those who conducted the meeting. They disclaimed any intention to interfere directly with slavery *in the States*, but harangued much about its cruelties and immoralities. Their avowed object was to influence public opinion at the North to re-act on the South, and thereby ameliorate and speedily extinguish the unholy institution. They dwelt much on its abstract wrongfulness, and said some words, that made everybody stare and wonder if they were not clean "daft," about slaveholders being man stealers, thieves, and pirates. They claimed that slavery could not be sustained by the Bible, and was condemned by the teachings of Christ. There were no flings at the *Constitution*, but much was said about the "inalienable rights" of the *Declaration of Independence*. As they unfolded their visionary theories and chimerical schemes, a smile of surprise and compassion would occasionally light up the face of the audience, some hisses, but no applause interrupted the proceedings. When the exhibition was over, the assembly went away smiling and pitying the strange enthusiasts, who could embark in so hopeless an undertaking. With most of us it was the subject of a days wonder, and then passed out of mind. "Behold how great a smoke, a little fire kindleth." How has this thing, begun in a corner, grown till, like the haze of Indian summer, it fills the whole atmosphere! Now, these men elect Congressmen; have Governors and Legislatures doing their behests; and (spite of the concentrated conservatism of the whole nation) well nigh placed their candidate in the Presidential chair.

These were the first raindrops pattering against our windows; then some hailstones rattled on the panes; but now, the same fanatics, with swollen ranks, are firing rifle balls that explode when they strike the mark. At first, we responded with ridicule, then with remonstrance and argument; we have not before them the law and the Constitution, but appealing to a "higher law" they call for a new compact, new laws, and a new Constitution. Every time the political cauldron is stirred, the subject of slavery comes uppermost, and the clamor and votes against us increase in rapid ratio. Thousands of voters and hundreds of speakers who once plied the war against Abolition, (calling it fanaticism and treason,) are now ranged on its side, and deal us the most insulting and persevering blows. Men who once said, "is thy servant a dog to do this thing," are now doing us all the mischief inveterate hate and blind prejudice can suggest. Not merely the politicians and those who usually interest themselves in elections are now engaged in this warfare, but quiet clergymen (messengers of

peace) rave and froth when our institution is the topic, from the pulpit and the *prayer meeting* they keep up the fusillade against us; from teacher and professor comes a steady and increasing stream of invective, impressing the minds of the rising generation with prejudices and opinions, on a subject their limited observation disables them from judging of correctly, but which years of experience may not efface. Even staid and conservative Yale, whose voice was not wont to be heard in the political arena, now fulminates against us amongst the loudest in angry popular assemblies, the lecture room and the magazine, wrathful and merciless as Achilles pursuing Hector, they would transfix us with their fiery darts. The aim is to excommunicate, to render us loathed and ignominious. Their cry is "*Delenda est Carthago.*"

If any Southern man thinks these the quakings of timid capital, the alarm of him who "fleeth when no man pursueth," the nightmare of a dreamer, let him, with eyes and ears open and alert, travel through New England, confer with her intelligent farmers and villagers, attend her hustings; talk with her sober faced men of business, mercantile, manufacturing, professional, or educational; go into her churches; read her daily, weekly, and monthly periodicals, examine the shelves of her bookstores, and tell me what he has heard and seen *touching slavery*. If he will gather her opinions from those whose interest it is to agree with and flatter him; from greedy landlords whose wine and viands he pays for without scrutiny of bills; from shopkeepers retailing their goods to him at Southern prices; from manufacturers working mainly for the Southern market; from democratic office seekers; from toadies hanging about him to gather some rays of respectability, or pick up some crumbs from the rich man's table; or, over his cups, feasting with the swollen men of fashion, to whom his wealth and disposition to spend it *dashingly* have made him acceptable at some fancy watering place, I doubt not he will come home satisfied it is all "bosch," reporting all safe, the conservative men all on our side, and the clamor only raised by some pestilent babblers of no sense or influence.

Who are those that stand by us at the North, or rather, I might ask (for it will describe the full measure of their avowed friendship) who are they at the North that do not rejoice at every mishap that befalls us, make the most of every isolated case of cruelty to slaves, will barely permit us to recover our fugitives, and acknowledge some right on our part to a drawing in the lottery for the common territories? Loudest, boldest, and most numerous are the Democratic office seekers (it is perfectly surprising how many, in proportion to the number of offices, have aspirations in the way) they feel that *our fifteen*

States are secure to the party that espouses the side of slavery, and it will be strange if, at least for awhile, they cannot coax enough of the balance to keep them in power and in reach of the public crib.

Next in numbers and industry comes a crowd lured by mobocratic license, with little knowledge and less principle, willing to have the rabble in the ascendancy, and anxious to put down some men of mark, and influence, or pure character, on the other side whose lives are a reproach to them. Next, are those who have always been in the habit of voting with the Democratic party and swallowing the Democratic platform, "going it blind." They take their cue from *their* newspaper, and keep their watchful eyes on some burly fogleman of the vicinage. Next in importance, (the salt of the whole,) but mostly, men who rarely mingle in the political scuffle, and soon tire at the work, are a considerable body of conservative Union loving patriotic men, filled with visions of a proud destiny in store for the *United* land of Washington, for the sake of peace at home, and an American freedom enlightening the world, subduing certain prejudices of their own, still cast their votes on our side. Kindred to these (and some almost deserving to rank with them) is a large class thoroughly alarmed at last, at the ruinous consequences, to them and their section of disunion. They have discovered that the South would not be the greatest sufferer in the division, but that prostrate industry at the North must feel the blow in an equal or a superior degree. They begin to discern glimmering through the mists of the future, when they have parted with our cotton, our sugar, rice, tobacco, hemp, and our overflowing river draining the continent, heavy loss to them, but a rich endowment that will draw unto us suitors from all the mighty ones of earth—once freely theirs but then gone, gone forever from their foolish grasp. Some traders making their entire gains by intercourse with our region are eminent specimens of this class.

It will not do to rely on a party, made up of such fragments for a permanent support. Any one of these classes deserting us in some two or three States, is powerful enough to leave us at the mercy of our adversaries. The major part of the whole have never soberly reflected on the right or wrong of slavery, and those who have, go no further than to say, on the whole it is best to let the institution alone *for the present*; we are in no manner responsible for it; we believe it an evil that will soon work out its own destruction.

Why should we love and cling to a Union our equality and rights in which hang by so precarious a thread? Had we not better part with our few sincere and honest friends there, (they

will commend our prudence and forgive us on a calm review of our necessities,) and our many "bogus" ones, *while we may* in safety to ourselves, and without fratricidal war, rather than wait till they have one by one forsaken us, some because they could not serve us, and others because we could not *serve them*.

The last two or three years have wrought a wonderful change of opinion in New England on the slavery question. Vast numbers of her most honest and earnest minds have been exasperated by what they call Southern insolence, Southern encroachments, Southern aggrandizement, and Southern selfishness, so exasperated by these fancied or real wrongs, that they feel ready to cast prudence and the law of love to the winds, and at all hazards, and over every obstacle, rush in the directest way, to the extinguishment of the hated institution, though it involve in ruin the entire South. When the Sumner affair, repeal of the Missouri compromise, Kansas matters or the Dred Scott decision becomes the topic, it stirs them to frenzy, like William Tell they cry, "Oh! for something to tear." The numbers and influence of those so affected is steadily on the increase. Call the universal Yankee nation busy bodies, if you please, but surely they are busy bodies that bring *something to pass*; not famous for lack of perseverance and expedients; much addicted to progress and success. Their works at home and abroad establish these claims. Call them, if you will, meddlesome, inquisitive, underhanded self-opinionated, parsimonious, you cannot deny that there is a doggedness, and a self-reliance, a hopefulness, and a resolution *not to be beat*, with a stern Puritanism at the bottom of the Yankee character that has won them many a triumph under the most adverse circumstances, and bedecked New England with many an unfading laurel from court and council hall, and stricken field. These qualities are now fairly enlisted in this quarrel, and are making themselves felt far beyond the bounds of New England. Their slogan has already been heard in the recent canvass in Missouri; Virginia begins to feel it; they have almost wrested Kansas from our too careless grasp.

We have hitherto been looking mainly at New England, but where do not New England men, of every profession, go? And where in all our broad land is not her influence telling? She grows the men, matures their minds and prejudices, and sends them forth to subdue the great West. They look back to her for their education, their religion, and their opinions. She follows them, wherever they go, with her preachers, lecturers, schoolmasters, pamphlets, reviews, and newspapers. They never return to the poverty-stricken homestead, but in their hearts they honor her institutions and her ways; and they will ever strive to set up something, in their new homes,

as near like her's as an imitation ever is to the original. Hence miniature New England villages and cottages are peeping up through all the wild West; and in the region of mind captive Greece still subdues the stern Roman. If our friends can hardly hold their own in any of the free States, it is owing to the ever-coming swarms from this bee-hive of nations. We may bind them over, a few years longer, to keep the peace; there have been frequent lulls in the storm, (at times it seemed almost quelled,) but soon would swell again with tenfold fury. We have gone to the ultimate resort under the law and the Constitution. He is a bold man, and a confident, that will now pursue his fugitive, and arrest him in New England; and a lucky one, if, with safe limbs, he ever gets home again, with or without his slave. If not already impossible, it soon will be, without a pass from these Roderick Dhu's.

The Supreme Court set up our rights on a pedestal; instantly New England deems us a criminal in the pillory, and throws pellets of every description at us. One howl of repudiation, one call for reform of the court, or repeal of the law, leaps from every pulpit and rostrum, from review and printed sheet in every form, and on all occasions. Their boasted orators are even now calling for a new constitution, and some have even dared to suggest a new Bible and a new God that does not recognize slavery. Banks, disclaiming any interference in the States, throws out the hope to them and the threat to us, that their action will, ere long, as it has done in Missouri, wake to life, *in the slaveholding States*, a free-soil vote that will sweep the hated thing away suddenly. Already an overwhelming majority (in the free States) is fixedly of the opinion that some steps must be taken towards the final extinguishment of slavery in these United States. The genius of the North and East is clearly intolerant of the institution, and in a glow of indignation against the South. Few and far between are those who defend us because *we are in the right, or they can see anything good in us or defensible in slavery*; their numbers are so insignificant, and their voice so drowned by the outcry of our enemies, as but for their liberality of mind and purity of intention, hardly to deserve mention. These yesty waves, now swelling so high, may calm down as they have calmed before. Skillful manœuvres of cunning politicians have sometimes silenced the storm; and sometimes the deep tones of *the conservatism* of the nation have swept across the chaos and stilled for a space the turmoil, driving faction from the field, as when the lion roars the smaller beasts seek their dens; but soon the uproar begins again, each time rising higher and louder, like Anteus thrown by Hercules, each time he touched his mother earth he rose stronger. Who

will hold this earth-born fiend in the air and strangle it? For our part we see no power strong enough to drive out this evil spirit, but *disunion*. The body of its victim may be rent, but then he will be seen "clothed and sitting in his right mind." It has not yet reached its acme, the assailants still grow fiercer and more numerous, while our defenders wax fainter and fewer every day. The drift of opinion at the North is steadily setting to a trial of strength with slavery in its stronghold. The open attack may be deferred half a century, but it is surely coming. The drifters are hardly aware of the result, and boldly deny any such purpose; but their whole movement hitherto has been to pinch and trammel the institution, to alarm the consciences and fears of those embarked in it, and to drill and concentrate the attacking force. Their masses have not yet peered through the fog-bank in which they are running, but soon they will see the land ahead to which they have been steering; and soon casting every film from their eyes, and mask from their face, will boldly aim at reaching it. Shall we sit idly on our ramparts while these miners are burrowing under them? or shall we so bestir ourselves as to give them work enough to defend their own camp? If we calmly let them work on; if we look only at our temporary interest and comfort, and say let posterity take care of itself, we are safe; the assault will not be made or succeed in our day; presently we will find ourselves, with rusty weapons in our powerless grasp, bound hand and foot at the mercy of our adversary. The area of free-soil is rapidly increasing; busy hands and alert brains are spreading its borders; their lines of circumvallation are ceaselessly going up around our citadel; presently the cry will go forth, we have hemmed them in, food, water, and reinforcements are cut off; the last passway of retreat is closed; they must starve, be cut to pieces, or surrender. The common soldiers are scarcely aware of the plans of their generals, doubtless many murmurs go up from the ranks against the slowness of the approach, and the uselessness of many of the outworks; but still they toil on, hoping soon to hear the glad signal "up guards, and at them." To drop metaphor, another general election, or the one succeeding, will demonstrate to them their power; and to us the culpable irresolution, or love of ease and present safety, that has kept us inactive so long, alas! too long, (it may be,) already, to extricate ourselves. Like Gulliver, among the Lilliputians, slight cords, but numerous and skillfully put on, hamper, and, perchance, hopelessly enchain us.

This sectional division almost precludes the hope of a happy continuance of our Union: to be permanent, it must be hearty, confiding, and sincere, without undermining on either

side; or any yielding, for the moment, that better holds may be taken in the final tussle. At present, the two sections are eyeing each other like combatants stripping for a deadly fight, yet, uncertain whether it will be a death struggle, a conciliation, or an agreement, like Abraham and Lot, to divide the land.

There are but two plans of the campaign left for us. We must make up our minds either to fight a constantly retreating fight, to retire step by step as slowly as we may, and endeavor to push our empire farther south; or, at once, boldly to say, we will divide the inheritance, and each shift for himself. The first alternative is sure inevitable destruction, sooner or later, dying by degrees. We must meet the shock somewhere; and sometime say, "thus far shalt thou go, here shall thy proud waves be stayed." If deferred a few short years, where in the hour of our necessity will Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, Delaware, and even Virginia be found, (preyed upon, as they must continue to be, by underground railroads, and beset by hords of proselyting emigrants)? Not as now, methinks, by our side, but gone over to the enemy, forbidding us to leave with threats of *compulsory detention*, and calling for a general emancipation. We, disheartened and unnerved by the desertion and the cordon around us, might even then venture on the untried journey, but it would be divided in council, lacking confidence in each other, jostled and pointed at on every side. Like the famous ten thousand, we might win our way to safety, (spite of all opposers,) but it would be with blood and an exhausting struggle, and a return home with only our arms and our colors flying; or, on the other hand, we might, vanquished and bleeding, be laid prostrate, with all we hold dear, at the feet of a confiscating and enraged foe. Few of our numbers would be there to see, few to bewail, and what friendly voice or pen to tell the story of our struggles and misfortunes?

But if, choosing the bolder alternative, like one man standing to our arms, we lift the banner *now*, those States will go with us, unmolested, and with our fair share of the territories, relying on our good cause and our prowess, we can possess our own in peace, with no man to make afraid. Once separate, and the line drawn, they would remain with us, bond or free, forever. The former portends a long wrangle and final subjugation; the latter (if a leap in the dark) promises some good hopes, and some brighter days—at least, it nerves the arm, and strings the soul to high resolve that seldom fails of its reward.

Let us then try the brave adventure, and, like Cæsar, cross the Rubicon; it is the way to greatness and to glory. A few

more years of hesitation, and lingering on the brink, will render it *too late*. The territories all theirs, when they muster their strength for a final conflict with slavery *in the States*, backed, perchance, by a favoring world, our replying trumpets will blow a weak and uncertain sound. We may then well bewail our lost opportunity, and our folly, in *this day* of our power.

The lovers of peace and fair play at the North, may, for a space, turn the balance in our favor, and by our constant united help, uphold our equal rights *in the Union*; but they are fighting an ever retreating fight, and are yielding outwork after outwork, their ranks are ever thinning by desertion, the day is not distant when, like Scotland's tired and broken host on Flodden, they will melt away in a night. The unequal struggle can be kept up but a few years at most. Shall we delay till the last State has abandoned us, meanwhile growing weaker ourselves in the contrast? Now we are strong in reliance on our own strength and our good cause. Now our products are sought by a competing world, great nations grow pale with apprehension lest we may not produce enough of cotton for their wants, and even our considerate northern brethren look anxiously for an increase of our sugar: nor is our tobacco, rice, and hemp crop a matter of indifference to many parts of the civilized world. Shall we, the producers of these master staples, go a begging for allies; shall we dread the cold shoulder from any quarter? *Interest* is too great a regulator in this stage of the world's history to permit a lingering doubt on this point. What does the North produce that she will not be willing to part with on as advantageous terms to us as now? Does she furnish the best education, and will not our students be as welcome to her halls as now? Does she make shoes, and woolen and cotton fabrics, and build ships and railroads, and will not our merchants, and travelers, and freight, be as welcome customers for them all, as now? We never received either as a favor, but for a consideration. She will grow poorer, hence less insolent, less meddlesome, less aggressive. Prosperity has ever bred a dictatorial spirit. When she *solicits* our trade, and brings her products to our door, (in the midst of a sharp competition,) she will cheerfully load her galleys with the product of slave labor, and leave us undisturbed in the enjoyment of our own. Her sensitive conscience will then be at rest, the "*casus belli*" will have been removed—the sin of slavery will then be no national stain on her. She will be as clean as Pilate, when he washed his hands. They may arraign each other at home to their hearts content for trading in slave products: it will only be the viper biting the file, "our wethers are unwrung." If now and then

a fugitive escapes across the guarded border, (a separate government will give us the power, now lacking, to multiply these guards,) it will hardly be a more frequent and easy feat than now; nor will his reception be quite so enthusiastic, (bad citizen as he is,) endangering, as it must do, the good feeling with a neighboring nation of profitable customers, strong-handed, hot-blooded, and accustomed to right their wrongs wherever they are given. Nor will the aiders and abettors of these escapes rank quite so high on the roll of philanthropists, when their practices involve the peace and welfare of two great nations lying along side of each other, and mutually advantageous and dependent for some of the necessities, and many of the luxuries of life. For the sake of gain, and national and social comity, she will silence her set-every-body-right busy-bodies. At present a weak national executive feebly *pursues* our fugitives, while the convenient hand of State sovereignty constantly interposes to embarrass the pursuer and assist the escape.

. While it will thus remove the main excuse, and diminish the facilities for interference with our property, and furnish them more important occupation for their leisure moments, what will be the reverse action of *disunion* on us? We now manufacture little; our mines are unworked; we do not import; we build and own no ships; our railroads advance with uncertain steps; our halls of learning are half filled, ill endowed, much neglected; our cities languish, the resort of adventurers in haste to make their pile and be off. In a word, we must confess the whole process of development goes on far more slowly with us than with them. While we have the North, with her present start, to lean on and resort to, we will continue to slumber in these matters as we do now; we will have no colleges and schools of our own of the highest grade; so with our factories and other industrial pursuits. Sudden spurts, spasmodic efforts, will here and there begin such enterprises, and a while push them with vigor, but because older rivals at the North *excel or undersell*, they will be continually abandoned and let go to ruin, dotting our region all over with "follies," key notes for croakers, lions in the way to the timid, and warnings to the prudent. It is idle to talk of waiting a while and preparing for disunion by first procuring an outfit of these things. It is contrary to an honorable nature to pursue any such underhanded course, and it is one easy of detection and easy countervailed. We cannot be made all to pull together on any such rope, and we will all the while be growing poorer in the contrast. How are we to prepare in the face of such rivalry? It would be up hill work, weakening and disheartening to the workers in it. While we were thus

preparing, would the rest of the country be idle in counter-preparations, and in accumulating the means of *coercion*? In the Union we must constantly fatten their strength, by it we cannot weaken them or turn them from their fell purpose.

Our Revolutionary sires flung off the yoke when first it became a burden, they did not wait for preparation, but flew to their arms, such as they had. Have we no oppression—no degrading stigma about to be placed on us? Is exclusion from all the common property no oppression and no degradation? But it is only an attempt at exclusion, not successful yet, we are only trying the issue now. When will the trial be through, and the result ascertained? When we have lost Kansas, New Mexico, Utah, Oregon, and are foiled in an attempt to divide Texas, will the matter then be decided, or will our waverers and tide-waiters still say wait, we are not quite prepared, they have not yet attacked us at home, we are still enjoying much prosperity in the Union, surely they will reverence the memory of Washington, they will not touch the Constitution, they will leave our vested rights alone? If we had no children such counsels might prevail and pass for the suggestions of prudence, but in view of the disasters that must befall our posterity, in case we err in judgment, and let slip the golden moment, dare we risk the delay and call it “masterly inactivity?”

At present we are too tied down to a single avocation. Agriculture is the absorbing pursuit, all others are feebly subsidiary to it. The nation that keeps all the occupations of man running “*pari passu*” is the most vigorous, the most potent for good or ill, the most felt in the world, and the most to be envied. Disunion will call for and foster a variety of home products. The same spirit that has made the United States (once dependent on Great Britain) great producers in all the fields of industry, nay—rivals of the mother country in every market of the world, will set in motion amongst us all the wheels of busy labor. State pride, and national defence and convenience, will demand at least a temporary damper on foreign competition by protective duties, this will invite the hand of home industry to embark in new enterprises, which, in turn, will promote economy by furnishing a market for what we now waste. This diversity of pursuits will shake off all that is lethargic in Southern life, and stagnant in the Southern mind. These new avenues will allure to our borders industrious and intelligent workmen from all the earth, even many of our astute brethren of the North will then, *forwearing allegiance*, gladly forsake their barren soil and frozen clime for our more prolific and remunerative region. They will aid and teach us how to improve those natural advantages a kind Prov-

idence has showered upon us. They will come to us—not as now—spies, incendiaries, birds of passage, but saying to us in the words of Ruth—"whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God, my God." True, we *might*, in the course of time, unfold this wealth *in the Union*, but not till the teeming North has "embellished all her slopes," and of her superabundance and for lack of other fields to conquer, empties her surplus on us, as the Goths and Vandals came down on fair Italy. With all these aids and stimulants we must advance with equal or faster steps than they. Why not faster? We have the climate, the raw material, the ductile labor, the capital superior to theirs, and minds and bodies surely their equals; we need only the skill, and experience, and the *nerve to begin*, which separation and these advantages must draw unto us.

We will be a compact people, made homogeneous by a great similarity of interests, and one principle of cohesion above all others—slavery. With an alert rival on our northern frontier, and this internal institution in bad odor with outside nations, (thus always in the face of an enemy,) we will be driven to an intercourse, an interchange of commodities, a sympathy and a friendship that must ever bind us closer together, and cause us to rely on each other solely for defence and support. *Now*, fully one half of those who make laws for us, and manage the internal and external affairs of the nation, are our open or secret enemies, in no manner amenable to our control, and panting to stab us at some vulnerable point, soon to possess an ever-increasing majority. *Then*, will our rulers have one common interest with us, and be stewards, accountable to a master who has not "gone into a far country." It is essential to purity in high places that the rulers should be in close proximity to the electors, and that the latter should be in a commanding position whence they can audit their accounts frequently. A smaller Union would greatly promote an increased business, and social intercourse between its parts, enabling the people to detect the impostors who mislead them, and making "honesty and capability" the only tests for office. Then would vanish the struggle and the wire-pulling to keep together a *national party*, and freedom shriekers and Southern rights men would be numbered amongst the things there were, their vocation would be gone. Once fairly divided, the policy of both sections would cease to be aggressive, *we* would only ask to be let alone, and *they* to share our trade on the same terms as the most favored nations. We would both be firmly bound over to keep the peace. Neither would *we* be so feeble in numbers, or so pent up in point of territory, as to be insignificant in the family of nations. A glance at the map

of Europe, with a summing up of the population of a few of the most renowned States there, will give a satisfactory quietus to that objection. Our climate, during a portion of the year, in a large part of our country, would defend us from invasion; our men, familiar from childhood with the use of arms, make us a nation of soldiers on an emergency; a war having any reference to our "peculiar institution" would so enflame our masses that no principle could be evoked in an adversary to cope with it. These constitute us, for mere purposes of defence, a nation equal to any other people. And then who can say that some of the vigorous Western States, in view of the many inconveniences the separation would entail on them, and the advantages a connection with us would secure, might not (laying aside some of their present prejudices) find it to their tastes and interests to join fortunes with us. Stranger alliances have occurred in the conflict of ages.

New York and Boston, from their crowded quays and busy rialto, laugh these speculations and prognostics to scorn. So laughed the merchant princes of Palmyra and Venice, while the commerce of the Orient rolled its opulent stream through their streets; but a few short years intervened between the height of their prosperity and their rapid decline. The genius and the boldness of man found a better avenue for commerce than their slow and inconvenient channels. Once turned aside, it never returned. Industry, when intelligent and untrammelled, builds her furnaces close by the ore-bed and the coal; where the raw material is, there will consort the workman and the carrier. Let once the Southern banner be unfurled, then where will congregate the white-winged birds of commerce, (harbingers of thrift)—what marts will sway the sceptre of this continent? Surely not the wintry harbors of New York and Boston, something more central and in more congenial latitude will be sought. Then will we mould and fashion slavery, paring off its objectionable, and calling out its ameliorating features, until perchance, by the help of a smiling Providence, and our own stout arms, we will present to the world a model Republic and a model people, wherein the rights of all equipoise, and without clashing, contribute to build up a national strength and a national character whose equal the world has not yet seen. Shall we choose this bright and manly destiny, or that baser one suggested by timid avarice and enfeebling inclination, to do what is easiest and pleasantest for the hour, like him who lays down on arctic snows to slumber, or him whom the vampire fans?

SOUTHERN SLAVERY AND THE COTTON TRADE.

It appears to be very generally conceded in this country and in Europe, that the regular and permanent supply of raw cotton, for the commercial wants of the world, must, to a large extent, be produced in the United States, and from slave labor.

The quantity of raw cotton imported into England from Brazil, Madras, Calcutta, Egypt, &c., has not increased, to any considerable extent, during the last thirty years, notwithstanding the patronage and fostering care of the British government; while on the other hand, the cotton crop of the United States has continued to augment, and now amounts to over eighty per cent. of the whole consumption, with an increasing demand, at fully remunerating prices.

But the American Cotton Trade has not reached its present prosperous condition without meeting several almost ruinous vicissitudes. From 1835 to 1845, the annual production of American Cotton exceeded the foreign and domestic demand, and the accumulated stock in Liverpool alone, at the close of the commercial year, December 31, 1845, footed up nearly twelve hundred thousand bales. The price, which in 1835 was 16 cents per pound, gradually depreciated, in proportion to the over production until 1845, when the average of the season was only 5½ cents per pound, actually less than the cost of production. With this immense stock on hand, and the prospect of an unlimited future supply, the commercial and manufacturing classes in England, not only dictated their own prices to the American planter, but they seized the favorable opportunity for an attempt to emancipate themselves altogether from any future dependence upon the United States, for the raw material of their most profitable commerce. Various impracticable schemes were set on foot, and vast sums of money expended in order to stimulate and extend the production of the raw cotton, by free labor, while the British press in aid of the effort, denounced the institution of slavery in the United States in unmeasured terms.

This was a gloomy period for the American Cotton Planter, but every one possessed of any commercial sagacity was aware that this state of things could not continue for any very protracted period of time, and the result was what a political economist would have anticipated. The supply of raw cotton had been greater than the demand, and cotton planting ceased to be remunerative. Capital was diverted to other and more

profitable means of investment, until the equilibrium should be restored by the gradually increasing consumption of the raw material. From 1845 to 1855 the condition and prospects of the cotton growing States of the confederacy have been slowly but steadily improving. The point of extreme depression in the cotton trade has been reached and passed, and it is now admitted, by manufacturers and consumers, that the supply of cotton, stimulated as it is by full and remunerating prices, is unequal to the necessary and imperative demand. Public meetings have recently been held in London, Liverpool, Manchester and other commercial emporiums, for the purpose of adopting measures to increase the growth of cotton within the British colonial possessions, not in a spirit of aggression upon us, but in prospect of a future inadequate supply from the United States, and an anxious and restless feeling pervades commercial circles, both in this country and in Europe, in relation to this all absorbing subject.

The popular impression has heretofore prevailed, almost universally, that the United States could supply cotton to an unlimited extent, and this opinion would be well founded if the result depended solely upon the extent and fertility of the soil embraced within the cotton growing States. But there is another element, which enters into and overrides the whole subject, and that is the present and future demand and supply of slave labor. In order fully to understand this position, it will be necessary to inquire at what ratio slaves have heretofore increased within the cotton growing States, and what augmentation may reasonably be expected for the future.

Cotton is not produced to any considerable extent, if at all, in but nine of the fifteen slave States, and in some of these States, rice, sugar, and tobacco form no inconsiderable item of staple production. The slave increase in the United States from excess of births over deaths, has been about twenty eight per cent. for each decade since 1790, while the increase within the cotton growing States, from this source and from accessions from other States has been 103.80 per cent., from 1830 to 1840, and 51.41 per cent., from 1840 to 1850. This large augmentation of slaves within these nine States, has been caused mostly by the migration of slave owners, and partly by the purchase of slaves from Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Kentucky.

The following Tabular Statement, compiled from the compendium of the United States census for 1850 will illustrate this branch of the subject:

Cotton Growing States.

| STATES. | Per cent. of slave increase, 1880 to 1840. | Per cent. of slave increase, 1840 to 1850. | Number of slaves, 1850. |
|---------------------|---|---|----------------------------|
| Alabama..... | 115.68 | 35.22 | 342,844 |
| Arkansas..... | 335.64 | 166.26 | 47,100 |
| Florida..... | 65.90 | 52.85 | 39,310 |
| Georgia..... | 29.15 | 35.85 | 381,682 |
| Louisiana..... | 53.70 | 45.32 | 244,809 |
| Mississippi..... | 197.31 | 58.74 | 309,878 |
| South Carolina..... | 3.68 | 17.71 | 384,984 |
| Tennessee..... | 29.27 | 30.80 | 239,459 |
| Texas..... | | estimated 50.00 | 58,227 |
| Average..... | 103.30 | average 51.41 | total 2,048,293 |

From the above table, it will be seen that the total number of slaves within the nine cotton growing States in 1850 was 2,048,293; and I now propose to show what portion of these slaves were actually occupied as field hands in the culture of cotton.

Mr. De Bow, the superintendent of the United States census of 1850, remarks at page 94 of the compendium: "In no census have the occupations of slaves been recorded. How many are employed as mechanics, how many as laborers, how many as house servants cannot be known; nor more than approximately how many on the different agricultural crops of the South." He thinks it might be safe to say, "that about 400,000 or 12.48 per cent. of the total slave population are urban, and the balance rural, and of the latter class, at least as many slaves will be employed as domestics as there are slave proprietors." He very properly remarks, that "slaves under ten and over sixty are seldom employed industrially." The number of slave proprietors in the above-named States in 1850, as ascertained by the census, was 188,000 or 14.01 per cent., and the number of slaves under ten and over sixty was 715,220, or about 35 per cent. of the total slave population.

The following table will exhibit the result of my distribution of slave labor in 1850:

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Total number of slaves in the nine cotton growing States..... | 2,043,293 |
| Deduct those under 10 and over 60 years of age.. | 715,220 |
| Leaving total number of field hands..... | 1,333,073 |
| Of whom there are urban slaves 12.48 per cent.. | 166,367 |
| Domestic servants..... 14.01 per cent.. | 188,000 |
| Rice crop "..... 5.00 per cent.. | 66,653 |
| Sugar "..... 6.00 per cent.. | 79,984 |
| Tobacco "..... 1.07 per cent.. | 22,662 |
| Cotton "..... 60.72 per cent.. | 809,407 |
| 100.00 | 1,333,073 |

Rice, Sugar, and Tobacco crops in the nine Cotton States.

| | |
|----------------------|------------------|
| Rice crop, 1850..... | 209,839,087 lbs. |
| Sugar crop, " | 237,063,000 lbs. |
| Tobacco crop " | 22,173,416 lbs. |

I cannot of course pretend to absolute certainty in fixing the occupation of our slave population; but after a careful examination of the best sources of correct information at hand, I believe that the above distribution of slave labor cannot be far from correct.

The Hon. Levi Woodbury, late Secretary of the Treasury, in his report to Congress in 1836, accompanied by his elaborate and carefully compiled "Tables and notes on the cultivation, manufacture and foreign trade of cotton" estimated the number of field hands, employed upon the cotton crop of 1835, at 340,000, and yielding about 3.5 bales to the hand.

Mr. Woodbury was certainly possessed of the best means of information, upon this, as upon any important subject gravely communicated to Congress; and if we assume that he accurately states the number of field hands employed upon the cotton crop of 1835, and that they increased upon the census ratio of 103.80 per cent. from 1835 to 1840 and of 51.41 per cent from 1840 to 1850, the number employed in 1850 will be found as follows:

| | |
|---|---------|
| Mr. Woodbury's estimate of field hands, 1835..... | 340,000 |
| Add one-half of 103.80 per cent. to 1840..... | 176,460 |
| <hr/> | |
| Total field hands, 1840..... | 516,460 |
| Add one-half of 51.41 per cent. to 1845..... | 132,730 |
| <hr/> | |
| Total field hands, 1845..... | 649,190 |
| Add one-half of 51.41 per cent to 1850..... | 166,841 |
| <hr/> | |
| Total field hands, 1850..... | 816,031 |

The difference between the result thus produced and my own estimate is quite immaterial, but for greater accuracy I will assume the average of the two to be the correct number, say 812,769.

Before I proceed to the conclusions resulting from the adoption of 812,769 as the number of field hands employed in the cotton crop of 1850, I will state very frankly that much depends upon accuracy in this particular. But my estimate cannot be very far from the true number, and if I have erred it is in company with the late Secretary of the Treasury, who was noted for general accuracy. I will also here remark that there is no accurate information, upon the ratio of slave increase, in the cotton growing States since 1850. It cannot be greater, and is probably less, than that of the previous decade;

but for subsequent purposes, I will consider it to be the same, say 51.41 per cent. for 10 years, or 5.14 per cent. per annum.

Assuming the data above established to be correct, we find that the cotton crop of 1850, equal, by the average of the three crops of 1849, 1850, and 1851, to be 2,488,987 bales, was produced by the labor of 812,769 field hands, and yielded an average of 3.06 bales to the hand.

I now propose to show, in a tabular form, approximately, the increase of slaves in the cotton growing States from 1850 to 1860, at the rate of 51.41 per cent., and the increase of cotton production, for the same period, at the rate of 3.06 bales to the hand. The result will be as follows:

| | | | |
|---|-----------|----------------------------|-----------|
| Field hands, 1850..... | 812,769 | Crop, at 3.06 per head.... | 2,488,987 |
| Add half of 51.44 per cent. for five years to 1855.... | 203,881 | | |
| Field hands, 1855..... | 1,021,650 | " " " | 3,126,249 |
| Add 5.14 per cent..... | 52,512 | | |
| Field hands, 1856..... | 1,073,162 | " " " | 3,283,875 |
| Add 5.14 per cent..... | 55,160 | | |
| Field hands, 1857..... | 1,128,322 | " " " | 3,452,665 |
| Add 5.14 per cent..... | 57,995 | | |
| Field hands, 1858..... | 1,186,317 | " " " | 3,630,130 |
| Add 5.14 per cent..... | 60,976 | | |
| Field hands, 1859..... | 1,247,283 | " " " | 3,816,713 |
| Add 5.14 per cent..... | 64,110 | | |
| Field hands, 1860..... | 1,311,403 | " " " | 4,012,893 |

The cotton crop of 1855, as reported was 3,527,800 bales, but it must be borne in mind that this crop was increased by at least 300,000 bales, kept back from the produce of the previous year by low water in the rivers in Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas. The average of the three crops of 1854, 1855, and 1856, was only 3,108,266 bales, a fraction less than the result produced by my calculation. The cotton crop of the United States has never reached 3,500,000, nor will it, for some years, unless slave labor can be increased, in the cotton growing States, at a greater ratio than at present.

In order to produce the crop of 1860, estimated at 4,012,893 bales, there must be an increase of field hands as we have seen of 289,753 over the number employed in the crop of 1855. The natural increase from excess of births over deaths, for the period mentioned, will, at the census ratio of 2.8 per annum, supply 143,031 of this number, leaving 146,722 field hands to be procured by migration or purchase from the other slave States.

But will even this large accession of slave labor and the suc-

cessful production of a crop of 4,012,893 bales in 1860, meet the legitimate demand? I think not. The consumption of raw cotton, at least since 1850, has been at the rate of 6.2 per cent. per annum, while the rate of supply, on which I have based my calculation, has been at the rate of 5.14 per cent. per annum. The crop of 1855, at my estimate was 3,126,249 bales, which increased at the rate of 6.2 per cent. per annum for five years to 1860 would produce the following result :

| | |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| 1855, crop, in bales..... | 3,126,249 |
| 1856, " " | 3,321,076 |
| 1857, " " | 3,526,982 |
| 1858, " " | 3,745,653 |
| 1859, " " | 3,977,883 |
| 1860, " " | 4,224,511 |

The crop of 1860 required by the consumption rate of increase, being more than 200,000 bales over my estimate of production, and that much at least, more than the utmost, that can be reasonably expected from the cotton crop of the United States. But if it is contended that a crop of 4,224,511 bales can be produced in 1860, there must be a corresponding increase of slave labor which will involve the necessity of employing 69,156 additional field hands, making in all 215,878 field hands over the natural increase of slaves in the cotton growing States.

To produce a crop even of 4,022,893 bales in 1860, will require an increase, as we have seen, of 146,722 field hands, which, if procured by purchase, will require the investment of at least 146,000,000 dollars, at the present value of this class of slave property, and if the crop is to be increased to meet the expected demand in 1860, the investment in slaves will be proportionately increased to about 220,000,000 dollars, or 44,000,000 dollars per annum, from five years from 1855.

The inquiry naturally suggests itself, where is this vast accession of slave labor to come from? can the slave States of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Kentucky be depleted to that extent? or is such a result at all probable? The difficulty of procuring slaves at reasonable rates, has already been severely felt by the cotton planters, and this difficulty is constantly increasing. The production of rice, tobacco, wheat, Indian corn, &c., with stock raising, in those States, affords nearly if not quite as profitable employment for slave labor as cotton planting in the other States. They have not, as is generally supposed, a redundancy of slave labor, nor are they likely to have so long as their present prosperity continues.

The recent full development of the rich agricultural and mineral resources of those States, aided by an immense demand for their staple productions, has not only given full and

profitable employment to slave labor, but has improved the pecuniary condition of the slave owner, and placed him above the necessity of parting with his property, or of migrating with it into the cotton growing States.

But it is useless to pursue this chain of argument and figures any farther. It is simply absurd to suppose, that the cotton crop of the United States can be increased over the present production more than twelve hundred thousand bales in the short period of five years, even if the requisite amount of capital for investment in slaves could be found. The disproportion between supply and consumption is already too great, to expect to restore the equilibrium within this limited space of time, except by a check upon consumption. The surplus stock of cotton in Liverpool and in this country, which in 1845, amounted to nearly a year's consumption, has been gradually worked up, and the manufacturers and consumers are now dependent upon the actual yearly production from the United States. All experiments, with the object of extending the culture of cotton, in other countries have ended in utter failure, and they will be equally ineffectual in the future.

The people of England may then, with reason, feel a deep solicitude, in the success of cotton-planting in the United States. They are perfectly advised, that any disaster or considerable failure in our cotton crop, would inflict a blow upon commerce that would be felt throughout the civilized world; they are also at last convinced, that the supply of cotton cannot be certain and uniform unless produced by slave labor. It is in this view of the subject that the British Government, the British press, and the British people have ceased their fanatical denunciations of slavery and slave grown cotton. They are beginning to think that slavery, after all, is not so bad an institution. The London Times has even gone so far as to denounce the policy of the British Government for her expenditures of life and treasure in the suppression of the slave trade; boldly taking the ground that the British squadron on the coast of Africa should be withdrawn and the object abandoned; and immense change has been effected in the fanatical opinions of the leading and influential classes of England, within the last few years, by the gigantic power of "King Cotton."

They now fully comprehend the idea, and freely admit the fact, that if an adequate supply of cotton is to be had at all, it must come from the United States, and that the ratio of increased supply is dependent upon and exactly limited by the future accession of slave labor to the cotton growing States. The present state of the cotton trade has convinced them, that any fanatical intermeddling with domestic slavery, would be not

only unwise and impolitic, but that a successful invasion of the rights of slave owners, in the Southern States of the Confederacy, would react with fatal effect upon British commerce.

Our wealthy and powerful neighbor is our best customer, and though he may not offer to supply us as of yore, with any number of slaves that may be necessary to make up the deficiency in our cotton crop, he will in the future give us very little cause of complaint against him in this behalf. He is far too sagacious, if not too conscientious, to quarrel with us on this subject, though he is willing to make war upon the balance of the world, to promote and extend the interest of cotton and commerce. He is now manœuvring a powerful fleet in the Chinese and Japanese seas, in order to be in readiness to enforce the arguments of his diplomatic and commercial agents in favor of a greater consumption of cotton fabrics.

MASSACHUSETTS AND BOSTON 1699 AND 1857.

In an address lately delivered somewhere at the North, the Hon. Caleb Cushing thus characterizes his fellow New Englanders, and does it with exceeding good grace. We compare it with what was said in 1699 :

“You clearly perceived, and frankly, earnestly, powerfully contributed with Virginia to develop the great territorial capacities of the Northwest. But were you equally clear-sighted in regard to the not less important Southwest? Did you in will support Virginia there? Did you not struggle to prevent the acquisition of Louisiana, the acquisition of Florida, the acquisition of Texas, the acquisition of California? Was not the Union, as our fathers conceived it, thus completed in spite of you? And yet, who profited first, who profited next, who profited constantly, by each of these great stages of the great event?”

In 1699 one Ned Ward published in England an exceedingly spicy and attractive account of a visit he paid to Boston in that year. We can only give a few extracts, but they suggest how little a century or two can effect in changing national characteristics. If we mistake not a copy of Ward's book is in the hands of Mr. Smetz, of Savannah :

“On the southwest side of *Massachusetts Bay* is *Boston* ; whose name is taken from a town in *Lincolnshire*, and is the Metropolis of all *New England*. The houses in some parts join as in *London*. The *buildings*, like their *women*, being *neat* and *handsome*, and their *streets*, like the *hearts* of the *male inhabitants*, are paved with *pebble*.”

“Every stranger is unavoidably forc'd to take this notice: that in Boston, there are more religious zealots than honest men, more parsons than churches, and more churches than parishes; for the town, unlike the people, is subject to no division.

“The inhabitants seem very religious, showing many outward and visible signs of an inward and spiritual grace; but tho' they wear

in their faces the innocence of doves, you will find them in their dealings, as subtle as serpents. Interest is their Bible, money their God, and large possessions the only Heaven they covet."

"A good cudgel apply'd in the dark, is an excellent medicine for a malignant spirit. I know it once experienced at Boston, with very good success, upon an old rigged Precisian, one of their select, who used to be more than ordinary vigilant in discovering every little irregularity in the neighborhood; I happening one night to be pretty merry with a friend, opposite to the zealot's dwelling, who got out of his bed in his waistcoat and drawers to listen at our window. My friend having oft been serv'd so, had left unbolted his cellar trap-door, as a pitfall for Mr. Busy-body, who stepping upon it, sunk down with an outcry like a distressed mariner in a sinking Pinnacle. My friend having planted a cudgel ready, run down stairs, crying 'Thieves!' and belabored old Troublesome very severely before he would know him. He crying out 'I am your neighbor.' 'You lye, you lye, you rogue,' says my friend, 'my neighbors are honest men; you are some thief come to rob my house.' By this time I went down with a candle, my friend seeming wonderfully surpris'd to see 'twas his neighbor, and one of the *select* too, put on a counterfeit countenance, and heartily beg'd his pardon. Away trooped the old fox, grumbling and shrugging up his shoulders, and became afterwards the most moderate man in authority in the whole town of Boston.

"The women here are not at all inferior in beauty to the ladies of London, having rather the advantage of a better complexion; but as for the men, they are generally *meagre*, and have got the *hypocritical* knack, like our *English Jews*, of screwing their faces into such *Puritanical* postures that you would think they were always praying to themselves, or running melancholy mad about some mystery in Revelations: So that 'tis rare to see a handsome man in the country, for they have all one cast, but of what tribe I know not.

"The gravity and piety of their looks, are of great service to these American christians: It makes strangers that come amongst them, give credit to their words. And it is a Proverb with those that know them, *whosoever believes a New-England Saint, shall be sure to be cheated: And he that knows how to deal with their traders, may deal with the devil and fear no craft.*

"I was mightily pleased one morning with a contention between two boys at a pump in Boston, about who should draw their water first. One jostled the other from the handle, and he would fill his bucket first, because his master said prayers and sung psalms twice a day in his family, and the other's master did not. To which the witty knave made this reply: 'Our house stands backward in a court; if my master had a room next to the street, as your master has, he'd pray twice to your master's once, that he would, and therefore I'll fill my pail first, marry will I;' and did accordingly.

"Their industry, as well as their honesty, deserves equal observation; for it is practicable amongst them to go two miles to catch a horse, and run three hours after him, to ride half a mile to work, or a quarter of a mile to an ale-house.

"One husbandman in England will do more labor in a day, than a New-England planter will be at the pains to do in a week. For to every hour he will be two at an ordinary.

"They have wonderful appetites, and will eat like plough-men, though very lazy; and plough like gentlemen: It being no rarity there to see a man *eat* till he *sweats*, and *work* till he *freezes*.

"Provisions being plenty, their marriage feasts are very sumptuous. They are sure not to want company to celebrate their nuptials; for it's customary, in every town, for all the inhabitants to dine at a wedding without invitation: For they value their pleasure at such a rate, and bear such an affection to idleness, that they would run the hazard of death or ruin, rather than let slip so merry a holy-day."

MANUFACTURE OF ROSIN OIL AT THE SOUTH.

The New Orleans Bulletin in an interesting paper upon this subject says: Its adaptation to the various purposes for which oils are required having been demonstrated, and its sources being abundant—must become an article of great and increasing commercial value. It derives augmented importance from the fact that it can be made and warranted fit for the various purposes before mentioned at considerable less cost—say from fifteen to twenty-five per cent—than the oils now in use, while it will not be a whit inferior in any respect.

To introduce this important article into the commerce of the world, a Company has been formed under the title of the Southern Oil Company, which has purchased the right from the inventor (Robbins) for five Southern States, and has erected, or is now erecting, extensive works in Mobile for its manufacture, which it is expected will be in operation in about a month.

It will be recollected that the rosin from which this oil is made is now thrown away as worthless; that is, it will not pay the cost of hauling it to market even if there were an extensive demand for it, which there is not. Now let us see what this residuum of turpentine, which is now of no value, will be worthy by the new process of converting it into oils. One barrel of common rosin will produce about eighteen gallons of oil, at say 40 cents per gallon as the first cost..... \$7 20
Four gallons naptha at 20 cents..... 80
Five gallons pitch (residuum) at 6 cents..... 30

\$8 30

Thus converting a worthless barrel of rosin into an article of prime necessity of the value of eight dollars and thirty cents!

Further, a barrel of crude turpentine will yield by this new process the same amount of spirits of turpentine now obtained by distillation, and in addition:

Fourteen gallons oil worth..... \$5 60
Three gallons naptha worth..... 60

\$6 20

BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN INDIA.

The following facts will be interesting at this time. In 1600 Queen Elizabeth incorporated a company of merchants, with the exclusive privilege of trading to the East Indies and places beyond the Cape of Good Hope. The English established themselves at Bombay and Calcutta. From 1745 to 1760 there was almost constant fighting between the French and English in India, as elsewhere, and then the French were expelled—since which the British in India have quietly absorbed territory and suppressed the native governments. The extreme length of India from north to south, is 1,820 miles, and its breadth, in its widest part, is nearly the same. The total area of India is 1,399,443 miles, and its population, as ascertained by the best authorities, is 172,399,235.

Extent and divisions of the British Possessions.

| | Sq. miles. | Population. |
|-----------------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Bengal | 235,626 | 41,186,521 |
| Sengor and Nerbudda..... | 17,542 | 2,143,599 |
| Punjaub and Nerbudda..... | 78,447 | 9,153,499 |
| Setlex | 4,659 | 2,314,960 |
| Nangpore..... | 76,440 | 4,650,000 |
| Pegu..... | 32,350 | 540,180 |
| Madras..... | 132,000 | 25,301,528 |
| Bombay..... | 120,000 | 11,109,067 |
| Northwestern Provinces..... | 85,651 | 30,872,766 |
| | <hr/> 782,683 | <hr/> 125,000,000 |

Of the remaining 516,760 square miles, containing 48,000,000 inhabitants, a portion is occupied by Oude and Mysore, is under the control of British officials, in whose hands, indeed, reside all the substantial powers of government. The gross revenues of the British Government in India were, in 1850, about \$28,000,000, the net revenue \$21,696,000, the surplus of the payment of all current charges only \$325,000.

COMMERCIAL MOVEMENTS OF MOBILE.

The Advertiser and News finds occasion, at the close of the last commercial year, (September 1, 1857,) to compliment the citizens of Mobile upon their growing prosperity.

"Real estate has continued to command high prices, several new business houses have been opened, new enterprises have been commenced under flattering auspices, and others will soon be got under way, and every appearance indicates that Mobile is rapidly advancing in wealth and prosperity. One firm in this city, Messrs. Pomeroy & Marshall, have now in successful operation, a short distance from the city, a tannery and factory for the manufacture of russet brogans, which are of superior quality, and at as low prices as those brought from the North; two or three extensive grist and several saw mills are constantly running; a company for the manufacture of Rosin oil, with a large capital, has been organized, and are now erecting an extensive factory down town, and movements are on foot for the erection of a paper mill, all of which will tend to direct capi-

tal to our city, and to divert it from the channels it has heretofore sought. The steamboat building business is, like all others, calculated to develop the resources of our city and State, also increasing, and we think the time not far distant when we shall be able to supply ourselves with everything we need, without going from home for it. Messrs. Meahers, Messrs. Baldwin, Murray & Co., and the Dry Dock Company, have each launched from their yards a fine steamboat, of large capacity, and are so situated that they can compete successfully, either in building or in repairing vessels of any size, with any builders on the Gulf or Western rivers."

It tells us, also, that the *Great Northern Railroad* is being vigorously prosecuted. The work of the track has progressed nearly to the Tennessee line from Columbus, Kentucky; and from Macon, Mississippi, it has progressed to Brookville on a rapid advance north. A recent contract with Mr. Peabody, of London, provides for the delivery of the remainder of the iron necessary to complete the road.

The lumber business of Mobile shows an export last season of 1,798 spars and masts, 2,968 tons of hewn timber, and \$163,475 of timber, spars, &c. The other statistics are as follows:

| | Sawed lumber, Feet. | Value of other lumber. | Total value. | | Sawed lumber, Feet. | Value of other lumber. | Total value. |
|------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|
| Falmouth..... | 108,000 | \$2,889 | \$49,866 | Ministitan | 50,000 | ..... | 500 |
| Liverpool | | | 7,177 | Honduras..... | 15,000 | ..... | 120 |
| Toulon | 26,400 | 8,844 | 29,904 | Emedios..... | 40,000 | ..... | 475 |
| Ocherbourg | 76,000 | 1,459 | 24,820 | Matanzas..... | 643,900 | ..... | 7,884 |
| Bordeaux..... | | 2,442 | 7,722 | Grimsby, (Eng.) | 51,500 | ..... | 670 |
| L'Orient..... | 82,200 | 1,611 | 16,860 | Hayti..... | 80,000 | ..... | 1,201 |
| Rochefort..... | 81,000 | 1,150 | 25,987 | Tampico..... | 279,000 | ..... | 3,010 |
| Brest..... | | 400 | 12,550 | Sagua la G'de.. | 965,000 | ..... | 11,203 |
| Ferrol, (Spain) | | 400 | 9,100 | San'to de Cuba.. | 80,000 | ..... | 870 |
| Cardenas..... | 425,000 | ..... | 4,895 | | | | |
| Laguna..... | 438,700 | ..... | 4,954 | Total Foreign | 8,498,700 | \$18,695 | \$274,710 |
| Havana..... | 5,022,000 | ..... | 54,237 | | | | |
| Barcelona..... | 15,000 | ..... | 272 | Boston..... | 75,000 | ..... | 1,000 |
| Cienfuegos..... | 170,000 | ..... | 2,000 | Greenport, L. I. | 60,000 | ..... | 700 |

The *Foreign Imports* at Mobile were—

| | Amount. | Duty. |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1856..... | \$934,889 | \$180,656 |
| 1855..... | 441,529 | 62,282 |
| 1854..... | 889,622 | 184,873 |

The *Foreign Exports* were, in American vessels, \$10,645,213; in American and foreign—

| | |
|-----------|--------------|
| 1856..... | \$19,917,387 |
| 1855..... | 16,813,005 |
| 1854..... | 15,952,221 |

More remunerative prices have been received for *Naval Stores*, and hence the receipts are large. A company has been organized in Mobile for the manufacture of Rosin oil. The following are the receipts for several years:

| | DOLLARS. | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | 1856-'57. | 1855-'56. | 1854-'55. | 1853-'54. |
| Spirits of Turpentine.. | 7,790 | 6,403 | 6,883 | 4,528 |
| Rosin | 12,481 | 8,625 | 17,718 | 14,349 |
| Pitch..... | 2,390 | 2,965 | 1,186 | 986 |
| Tar..... | 1,130 | 682 | 846 | 528 |

Native coal is now largely introduced at Mobile, and is driving out the English and Northern. The Shelby Coal Company have now completed arrangements by which they will in future be enabled to keep our market continually supplied, and at the uniform rate of \$8 per ton from the yard. The coal burns freely, is cheaper, and not inferior to the best English cannel, produces little ash or cinder, and where known is greatly preferred.

ENTRIES AND CLEARANCES OF VESSELS.

Table of Entries and Clearances of Vessels at the Port of Mobile, (exclusive of Steamers and other craft navigating the Rivers and Bay,) for the year ending June 30th, 1857.

| CHARACTER. | ENTRIES. | | | CLEARANCES. | | |
|--------------|----------|---------|--------|-------------|---------|-------|
| | Vessels. | Tons. | Crew. | Vessels. | Tons. | Crew. |
| American... | 92 | 60,563 | 2,034 | 187 | 111,866 | 3,091 |
| Foreign... | 58 | 49,756 | 1,413 | 52 | 44,381 | 1,258 |
| Coastwise... | 556 | 247,084 | 9,789 | 217 | 71,613 | 2,254 |
| Total.... | 706 | 357,403 | 13,236 | 456 | 227,860 | 6,603 |

Exports of Cotton to Foreign Ports, with the Weight and Value attached, for the year ending August 31, 1857.

| | Bales. | Pounds. | Value. |
|-----------------------------------|---------|-------------|--------------|
| G. Britain in American vessels... | 128,712 | 64,581,433 | \$8,378,741 |
| Do. in British do. ... | 81,148 | 41,252,609 | 5,201,531 |
| Do. in Swedish do. ... | 1,371 | 696,486 | 83,937 |
| Total to Great Britain..... | 211,281 | 106,480,532 | \$13,664,215 |
| France, in American vessels..... | 84,695 | 42,789,533 | \$5,294,014 |
| Do. in Sardinian do. | 145 | 72,994 | 9,614 |
| Total to France | 84,840 | 42,862,527 | \$5,303,628 |
| Belgium | 2,297 | 1,157,501 | \$151,424 |
| Sweden | 2,068 | 1,038,260 | 122,825 |
| Hamburg..... | 2,545 | 1,305,476 | 166,675 |
| Russia | 8,190 | 4,145,050 | 545,934 |
| Holland..... | 1,470 | 750,544 | 91,136 |
| Denmark..... | 1,123 | 570,838 | 74,200 |
| Spain..... | 1,225 | 611,112 | 86,454 |
| Total to other Foreign Ports .. | 18,918 | 9,578,781 | 1,238,648 |
| Total Foreign..... | 314,989 | 158,921,840 | \$20,206,491 |

*Comparative Imports of the following Staple Articles into this Port
for six years.*

| ARTICLE. | 1856-57. | 1857-58. | 1858-59. | 1859-60. | 1860-61. | 1861-62. |
|---------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Bagging, pieces.. | 14,446 | 22,174 | 23,968 | 21,463 | 22,327 | 17,762 |
| Bain, bags, coils.. | 22,721 | 26,199 | 31,597 | 21,562 | 34,176 | 16,365 |
| Bacon, hams..... | 21,415 | 12,426 | 16,929 | 17,744 | 13,227 | 11,500 |
| Coffee, sacks..... | 32,624 | 22,554 | 22,906 | 29,673 | 34,566 | 28,538 |
| Corn, sacks..... | 143,432 | 43,426 | 191,225 | 189,929 | 92,194 | 83,380 |
| Flour, bbls..... | 72,590 | 59,073 | 41,929 | 62,667 | 64,444 | 74,329 |
| Hay, bales..... | 31,993 | 13,554 | 17,558 | 25,161 | 22,520 | 26,652 |
| Lard, kegs..... | 14,168 | 16,492 | 22,063 | 15,738 | 22,389 | 22,481 |
| Lime, bbls..... | 22,100 | 6,790 | 14,632 | 11,953 | 21,253 | 31,027 |
| Molasses, bbls.... | 7,607 | 17,695 | 29,330 | 30,799 | 19,681 | 18,195 |
| Oil, sacks..... | 29,595 | 88,912 | 33,939 | 60,426 | 48,395 | 30,995 |
| Potatoes, bbls.... | 17,095 | 19,309 | 12,099 | 23,261 | 21,344 | 22,014 |
| Pork, bbls..... | 13,662 | 19,944 | 12,446 | 14,700 | 15,841 | 15,589 |
| Rice, bbls..... | 2,662 | 1,961 | 11,421 | 2,349 | 1,399 | 1,491 |
| Salt, sacks..... | 172,915 | 234,321 | 139,901 | 169,631 | 123,266 | 154,351 |
| Sugar, bbls..... | 6,163 | 7,570 | 7,431 | 8,398 | 8,352 | 6,083 |
| Whiskey, bbls.... | 31,244 | 25,808 | 19,702 | 24,695 | 21,754 | 15,597 |

Cotton Crop of South Alabama for 28 years.

| Years. | Bales. | An. Inc. | An. De. | Years. | Bales. | An. Inc. | An. De. |
|----------|---------|----------|---------|----------|---------|----------|---------|
| 1830.... | 102,684 | 22,355 | ..... | 1844.... | 468,126 | ..... | 14,505 |
| 1831.... | 113,075 | 10,391 | ..... | 1845.... | 517,550 | 49,424 | ..... |
| 1832.... | 125,605 | 12,530 | ..... | 1846.... | 421,669 | ..... | 95,881 |
| 1833.... | 129,366 | 3,761 | ..... | 1847.... | 322,516 | ..... | 69,153 |
| 1834.... | 149,613 | 20,147 | ..... | 1848.... | 438,324 | 115,808 | ..... |
| 1835.... | 197,847 | 48,324 | ..... | 1849.... | 517,846 | 79,522 | ..... |
| 1836.... | 237,590 | 39,748 | ..... | 1850.... | 350,297 | ..... | 167,549 |
| 1837.... | 232,685 | ..... | 4,905 | 1851.... | 451,697 | 101,400 | ..... |
| 1838.... | 309,807 | 77,122 | ..... | 1852.... | 549,773 | 98,075 | ..... |
| 1839.... | 251,742 | ..... | 58,065 | 1853.... | 546,514 | ..... | 3,258 |
| 1840.... | 445,725 | 193,983 | ..... | 1854.... | 538,110 | ..... | 8,404 |
| 1841.... | 317,642 | ..... | 126,083 | 1855.... | 454,595 | ..... | 83,515 |
| 1842.... | 318,315 | 678 | ..... | 1856.... | 659,738 | 205,143 | ..... |
| 1843.... | 482,631 | 164,316 | ..... | 1857.... | 503,177 | ..... | 156,561 |

BUSINESS OF CINCINNATI.

The annual statement reported to the Chamber of Commerce shows the value of imports into Cincinnati, during the past year, to have been \$77,090,146, and the exports \$55,642,171. But these figures do not exhibit the full business; it is thought that ten per cent. should be added to the imports, and twenty-five per cent to the exports, to reach the true amounts. The great Pork emporium is declared to be the greatest whiskey market in the world. The annual distillation in the city and vicinity, reaches about *half a million* of barrels, consuming, in this way, *eight million* bushels of corn and other grains. The price ranged, during the year, from 20½ to 33 cents per gallon. The export of Alcohol was 44,000 barrels.

In Provisions a profitable business has been done. The heavy shipments overstocked the English market, so that large return shipments are now made from Liverpool to New York, chiefly of box meats. The

indications are that a small business for the English market will be done the coming season.

The number of hogs packed in the city, the last year, was 344,512, a falling off from the previous year of 60,884. The average yield of lard was $2\frac{1}{2}$ pounds less per hog than last year. Thirty-seven houses are engaged in this business—a diminution of five from last year.

In Flour a larger business has been done during the last two years than since 1848. The exports for these two years amount to about one million barrels. As a Wheat market Cincinnati is expected to take a prominent place, when put in connection with the Southern system of railroads. In 1856 the imports exceeded one million of bushels. Rye is increasingly used for distillation, and the demand rapidly increases. Barley shows a rapid increase, also, the importations being four times as large as ten years since. They amount, this year, to 381,060 bushels.

The Iron business is stated to be in a healthy condition. There are thirty-seven iron foundries and machine shops; twelve rolling-mills, and eight establishments for stoves and hollow-ware. The exports of manufactured iron have steadily increased.

As a Tobacco market Cincinnati seems to be increasing in importance. The opening of communications with Southern Kentucky and Tennessee will hasten this, and render the city a leading Tobacco market for the West.

WHERE THE BRITISH COTTON GOODS GO.

Tabular statement showing the quantities and values of Cotton Manufactures exported from Great Britain to all countries, respectively, during the first five months of 1856 and 1857.

| COUNTRIES. | 1856. | | 1857. | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|
| | Quantities, yards. | Values. | Quantities, yards. | Values. |
| Hanse Towns | 29,834,072 | \$2,518,410 | 21,308,685 | \$2,056,000 |
| Holland | 17,441,628 | 1,435,755 | 15,971,419 | 1,370,275 |
| Portugal and Islands .. | 18,997,738 | 1,172,970 | 20,184,384 | 1,304,585 |
| Turkey | 69,935,254 | 4,282,903 | 36,498,907 | 4,875,040 |
| Syria and Palestine... | 21,243,412 | 1,453,370 | 22,038,334 | 1,453,080 |
| Egypt | 22,939,581 | 1,270,355 | 25,259,546 | 1,516,885 |
| United States | 72,550,442 | 6,729,275 | 91,233,553 | 7,936,880 |
| For. West Indies | 15,843,628 | 1,160,225 | 24,033,895 | 1,840,131 |
| Brazil | 43,491,588 | 2,835,755 | 74,886,130 | 5,335,875 |
| Buenos Ayres | 7,926,307 | 550,915 | 11,309,149 | 857,095 |
| Chili | 15,921,883 | 1,129,080 | 13,153,888 | 991,230 |
| Peru | 11,554,360 | 882,500 | 9,668,490 | 795,305 |
| China | 54,314,958 | 3,032,290 | 30,923,557 | 1,947,185 |
| Java | 17,936,520 | 1,216,015 | 10,882,912 | 821,825 |
| Gibraltar | 14,820,850 | 950,825 | 6,666,872 | 459,115 |
| British North America. | 10,492,397 | 876,175 | 11,710,368 | 986,275 |
| British West Indies .. | 17,238,417 | 1,106,820 | 16,666,515 | 1,008,865 |
| British East Indies... | 176,481,952 | 9,883,310 | 220,997,041 | 13,005,095 |
| Australia | 7,494,945 | 813,280 | 12,941,494 | 1,286,215 |
| Other countries | 123,944,149 | 9,160,615 | 143,957,216 | 10,926,175 |
| Total | 761,347,082 | \$52,469,345 | 850,552,405 | \$60,798,130 |

CENTRAL SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY.

POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL NECESSITY FOR ITS ESTABLISHMENT.

The author of the present article, which will be followed by another, is not satisfied with the comparatively moderate aims, and necessarily (though to but a limited extent) sectarian character of the great University proposed to be established in connection with the Southern Episcopal church, and to which reference has occasionally been had in the pages of the Review. Without interfering with the plans and purposes of that institution, which is entitled to the greatest success, and seems to involve all the elements necessary to secure it very soon, he rises to a higher stand point, and argues that the Southern people, through individual, municipal, and State action, comprising all denominations, orthodox, and heterodox, Jew, and Gentile should move with one accord to secure for our political as well intellectual redemption and development, at some advantageous point, a vast Central University towards which should radiate to be afterwards condensed, intensified, and reflected the emanations of our municipal and State schools, academies, and colleges. The idea is certainly a grand one, and we cheerfully give him an opportunity to work it out. Whilst there may be differences of opinion in relation to the details of organization and the financial questions which arise, in the main subject itself, it would seem that among the Southern people there should be little or none. As early as 1847 we advanced some views upon University instruction at the South, and our wants in this particular which could well be reproduced, did space admit, in connection with the present article.—(See Review, Vol. 3, pp. 264 and 311—EDITOR.)

THE opinion that it is vitally important to the interests and general welfare of the South, for the slaveholding States to endow and organize as speedily as possible a great Central Southern University seems to be rapidly gaining ground. Practical and experienced educators, wise statesmen, and patriotic citizens of the South—men who are aware of the vast importance, political as well as social, of having the youth of a State, or of several States whose interests are identical, brought into close and frequent contact with each other, and educated together, are earnestly turning their attention to the subject. With the writer, the project has been a cherished one for several years; and in view of the necessity for speedy action, in the matter, and of the favorable opportunity which the present situation of affairs offers for bringing the subject prominently before the slaveholding States, as well as for the purpose of identifying himself with this, the most patriotic measure to which the last quarter of a century has given birth, and of contributing his mite towards crowning the movement with success, he takes the liberty to address the following remarks to the friends of the undertaking throughout the South generally.

The project for the establishment of a Central Southern University will be considered under four heads *1st.* Its necessity. *2d.* The ways and means for raising funds sufficient to place it upon a respectable footing at once, and to endow it in perpetuity. *3d.* Its location. *4th.* Its organization.

These four particulars appear to cover the entire ground of discussion; and provided it can be shown that there really does exist a necessity for the establishment of such a university, that funds can be raised for erecting the necessary buildings, for purchasing an extensive library, the requisite apparatus, and all other fixtures, and for endowing it in perpetuity, without adding anything to the burdens of the people. That such a method can be devised for determinating the site of the university as to prevent all contentions, and to silence all jarring interests. It does seem that every patriotic citizen of the South should, with alacrity, number himself among the friends and supporters of the movement. That there does exist a *political* necessity for the establishment of an institution of learning of the character alluded to—an institution around which shall cluster the hopes and the pride of the South, the teachings of which shall be thoroughly Southern, one pledged to the defence and perpetuation of that form of civilization peculiar to the slaveholding States, will not, perhaps, be questioned, although some may entertain doubts as to the pressure of that necessity. The inquiry, whence arose the necessity, is somewhat foreign to the matter at present in hand. It is sufficient for the South to know that the necessity *actually* exists, and a few remarks here may serve to set it forth in a stronger light.

If the Federal School, the Military Academy at West Point, be excepted, there cannot be found within the limits of the Union a single institution of learning which has the least pretensions to the claim of nationality. There is not one which will serve as a common rallying ground for the various sections of the country. They are, as a general rule, pledged, either directly or indirectly, to the promulgation of peculiar views in politics or religion, and cannot, therefore, command the confidence and support of the whole country. Many of great distinction, and wielding immense influence, have boldly and openly arrayed themselves on the abolition or anti-slavery side of the, to us, great political and social question of the day. Hourly are they poisoning the minds of thousands of our fellow-citizens against us, teaching that resistance to the laws of the Constitution is obedience to God. And grave professors have gone so far as to give aid and encouragement to robbers and assassins—have placed arms in their hands, and appealed to them by all they hold most sacred to be diligent in using them

against—whom? Those who have trampled under foot the Constitution and the laws? Those whom all good men declare to be traitors and outlaws? No, but against their fellow-citizens—against those who have always been noted for their zealous obedience to law—who have always given the Government a most hearty support, and willingly spent more than their just proportion of blood and treasure in defence of the rights and honor of the whole country, but who have never asked more than equality in the Union.

This hostility on the part of numerous institutions of learning at the North, to the domestic institutions of the South, is founded upon a much more wide-spread and deeply-seated feeling of hostility on the part of all ranks and classes of people in the hireling States. Southerners have been murdered whilst peacefully endeavoring to maintain their rights and secure their property. Federal officers have been attacked because they honestly endeavored to enforce the laws, and at least one has been butchered because he was true to his oath and his country. Inflammatory and seditious pamphlets have been circulated among the slaves, instigating them to insurrection and revolt. They are hourly called upon to murder their masters, to burn their houses. Theft, robbery, arson, perjury, rape, murder, have been erased from the list of crimes and enrolled among the virtues, provided they be directed against slaveholders. So far has fanaticism gone that a miserable negro thief, who was sentenced to the Maryland penitentiary for stealing slaves and died there, has been apotheosized. His name has been placed high on the list of worthies and martyrs; and, to hand down his name to posterity, a monument has been erected to his memory at Mt. Auburn. This feeling of hostility against the South, combined with a systematic and intentional misrepresentation of her domestic institutions, pervades, as already remarked, all classes. It is found on the bench, at the bar, in the pulpit, in the legislature, in the gubernatorial chair, around the fire-side, in the school-house, in the college, in the literature and school-books of the North. It is found everywhere. Open a newspaper, it is there. Hear a sermon, it is there. Read a poem, it is there. From their earliest infancy men and women are taught to fear and to execrate the South. From the lazy and filthy negresses who are occasionally seen sauntering in the streets of Boston, through Abby Folsom up to Mrs. Uncle Tom, the goddess of negrodom and negrophilists, there is a oneness, a congeniality of feeling, so far as fear of and hostility to the South are concerned, on the part of the women at the North, which, with all the other circumstances of the case, precludes the possibility of the restoration of anything like harmony and good

feeling between the hireling and slave States. It is absurd to suppose that the people of the North will ever unsay what they have said, undo what they have done, or retrace their steps in any particular whatever. They have gone too far. They have persisted in saying what they know to be false, and in doing what they know to be ungenerous and unjust, until they have come at last either to believe what they say and do to be true and just, or have become wedded to falsehood and injustice. (The difficulty between the South and the North can never arrive at a peaceable settlement. The supreme and ultimate arbiter in the dispute now pending between them must be the sword. To that complexion it must come at last. The first step then which the South should take in preparing for the great contest ahead of her, is to secure harmony at home. "The union of the South for the sake of the South" should be the sentiment of every patriotic son and daughter of the South, and each should endeavor to contribute his or her mite towards gaining so desirable an end. The safety of the South, the integrity of the South, not the permanence of the Union, should be regarded as the "paramount political good." No true Southerner, no loyal son of the South can possibly desire the continuance of the Union *as it is*. To secure her rights, and to guard her interests, the South must be a *unit*. The petty rivalries and jealousies which have existed between the slaveholding States must cease. Every effort must be made to soothe and unite, not to divide. To bring about complete harmony and unity of feeling among the slaveholding States is, I repeat, the paramount necessity of the present time. And the question arises, how is that to be done? In order for any set of men to be harmonious and united, they must understand each other, and to understand each other their intercourse must be free and frequent. This much for ordinary harmony and union; but in order to secure unity and concert of action on great political questions which affect large bodies of men, scattered over many degrees of latitude and longitude, there must be on their part, in addition to everything else, a *community of interest*. And the greater the outward pressure directed against this common interest, the stronger, as a general rule, will be the bonds of union formed to resist that pressure. How do these conditions apply to the South? By the South is meant, politically speaking, the following fourteen States, viz: Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas, and Missouri. Delaware and New Jersey have each a few slaves, but the number is so small—Delaware has only 2,290, and New Jersey 236—that I have not reckoned them among the slaveholding States, or

regarded them as part and parcel of the South. They are in what may be called a transition state, and will soon belong, body and soul, to the North. There are then, in this Confederacy, fourteen slaveholding States, two nominally slaveholding, and fifteen hireling States, in which black slavery is prohibited by law. These fifteen hireling States, together with all the rest of North America, except the slaveholding States mentioned, and more than one-half of South America, reinforced and sustained by England, France, and most of the other nations of Europe, have openly declared themselves against American slavery, and may be said to be engaged in a crusade against our domestic institutions. The African slave-trade has been denounced as piracy, not only by several European powers, but by the United States. From the beginning of the present century up to this time the influence of the Government has been against the South, and for fifteen years this Government has kept a fleet on the African coast for the express purpose (acting in conjunction with England and France) of suppressing the traffic in slaves, and for preventing their importation into America. And at least three-fourths of the expense of maintaining this fleet have been paid by the South. Again, every effort has been made in Europe and America to influence public opinion against slavery. The fears of masters have been appealed to, and no exertions spared to instigate the negroes to bloody revolt, and to induce them to re-enact the scenes of San Domingo. It is evident from the foregoing that an outward pressure against the great common interest of the South does exist—a pressure which increases daily in force and intensity, but whose effects thus far have been to strengthen slavery in the fourteen States mentioned, and to place the institution on more commanding grounds—results the very reverse of those intended by the originators of the movement.

There exist then, two of the conditions necessary to harmonious and united action on the part of the South, a great common interest, and a tremendous outward pressure directed against that interest. How stands the other? The travelling facilities of the present day have brought the people of the South into closer and more frequent contact with each other, have removed many prejudices and petty rivalries, and done much to unite and draw nearer together those who are interested in the prosperity and perpetuation of slavery. The network of railroads ramifying all over the South, and which has been built chiefly by slave labor, has served to develop the almost inexhaustible resources of this section of the country, and awakened the people of the South to a sense of their own power and greatness. Moreover, the people of the South have been

brought nearer together and more frequently into contact with each other. The result of this free and frequent intercourse is, that the people of the slaveholding States are more closely united, more thoroughly unanimous, more indented in feeling and in interest than ever the people of this Confederacy have been since the war of the Revolution. But one thing more is needed. It is necessary for the young men of the South—those who are to be our future legislators and statesmen—the leaders of our armies and senates—to become acquainted with each other, to be educated together. The union of the South must be strengthened by the bonds of personal friendship, by social and intimate intercourse. In a word, the people of the South must *know* each other in the fullest sense of the word. Any one can convince himself, by the least observation, of the powerful influence exerted upon the career of our public men by the associations and friendships formed during their educational course. In fact, they are important to the successful prosecution of almost any avocation in life; and it is no unfrequent occurrence to hear a father say, desiring to prepare my son for such a course in life, I intend to educate him at such a college, for there he will be more apt to form those associations and friendships which will be most useful to him in his future career."

The educational facilities of the South offer no center of attraction tending to draw together the young men from the various slaveholding States; and of all the various colleges and institutions of learning in our midst, many of which, are of the most deserving character, there is but *one* which appears to look beyond the educational wants of the State in which it is located, and which has made provision on a scale at all commensurate with its importance, for the thorough education of the youth of other States as well as of those at home. Allusion of course is made to the University of Virginia; and I speak of it with pride, for it is not only the first institution of learning in point of excellence in the South, but it is probably superior to any other in the Union. But the University of Virginia is not sufficiently Southern, sufficiently central, sufficiently cottonized to become the great educational center of the South. And in saying this, I do not intend to cast any imputation on the loyalty of the people of Virginia to the South, or to impugn the loyalty of the University itself. Far be any such intention from me. Having resided sometime in Virginia, I am prepared to place a high estimate on the noble chivalrous Southern character of her sons, and having been a student at the University, I can bear testimony to the efficiency of its organization as far as it goes, to the distinguished ability of the professors, to the gentlemanly conduct and high bearing

of the students, and to their thoroughly Southern tone of character. To Prof. Bledsoe the South owes a debt of gratitude for his work on "Liberty and Slavery," a work which should be in the hands of every Southern student as a *text-book*; and by his act the University of Virginia has been arrayed in opposition to the Abolition institutions of the North. Prof. Smith, of Wm. and Mary's College, and others are equally deserving of the thanks of the South for the noble stand which they have taken in defence of her domestic institutions. And it is chiefly to the efforts of these gentlemen, and others, throughout the South that we are indebted for the commanding position which we now occupy in reference to negro slavery.

But a University of the character of the one for whose establishment we are laboring, one destined to be the fountain of light and honor to the South, the source of her prosperity, the center and support of her peculiar form of civilization, the great central intellectual light of the South, whose rays shall radiate over the entire land, and illuminate every nook and corner, and around which the other institutions of learning shall circle as planets round their central sun, should be located in the *very heart* of the South. Should be removed as far as possible from every malign influence which may be brought to bear upon it, threatening its corruption. As the great fortress and stronghold of the South it should not be located near the confines of her empire, on the outskirts of her civilization, but should occupy the most impregnable position within her borders. The *political center* of the South is the proper location for such an institution. I will conclude the argument with regard to the political necessity for the establishment of the University, by quoting the introductory clauses of "an act for the more complete establishment of a public seat of learning in this State, (Georgia.) Approved January 27, 1785" for the purpose of showing the sentiments of our sires with respect to home education. And I doubt not, that the same sentiments will be found in the acts establishing the various State institutions of learning in the different States.

"As it is the distinguishing happiness of free governments that civil order should be the result of choice and not necessity, and the common wishes of the people become the laws of the land, their public prosperity, and even existence, very much depends upon suitably forming the minds and morals of their citizens. When the minds of the people in general are viciously disposed and unprincipled, and their conduct disorderly, a free government will be attended with greater confusions, and evils more horrid than the wild uncultivated state of nature. It can only be happy where the public principles and opinions are properly directed, and their manners regulated. This is an influence beyond the stretch of laws and punishments, and can be claimed only by religion and education. It should, therefore, be among the first objects of those who wish well to the national prosperity, to encourage and support the principles of religion and morality, and early to place the youth under the forming hand of society, that by instruction they may be moulded to the love of virtue and good order.

Sending them abroad to other countries for their education will not answer these purposes, is too humiliating an acknowledgement of the ignorance and inferiority of our own, and will always be the cause of so great foreign attachments, that upon principles of policy it is inadmissible. This country, in the times of our common danger and distress, found such security in the principles and abilities which wise regulations had before established in the minds of our countrymen, that our present happiness, joined to the pleasing prospects, should conspire to make us feel ourselves under the strongest obligations to form the youth, the rising hope of the land, to render the like glorious and essential services to our country."

If the Georgians of '85 discovered that foreign education tinctured the minds of their sons with disloyalty to their home institutions, how much more apt is that result to flow from the education of the young men of the South in abolition and European institutions of learning at the present day. Southerners must be educated as Southerners, as slaveholders, and be taught to support and defend the institution of slavery, and all the rights of the South, at all times and in all places. This education can be had no where else than in the South, and no where so thoroughly imparted as in an institution organized expressly for that purpose. The institutions of Lycurgus would never have been established had the Spartan youth been sent to Athens for their education. And no people can expect to retain their domestic peculiarities and institutions, when in diametrical opposition to those of most other nations, unless they will keep their sons at home, and educate them in those peculiarities, teaching them to defend and perpetuate their institutions at all hazards and costs.

But does there not exist an *educational* as well as a *political* necessity for the establishment of such a university? Let us see. According to the Census of 1850 there were in the fourteen slaveholding States one hundred and twenty colleges, with an aggregate of seven hundred and thirty-seven teachers, and twelve thousand and ninety-eight students. In the Census Report the word *college* is defined to be any institution empowered to grant degrees. The number given above embraces, then, all the colleges in the South—male and female—literary, medical, theological, military, and legal. The theological, military, and law schools are not usually dignified with the name of colleges, but as they confer diplomas, they come under the definition employed. Not more than three-fourths of these, or ninety, can be claimed as male colleges; but assuming that they are all male colleges, and that none are professional schools, I wish to show how utterly inadequate they are to meet the educational wants of the people. According to the Census of 1850—and I will here state that all the statistics presented in this paper are from the "Compendium of United States Census" of 1850, prepared by Mr. De Bow, unless the contrary is distinctly specified—the number of white

inhabitants of the Southern States is 6,113,308. The number of fighting men is usually estimated at about one-fifth of the population. That gives 1,222,661 fighting men. Of these, at least one-fourth are of an age suitable for going to college. Hence, 305,133 young of the South should be at college. But of these, not more than one-fifth, perhaps, are able to go. There are then, in the South, 61,026 young men who not only *should* be at college, but who are *able* to go. This may appear to be a large estimate, but to those who are acquainted with the South it will not, I think, seem *too large*. The number of colleges in the South must be largely increased in order that so numerous a body of young men may be accommodated; and this consideration, together with another to be given directly, will be sufficient to prevent any hostility on the part of those institutions already established against the one proposed to be organized. Indeed, it may be stated as a general rule, that in proportion as the facilities for education are multiplied, so will increase the number of those who will avail themselves of the advantages placed in their reach. And each new institution of learning that is established should not be regarded as a *rival* by its elders, but as a co-worker in the cause of education and refinement, and as developing and bringing to light new material which could not otherwise have been reached. Hence, when judiciously located, there is no antagonism of interest between educational establishments.

But this *educational necessity* will be found to exist in a greater degree when the superficial character of the present system of collegiate education is considered, and the cheap estimate which is placed nowadays upon a diploma or a degree. • What is the meaning of a diploma in this country? Is it regarded as a certificate of scholarship, a reward of merit? However highly deserved by some, the conferring of degrees is, as a general rule, absolutely meaningless so far as its original intention is concerned, and it simply signifies that the recipient has paid certain fees, remained a certain time at college, and behaved himself tolerably well whilst a student. Our system of education is notoriously defective, our standard too low. The education of our young men is regarded as completed when it has, in many respects, just begun; and they are turned out of college, many of them knowing less perhaps than when they entered, puffed up with the idea that they are educated, and are wiser in their own conceits "than seven men who can render a reason."

How can the standard of education be elevated in our midst? This is an important question, and deserves a careful and candid consideration. The remedy, as I conceive, is simply this—establish a Central University in the South, in which all the

States shall have a direct and immediate interest, organize it upon the most extensive scale, the most thorough and comprehensive basis; let merit and scholarship, not money and time, be the means by which degrees may be obtained; and let the course of study be so complete and thorough, that the various colleges may hold to it the same relation which the preparatory schools all over the country hold to them.

Our system of education will then be complete, and our young men have facilities placed in their reach which they can only obtain now by going abroad. I do not wish to be understood, however, as desiring to exclude from the University those who have not taken a collegiate course. Its privileges should be open to all, and merit made the only criterion in judging of a student's qualification for a degree. No honorary degrees should be conferred. So indiscriminately have they been given that their bestowal serves only to make donors and recipients ridiculous in the eyes of all reflecting men. The idea that the Faculty of a College can make a man a Master of Arts, a Doctor of Divinity, or any thing else, by a mere strip of parchment, resting at the same time, as they usually do, in the most complete and indifferent state of ignorance with regard to the candidate's qualifications, is absurd in the extreme. And yet, how often it is done!

I trust that no remarks which I have made with regard to our collegiate system of education will be misconstrued. I am no enemy of colleges, but only a foe to their faults. And as long as I continue an uncompromising foe to such faults, I expect to be regarded as a warm friend to those noble institutions of learning by all who are wise in head and good in heart. A few more words and I will be done with this part of my subject. In several of the Southern States there are institutions of learning supported by the State governments which are called universities, and also several denominational schools which go by the same name. They are universities in name only, and not in fact. The name has been so abused, or misused in America, that we hardly know what is a university. And I will here add, that under existing circumstances, there is not perhaps a single State in the South which is able to organize, endow, and keep in active operation a university proper. It is seriously agitated, however in South Carolina and Georgia, and possibly in other States also, to convert their State Colleges into universities. Such a step on the part of those States will be suicidal in the extreme, so far as their educational interests are concerned, will cripple their resources, will be a direct, though unintentional, blow at the elevation of the standard of education in the South; and will contribute nothing towards establishing that harmony of feeling and unity

of action on the part of the South which is the great desideratum at the present time. These results will flow from such attempts because they will be abortive. A university proper will require for its support, the permanent patronage of from three to five or ten thousand students. The most sanguine advocates of the measures alluded to, do not, I presume, anticipate the attendance of more than five hundred. The revenue derived from their tuition will hardly exceed \$40,000; and when that amount is divided among a large corps of professors, the salary of each will be exceedingly small. My idea of what a university *should be*, will be given hereafter, and in the meantime, I will add that there are in the Union only two institutions of learning which approximate towards the state of being universities. I allude to Brown University and the University of Virginia. But even they may be regarded as only *embryo* universities. I desire to see the South establish something superior to them. The comparative success of those universities, and more particularly that of Virginia, has brought the university system into deserved favor. But the Southern States must recollect that the success of the University of Virginia has been mainly owing to the fact, that there are no similar institutions in the other States; and if each proceeds to set up its own university, they all must fail. Their expenditures will be wasted, the cause of education will not be prospered, our youths will still be dependent upon foreign institutions of learning; and, what is worse, the educational system of the South will tend to divide not unite, to produce discord and not harmony. Let those States reorganize their State colleges, enlarge the curriculum if necessary, graft upon the collegiate some of the features of the university system, endeavor to make their courses somewhat more practical, and be more exacting in their demands for graduation qualifications. These will be important steps, and steps taken in the right direction.

Again, each of two denominations of Christians at the South proposes to establish a Central Southern University. How many others will follow suit is not known, but it is probable that some will. The denominations alluded to are the Methodist Episcopal South, and the Protestant Episcopal. The two churches are *almost* one, so far as doctrine is concerned, but differ considerably in external forms and ceremonies. This difference however immaterial, however meaningless and unimportant, will be as great a bar to unity of action and fusion of interests on their part, as if they were separated as far as the east is from the west. The universities, when established, will be pledged, either directly or indirectly, to the maintenance and promulgation of peculiar religious views,

and cannot, therefore, command the confidence and support of the entire South. Other denominations will, as an act of self-defence, organize similar universities, and the educational system of the South will be as far as ever from producing unity and concert of action within her borders. And, as before, there will be no great center of attraction tending to draw together the young men of the South from all quarters. I am not opposed to the universities proposed to be established, only so far as their establishment will militate against the organization of the one suggested in this paper, and tend to whet the sword of sectarian controversy. The various denominations had better restrain their zeal for some time yet, and see if the States will not establish a great Central Southern University, and then encamp around it in their peculiar schools of divinity, according to a plan to be hereinafter mentioned.

In connection with the system of sectarian education, a rather dangerous dogma has been broached within the last two or three years. It is, that the function of teaching belongs exclusively to the Church. Could some simple rule of faith or set of articles be devised to which we could all subscribe, it might be possible to gain a general assent to the proposition. But so long as there is a diversity of religious sentiments, or men differ as to which is the *true* Church, so long will we be spared from the evils which will inevitably arise should education be bound hand and foot, and subject only to the Church. Education and religion should go hand in hand, but education should never be so much the slave of religion, or rather of religionists, that they may have it in their power to say, "thus far shalt thou go, but no further." The teachings of all history will surely be in vain should such an end be consummated in this country.

The numerous sectarian schools in the South have done much good, and if they can only be restrained from what appears to be their ultimate tendency—the propagation of sectarian differences and sectarian controversies, they will continue to be among the greatest blessings which the Church has conferred upon society. But Heaven forbid that the time should come when men will be educated to believe certain religious doctrines, whether true or false, simply because their fathers and teachers believe them. It is pleasing to indulge the hope that the time may not be far distant when the controversies which rage so bitterly between religious sects will be abandoned, and the Christian Church on earth become, like that in Heaven, one in doctrine, one in name.

Whether or not I have succeeded in establishing the proposition with regard to the necessity for the organization of a great Central Southern University, is for others to decide.

Abler pens will doubtless take it up and more thoroughly illuminate the subject. As for my part, I am satisfied. And in throwing out the preceding remarks for the consideration of others, I have but followed what appeared to me to be a simple dictate of duty. I am a Southerner—was born and raised in the South, and my destiny, whether for weal or woe, so far as this world is concerned, is indissolubly linked with that of the South. I desire to see my native land thrive and prosper in all the elements of power and greatness; and, above all things else, am anxious to see her released from that thralldom under which she now labors and groans. I do not contemplate disunion as a thing “lovely in itself,” but as a necessity; not as an end to be desired above all others, but as one to be preferred to dishonor and ruin. And I hesitate not to say that I am one of those who, in the assertion and maintenance of their rights, would rather “uproar the universal peace” than submit—tamely, quietly, slavishly submit to their infraction, their loss.

There are thousands in the South who cling to the Union with a devoted fondness, and venerate it as the workmanship of their fathers. They are true to the South, but confidently hope that she can maintain her rights in the Union. They regard with horror the very thought of disunion, but should they be convinced that the rights and honor of the South cannot be maintained in the Union, they would strike for their preservation out of it. This class may not approve of some of the conclusions which have been drawn in this article, and may, therefore, oppose the establishment of the university. They must know, however, that in order for the South to maintain her rights in the Union she must be united. If the South be divided she will be conquered in detail, and one by one the slaveholding States will sink into the embraces of Free-soilism, and be abandoned to all the horrors, and evils, and abominations which characterize free society in the North and in Europe, and which disgrace humanity. The establishment of the university has been proposed as a measure certain to produce, by its working, unity and concord of action on the part of the slaveholding States. The young men of the South will then assemble and drink pure and invigorating draughts from unpolluted fountains. They will meet together as brethren, and be educated in one common political faith, at one common *alma mater*. And when they return home to their native States they will not be a whit the less Kentuckians, or Georgians, or Texans, but more thorough Southerners. Can any one who has the interests of the South *at heart* object to the enterprise? Some will oppose it and denounce it as visionary, as dreamy, as chimerical. They, however, will be

found to consist of those who care nothing for the South, for the institution of slavery, for the superiority of the white over the black race, but whose only hope is to live at the expense of the public by drawing their support from the treasury. Let them be marked. They have always been opposed to the advancement of the South—to her material interests—to her greatness.

Could the Union be restored to what it was in the days of Washington, and the Government administered as under him, then would no one think of disunion. The fraternal feeling would be restored between the Northern and Southern States. But is that possible? Is there a single individual in the South who really, honestly, conscientiously thinks in his "heart of hearts" that it is possible? Is there one? If there is, let him go the North, and there study Northern feeling and sentiment on the subject of slavery.

It is very possible that the strongest arguments for the necessity which exists for establishing the university have not been presented. No pretension is made to having exhausted the subject, and the hope is indulged that abler pens will take it up and bring more light to bear upon it. In another article will be presented the considerations relating to the location and organization of the university.

COMMERCE OF CHARLESTON, 1857.

THE annual Statement, published at the office of the Courier, furnishes many interesting and instructive facts. It is, however, to be regretted that the liberal commercial spirit of Charleston does not prompt more full and complete reports than it is in the power of any journal to give. The Chamber of Commerce would do well to take the matter under its especial charge, as is done in N. York, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Buffalo, etc.

From Charleston 12,886 bushels of wheat were exported to Great Britain during the year (1856-'57) against 56,851 bushels last year, and 12,886 barrels flour against 5,722. The total exports, to all quarters, reached in 1856-'57, 243,144 bushels wheat, and 68,225 barrels flour, against 675,317 bushels wheat and 39,026 barrels flour last year.

Of Naval Stores the present year—

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| Exported to Great Britain..... | 13,072 barrels. |
| " France..... | 2,150 " |
| " North of Europe..... | 3,038 " |
| " South of Europe..... | 2,828 " |
| " West Indies..... | 579 " |
| " Coastwise..... | 14,911 " |
| Total..... | 36,038 " |

Which is an increase of about two thousand barrels over last season.

Boxes of Copper ore exported the present season, 1,709—a considerable decrease from last year.

The export of rough Rice reached 120,653 bushels, against 131,163 last year. Of this export, about one-third was to France, one-sixth to Northern ports, and 54,484 to the North of Europe. The following are the statistics of Lumber:

| | |
|------------------------------|---------------|
| To Great Britain | 695,442 feet. |
| France | 1,328,405 " |
| West Indies | 2,511,313 " |
| North Europe | 1,916,624 " |
| South Europe | 1,357,478 " |
| Northern United States | 9,389,509 " |
| Total, 1857 | 17,198,771 " |
| " 1856 | 14,903,240 " |

Comparative Exports of Cotton (bales) and Rice (barrels) from the port of Charleston.

| EXPORTED TO | From September 1, 1856, to August 31, 1857. | | | From September 1, 1855, to August 31, 1856. | | |
|---------------------------|--|---------|---------|--|---------|---------|
| | S. Island. | Upland. | Rice. | S. Island. | Upland. | Rice. |
| Liverpool | 10,347 | 124,085 | 5,585 | 13,036 | 159,803 | 4,473 |
| Scotland | 89 | 2,822 | 3 | 89 | 4,983 | 4 |
| Other British ports. | | 1,533 | ..... | 89 | 2,532 | 1,223 |
| Total Great Britain. | 10,436 | 128,440 | 5,588 | 13,214 | 167,318 | 5,700 |
| Havre | 6,091 | 33,610 | 2,798 | 5,509 | 75,685 | 3,404 |
| Marseilles | | 200 | 33 | ..... | 1,355 | 1 |
| Other Foreign ports. | | 911 | 737 | ..... | 4,847 | 1,391 |
| Total France | 6,091 | 34,730 | 3,568 | 5,509 | 81,887 | 4,796 |
| Holland | | 7,101 | 1,017 | ..... | 7,698 | 1,011 |
| Belgium | | 2,995 | 3,184 | 42 | 2,753 | 2,054 |
| North of Europe ... | 54 | 18,146 | 4,397 | ..... | 39,234 | 5,154 |
| Total North Europe. | 54 | 28,242 | 8,598 | 42 | 49,685 | 8,219 |
| South of Europe | | 21,192 | 150 | ..... | 53,456 | ..... |
| West Indies, &c. .... |  | ..... | 13,327 | ..... | ..... | 12,201 |
| Total Foreign ports. | 16,581 | 212,604 | 31,270 | 18,765 | 352,346 | 30,916 |
| Boston | 124 | 22,050 | 10,998 | 231 | 8,827 | 7,375 |
| Rhode Island, &c. | 11 | 6,450 | 95 | 27 | 2,640 | 50 |
| New York | 6,770 | 103,831 | 42,417 | 9,020 | 95,738 | 54,395 |
| Philadelphia | 8 | 17,323 | 5,047 | 8 | 16,200 | 7,156 |
| Baltimore & Norfolk | | 12,719 | 8,890 | ..... | 9,928 | 8,478 |
| New Orleans, &c. .... |  | ..... | 20,575 | ..... | ..... | 18,832 |
| Other U. S. ports | | 168 | 1,580 | ..... | 118 | 563 |
| Total coastwise | 6,908 | 162,541 | 89,602 | 9,286 | 133,451 | 96,849 |
| Grand Total | 23,489 | 375,145 | 120,872 | 28,051 | 485,797 | 127,765 |

*Statement of Produce received at the South Carolina Railroad Depot,
down freight, for the year ending Sept. 1, 1857.*

| 1856. | Bales Cotton. | Bales Merch'ze. | Bushels Wheat. | Bushels Corn. | Barrels Flour. | Sacks Flour. | Barrels N. Stores. | Head Cattle. |
|-----------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Sept.... | 15,490 | 653 | 5,372 | 10,427 | 5,114 | 5,943 | 1,424 | 525 |
| Oct.... | 60,531 | 1,079 | 3,703 | 6,961 | 4,054 | 4,513 | 1,237 | 950 |
| Nov.... | 31,030 | 640 | 1,134 | 5,347 | 5,688 | 3,190 | 499 | 1,906 |
| Dec.... | 50,788 | 974 | 3,345 | 1,236 | 9,167 | 14,617 | 1,621 | 1,425 |
| Jan. 1857 | 49,247 | 969 | 3,258 | 11,602 | 11,285 | 13,145 | 802 | 1,722 |
| February | 38,343 | 1,159 | 13,902 | 8,874 | 6,017 | 5,875 | 1,142 | 875 |
| March... | 25,678 | 1,346 | 5,690 | 5,010 | 7,533 | 7,210 | 597 | 850 |
| April... | 14,147 | 1,068 | 3,394 | 1,015 | 2,597 | 3,108 | 1,395 | 538 |
| May.... | 12,762 | 1,175 | 75 | 130 | 1,413 | 3,569 | 814 | 822 |
| June.... | 10,504 | 1,296 | 11,324 | 1,276 | 3,687 | 9,908 | 906 | 400 |
| July.... | 5,040 | 1,044 | 84,692 | 1,208 | 4,740 | 3,310 | 2,231 | 215 |
| August.. | 2,711 | 879 | 244,304 | 1,318 | 8,256 | 9,860 | 1,174 | 65 |
| Total... | 316,271 | 12,285 | 385,393 | 54,304 | 69,551 | 84,248 | 13,842 | 10,293 |

There is a large quantity of sundries not embraced in this statement.

OUR FOREIGN IMMIGRATION.

THE report of the State Department giving the number of arrivals from foreign ports into the United States during the last year has just been issued by Mr. Flagg. It will be perceived that the number still declines. Of the whole arrivals in 1856, 24,160 were born in the United States, reducing the immigrants to 200,436. From England came 25,904; Ireland, 54,349; Germany, 63,807; from British America 14,331. Whole number of males, 135,308; females, 89,188. Died on the voyage 400. The report gives the countries in which the parties mean to reside, but it is of very little value, since the States of the Union are not distinguished. Cannot the returns be made more specific? Most of the immigrants can answer as to what particular State they are proceeding to. It seems that of the whole number 3,323 were for British America. For other quarters the numbers are insignificant; 11,105 were merchants; 9,801 mechanics; 24,722 farmers; 6,136 miners; 37,019 laborers; (not given more than half.)

*Statement of the number of passengers arriving in the United States by sea from
foreign countries, from September 30, 1843, to December 31, 1856.*

| Years. | Males. | Females. | Sex not stated. | Total. |
|---|-----------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|
| From September 30, 1843, to September 30, 1844..... | 48,897 | 35,567 | ..... | 84,764 |
| Do.....1844.....do.....1845..... | 69,179 | 49,311 | 1,406 | 119,896 |
| Do.....1845.....do.....1846..... | 90,974 | 66,773 | 597 | 158,649 |
| Do.....1846.....do.....1847..... | 139,167 | 99,825 | 990 | 239,452 |
| Do.....1847.....do.....1848..... | 186,123 | 92,333 | 473 | 279,453 |
| Do.....1848.....do.....1849..... | 179,256 | 119,915 | 512 | 299,683 |
| Do.....1849.....do.....1850..... | 200,904 | 113,892 | 1,063 | 315,854 |
| Do.....1850.....do.....1851..... | 39,323 | 27,107 | 181 | 66,611 |
| From December 31, 1850, to December 31, 1851..... | 245,017 | 163,745 | 66 | 408,828 |
| Do.....1851.....do.....1852..... | 235,731 | 160,174 | 1,468 | 397,345 |
| Do.....1852.....do.....1853..... | 236,732 | 164,178 | 73 | 400,983 |
| Do.....1853.....do.....1854..... | 234,687 | 175,587 | ..... | 410,474 |
| Do.....1854.....do.....1855..... | 140,181 | 90,238 | 12 | 230,476 |
| Do.....1855.....do.....1856..... | 135,308 | 89,188 | ..... | 224,496 |
| Total..... | 2,180,648 | 1,447,788 | 7,064 | 3,635,490 |

CLIMATE OF THE UNITED STATES.*

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS—PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY—SEVERE WINTERS—PARALLELS OF CLIMATE AND PRODUCTS—STATISTICS OF TEMPERATURE THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES—GREAT HURRICANES FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES—AMERICAN FORESTS—LIMITS AND PHENOMENA OF THE GROWTH OF INDIAN CORN, SUGAR, AND COTTON—SANITARY STATISTICS.

METEOROLOGICAL observations, it is well known, are of comparatively recent date. The facts which have been furnished by them, though quite extensive, have scarcely yet been combined for any practical purpose, or to inculcate any great general principles. There have been but few scientific treatises prepared for this purpose, and among these are the works of Dr. Forrey, and that of Lorin Blodget. The former made use of only such observations as were brought down to 1831, whilst the latter is enabled to combine also the more minute and accurate data which extend to the present day, collected not only on the Atlantic and lake coasts, but in the interior valley of the Mississippi and Missouri, and on the Western coasts, points which were but lately brought within the reach of settlement. Mr. Blodget's work has required the labors and investigations of many years in its preparation.

As an evidence of the utter ignorance of the ancients with regard to meteorological conditions, it may be remarked that Pliny enumerated in the moon's age eight critical days, and says, in regard to the winds, "there be certain caves and holes in the earth which breed wind, * * into which, if you cast any matter of light weight, there ariseth presently a stormy tempest, &c." Even the important facts bearing upon the quantity of rain which falls, were only ascertained in the bold effort to disprove the universal theory, that "rivers and fountains were supplied from internal masses of water—arteries and veins of the sea, circulating the life-blood of the earth."

Although the facts are not yet sufficient to construct a very perfect system of climatology, much of great public value can be deduced, especially in regard to the correspondence in like latitudes and like geographical positions. Thus, for example, it is found that Vancouver Island, on our Pacific coast, is analogous in position to Great Britain (in like latitudes, and on

* Climatology of the United States, and of the temperate latitudes of the North American Continent, embracing a full comparison of these with the climatology of the temperate latitudes of Europe and Asia, and especially in regard to agriculture, sanitary investigations, and engineering, with isothermal and rain charts for each season, the extreme months, and the year, including a summary of the statistics of the meteorological observations in the United States, condensed from recent scientific and official publications, by Lorin Blodget author of several recent reports on American climatology; Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1857.

the same side of the continent.) Here exists the cool summer, the warm winter, and the general humidity. Russia, the North of Germany, the Black sea, and Baltic districts, have equivalents of general climate and geographical position with our interior and western regions between 47° and 58° north. The climates of Canada and Labrador afford no guide to judge of the climate of the interior and west coast in the same or even higher latitudes. The winter of Norfolk, Virginia, is that of Puget's Sound; that of Washington city nearly the same as Silka in 57°—the one ten degrees, and the other eighteen degrees of latitude of difference. These are important facts in determining the progress of settlement and the growth of States.

"In the greater part of the United States there is a regular curve of differences in the successive months of the year, as follows: January is coldest; February 2° to 4° warmer; March 8° to 10° warmer than February; April 10° warmer than March, and nearly at the mean for the spring, and also for the year; May 9° to 12° warmer than April; June 7° to 9° warmer than May; July 4° to 6° warmer than June; August 1° to 3° less than July; September 5° to 8° less than August; October 8° to 10° less than September, and near the mean for autumn and for the year; November 10° to 14° less than October; and December 10° to 15° less than November. This curve diminishes at the south and in the tropical and semi-tropical districts, and it is less on the Atlantic coast than in the interior; less sharp also about the great lakes, and increasing rapidly in its measures of difference west and north towards the interior. A central belt from Norfolk and Baltimore westward has a greater range of regular and irregular differences than the country north and east, which is generally colder."

The physical geography of the United States, in consequence of the very late and full explorations made under the direction of the Government, can now be very nearly completed, and Mr. Blodget has drawn upon them all in his interesting chapter upon this subject. Among the earliest of these Government surveys were those of Lewis and Clark, dispatched by Mr. Jefferson to seek, if possible, a water communication with the Northern Pacific. Lieutenant Pike, in 1805-'6 explored the upper Mississippi, the Arkansas, and the sources of the Rio Grande. Major Long, in 1819-'20-'23, was sent to the Rocky Mountains, and also to search for the sources of St. Peter's river. The surveys of Nicollet extended from 1836 to 1840, in which he was assisted by Lieutenant Fremont, and covered the regions of the upper Mississippi. The last named officer conducted three other surveys, one in 1842, to the Platte and Kansas rivers, the second in 1842-'3, beyond the Rocky Mountains, in which was discovered and defined the great basin, and the third in 1845-'6, through the great basin, entering California near Kern river. The surveys of Emory begun in 1846, and were mainly in New Mexico and Southern California. Stansbury surveyed the Great Salt Lake. The Pacific Railroad surveys, in 1853-'4-'5, complete upon

every line the knowledge of all of these Western regions except in unimportant particulars. A part of what remains will be accomplished by Lieutenant Ives, who has been lately dispatched to the Colorado of California.

In a chapter upon the climate of the United States, east of the Rocky Mountains, many general particulars are included, from which, a useful digest may be made. The winter of 1717 is noted as one of extreme cold, the snow having remained all over New England five or six feet deep. The winter of 1740-'41 in Europe and America was peculiarly frigid. In 1771 the Connecticut river was crossed on the ice with horses as late as the first of April. 1748-'66 and '72 were also noted for severity in the Southern States. In 1780 the most signal and severe depression of temperature occurred belonging to our history, except, perhaps, the winter of 1856. The Chesapeake was frozen solid from its head to the mouth of the Potomac; loaded carriages crossed at Annapolis. York river was similarly frozen. In New England, for six weeks, no snow melted. Troops crossed the Sound from New Jersey to Staten Island on the ice. Bayou St. John's, near New Orleans, was frozen, which did not occur again until 1814. The Delaware was frozen over for more than three months. The average depression in the Eastern United States was more than 50° from the mean. 1788 was very severe at the South. Other severe winters are named, viz: 1790, '92, '96, in different parts of the country. In 1800 snow fell three feet deep in parts of Georgia, and five inches in Florida. It extended to many parts of Louisiana. 1818 and 1831 were also notable. At the last date the Mississippi was frozen over for 130 miles below the Ohio, a circumstance before unknown; and at New Orleans ice formed strong enough to skate upon. In 1835 all the fruit trees of the South were destroyed, and nearly all of the surface of the United States, as observed, was below zero on the 8th of February, and in New York 40° below. 1843 and 1845-'6 were remarkable for severity at the South. At the last date snow and ice were abundant in New Orleans and Mississippi. In 1851-'2 snow fell in Texas, Mexico, and New Orleans, and the orange trees were killed in Carolina. The winter of 1856 was so remarkable that we will extract the minute and accurate account of it condensed into Mr. Blodget's volume.

"In the first three months of 1856 a still more severe degree of refrigeration occurred, which was central to the middle latitudes of the United States, disappearing at the north at about the 46th parallel. This was a reproduction of the winter of 1780 more nearly than any other, both in degree and in position. The district of the great lakes was but little affected, and the line of greatest severity was at the 35th to the 38th parallels. The tropical coasts of Central America were in some degree influenced, apparently rendering the winter a stormy season instead of one of the usual calmness belonging then to tropical

latitudes. While the middle and lower latitudes of both continents participated in the refrigeration, the higher latitudes of both the north of Canada and Labrador here and the north Baltic countries of Europe, Archangel and the high Atlantic coasts at Norway and the British Islands, were alike warmer than usual, particularly in December and January.

The following citations will show the measure of depression:

| | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Washington..... | Jan. 10th, —10° | Mean of Jan. 11°.5 | below the average. |
| Philadelphia..... | " 10th, — 7 | " 10.5 | " " |
| New York..... | " 9th, — 6 | " 7.7 | " " |
| Buffalo..... | " — 4 | " 9.4 | " " |
| Pittsburg..... | " —18 | " .. | " " |
| St. Louis..... | " 9th, —18 | " 14.2 | " " |
| Chicago..... | " 10th, —30 | " .. | " " |
| Ontonagon, L. Sup... | " —18 | " .. | " " |
| Fort Snelling..... | " 9th, —26 | " .. | " " |
| Fort Gibson..... | " 29th, —15 | " 17.8 | " " |

"The severity of the cold continued nearly three months, and in both the months following the dates given the extremes of temperature fell nearly as low as those cited. Snow remained in large quantity at Washington from the first of January to the middle of March; ice covered the Potomac for the same period; Chesapeake Bay at Annapolis was closed from January 8th to March 14th; the harbors of Baltimore and Philadelphia were closed until late in March; Long Island Sound was closed to navigation from January 25th to February 27th; and the harbor of New York was much obstructed by ice; which several times made temporary communication across the East river. The western rivers were equally obstructed by ice, and it formed in the Mississippi as low as Vicksburg, floating in vast quantities below Natchez. At all points in Louisiana ice formed for weeks, and some places had heavy falls of snow. It was the same through all the States bordering the gulf; and in Lower Texas December gave the greatest depression. An almost simultaneous refrigeration struck over all the United States east of the Rocky Mountains on the 23d and 24th of December, giving the sharpest extremes very soon after this date in Texas, and a period prolonged at the north and east as if by continental influences simply."

Comparing the arid and interior areas of the two continents, we are informed of certain general resemblances of position and climate, viz: the Gulf coast of Texas, and the Mediterranean sea; the Gulf coast east of Texas, and the coast of Florida, the Chinese sea, and the South of China; the Gulf of California, and the Red sea; New Mexico, and upper Arabia; Persia, and Caucasus; Fremont's great basin, and the basin of the Caspian sea, and the other interior basins stretching eastward towards Pekin; British America, and the plains of Siberia and of European Russia; Sonora, and Palestine, etc. The great American prairie region finds its parallel in those of immense areas in the south and east of European Europe, and in Moldavia and Wallachia. The boundless steppe region of the south of Russia is frequently as treeless as the American prairie, and as deficient in water, but has less fertility. The Pacific coasts are Norwegin, English, or Spanish, but not French; but in lieu a temperature is substituted cold enough at mid-summer to prevent the growth of corn and vines. These climates do not penetrate the interior. The mountains being very near to the coast, the change of climate is abrupt. At

San Francisco, a few miles of distance only separate conditions extremely unlike. An elastic atmosphere and the most bracing effects distinguish the Pacific climate from those of the Eastern States.

"Whether due to the absence of humidity alone is not clear, but to whatever cause it is a notable practical feature. The interior valleys where the heat is excessive are similar to the cold coast also, and there is no climate which is not the reverse of enervating, in its whole extent. It has generally been held that this distinction has its origin in the quantity of atmospheric moisture attending the heat, and this is probably true for the most part, and particularly so of the eastern United States. If, as before stated, the moisture of the sea air on the Pacific is relative rather than positive, or is developed by the contact of great extremes of temperature, the whole may be taken as more dry than it would at first appear to be, and its uniformly bracing character will not be difficult to account for. As it is, all residents concur in pronouncing it more favorable to physical and mental activity than any they have known, from whatever quarter they come. The heat of the south, where the peculiarities of Spain are reproduced, is never enervating, and that of the excessively hot valleys of the interior is singularly endurable. This appears to be a characteristic of as much of the west coast of Lower California as is now known, as well as of the interior districts corresponding in position, the Gila River country and Sonora. In the last, however, there are intensely heated districts like the desert at Fort Yuma, where the heat alone is stifling from mere excess, though the air is intensely arid."

A very interesting chapter is furnished upon the relations of the basin of the Gulf of Mexico with that of the Mediterranean. The palmetto is abundant as far north as Charleston, and through the humid, low alluvians of Alabama and Louisiana it grows as freely as in Spain or Algiers. All species of palms are equally adapted to the two districts. The sugar cane succeeds better here than on the Mediterranean, growing perhaps out of greater warmth, whilst it succeeds moderately in Spain; the efforts of the French in cultivating it were not successful in Italy. The restricted extent of the tropical regions of Louisiana, Texas, and Florida, results from irregular extremes of cold, more severe than in Europe. Still there is room for an abundant measure of success, if the proper care were taken. The coast of Georgia, as far as Savannah, is better protected against winter extremes than that of the Gulf from Mobile to Apalachee bay, and even to Charleston the coast is preferable to that at Mobile.

"The productions of this extreme southern position correspond more nearly to those of Spain and the Barbary States than to those of Egypt, with which its position at sea level, and on the coast of a gulf at the mouth of a great river, would have some correspondence. The south of Florida alone gives as soft a climate for the winter as that of the south coasts of the Mediterranean, and at a point far enough south to do so, the tropical features of a dry winter and rainy summer become instituted. At Tampa Bay (Fort Brooke) the average temperatures are nearly those of Cairo, and the difference of latitude two degrees; yet here the winter temperature frequently falls to 30°, and the *average* of the annual minima for twelve years is 34°.4. In 1843, 1849, and 1852 the thermometer fell to 30°; in 1835 it fell at Fort King, Florida, one degree of latitude farther north, to 11°, or 21° below the freezing point. These extremes

are too severe to permit the natural result of the average temperatures to appear in the vegetable growths, and we find no part of the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, except the southern point of the Florida peninsula, to correspond with the most favored districts of the south shore of the Mediterranean, though the Deltas of the Mississippi and the Nile nearly correspond in latitude. By reference to the table of minimum temperatures it will be seen that the average minimum at New Orleans is 28°, and the absolute minimum for twenty years 13°; snow falls here at an average once annually also.

"It is apparent that with protection against non-periodic extremes of cold occurring at distant intervals the borders of the Gulf of Mexico in many places would show an adaptation to many tropical fruits not now cultivated, and it would not be difficult to devise means for affording this protection. With protection in 1835 the orange groves of Florida would have flourished through a period of several years, perhaps until 1852 or 1856. In the winters of the last named years more or less injury was done, but none so general as in 1835. It is probably in consequence of these irregular instances of severity that these growths are not more abundant as native products, and that Texas, with its highest temperatures, produces the palmetto, live oak, and thorny acacias only, resembling Spain and the Barbary States at a much higher latitude."

The following table of the temperature of the season, in different regions of the world, is condensed by us from the immense mass of Meteorological statistics given in the volume:

| | Spring. | Summer. | Autumn. | Winter. | Number of years observation. |
|----------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|------------------------------------|
| Hebron, Labrador..... | 21° 4' | 45° 6' | 29° 8' | 0° 5' | 6 years. |
| Quebec, Canada..... | 38.6 | 65.3 | 44.0 | 13.3 | 10 " |
| Castine, Maine..... | 40.7 | 62.0 | 48.3 | 23.2 | 40 " |
| Concord, N. H. | 42.6 | 65.4 | 47.3 | 22.7 | 10 " |
| Burlington, Vt. | 42.7 | 67.9 | 47.8 | 21.6 | 21 " |
| New Bedford, Mass..... | 44.7 | 67.1 | 52.0 | 29.8 | 43 " |
| Albany, N. Y. | 46.7 | 70.0 | 50.0 | 26.0 | 28 " |
| Pittsburg, Penn..... | 50.0 | 71.4 | 51.4 | 30.6 | 22 " |
| Washington City..... | 54.3 | 76.0 | 55.8 | 34.2 | 2 " |
| Richmond, Va. | 55.7 | 75.4 | 56.3 | 37.2 | 4 " |
| Charleston, S. C. | 65.9 | 79.8 | 66.5 | 51.4 | 10 " |
| Savannah, Geo..... | 67.6 | 80.9 | 67.6 | 52.7 | 21 " |
| St. Augustine..... | 68.5 | 80.3 | 71.5 | 58.1 | 20 " |
| Tampa Bay..... | 72.1 | 80.2 | 73.1 | 62.3 | 25 " |
| Mobile..... | 70.1 | 82.7 | 71.0 | 57.3 | 4 " |
| New Orleans..... | 70.0 | 82.3 | 70.7 | 56.5 | 20 " |
| Natchez..... | 68.0 | 81.0 | 67.1 | 52.2 | 12 " |
| Galveston..... | 71.0 | 82.5 | 70.2 | 53.8 | 1½ " |
| Nashville..... | 59.9 | 77.8 | 57.1 | 39.5 | 5 " |
| St. Louis..... | 54.1 | 76.2 | 55.4 | 32.3 | 12 " |
| Cincinnati..... | 54.3 | 73.0 | 55.0 | 32.9 | 8 " |
| Fort Snelling, Min..... | 45.6 | 70.6 | 45.9 | 16.1 | 35 " |
| Astoria, Oregon..... | 51.1 | 61.6 | 53.7 | 42.4 | 1½ " |
| San Francisco, California. | 50.7 | 60.1 | 60.1 | 51.5 | 3 " |
| Santa Fé..... | 49.7 | 70.4 | 50.6 | 31.6 | 6 " |
| City of Mexico..... | 78.0 | 81.5 | 78.7 | 71.9 | 13 " |

The table below will show the quantities in inches of rain which fell in certain sections for the number of years mentioned. The maximum quantity is mentioned first, and the least quantity in the second line. The date last given applies to the quantity for the year only. The results are sufficiently curious, and indicate very clearly the dry and humid regions

of the Republic. Compare New Orleans and Mobile, for example, with San Diego and Brownsville, Texas!

| STATIONS. | Jan. | Feb. | Mar. | Apr. | May. | Jun. | Jul. | Aug. | Sep. | Oct. | Nov. | Dec. | Year. | Date. |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|
| Houlton, Maine, 9½ yrs. 1836-1845 | 5.9 | 4.4 | 2.7 | 5.8 | 4.7 | 6.6 | 9.4 | 8.9 | 4.5 | 7.8 | 6.7 | 4.7 | 41.9 | 1840 |
| Albany, 28 yrs. 1826-1853 | 1.8 | 0.6 | 0.1 | 1.1 | 1.5 | 0.4 | 1.9 | 0.1 | 1.1 | 0.5 | 1.7 | 1.5 | 80.8 | 1844 |
| Baltimore, 19 yrs. 1836-1854 | 7.3 | 4.3 | 7.3 | 5.8 | 8.4 | 7.6 | 8.5 | 7.5 | 8.0 | 8.0 | 7.3 | 5.9 | 50.9 | 1830 |
| Charleston, * 15 yrs. 1789-1754 | 0.7 | 1.2 | 0.9 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 1.7 | 0.7 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 0.3 | 31.7 | 1838 |
| Mobile, † 15 yrs. 1841-1854 | 6.1 | 4.9 | 6.3 | 9.1 | 5.7 | 9.2 | 6.8 | 9.1 | 10.5 | 7.3 | 7.9 | 8.8 | 51.7 | 1839 |
| New Orleans, 17 yrs. 1839-1855‡ | 1.0 | 0.9 | 1.7 | 0.4 | 1.1 | 0.6 | 1.2 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 1.3 | 1.0 | 1.5 | 23.3 | 1845 |
| St. Louis (Dr. Engelmann) 19 yrs. 1837-1850 | 4.8 | 7.7 | 7.4 | 5.9 | 5.9 | 15.8 | 10.6 | 12.3 | 14.6 | 9.5 | 5.3 | 9.6 | 65.9 | 1739 |
| Cincinnati, 30 yrs. 1835-1864§ | 0.0 | 0.8 | 0.6 | 0.1 | 1.8 | 1.5 | 1.2 | 8.7 | 0.7 | 0.3 | 0.6 | 0.9 | 34.0 | 1742 |
| Fort Snelling, 19 yrs. 1836-1855 | 14.9 | 8.3 | 16.4 | 11.5 | 7.2 | 16.6 | 14.5 | 11.1 | 11.0 | 11.8 | 10.5 | 12.0 | 104.5 | 1868 |
| Brownsville, Texas, 6 yrs. 1850-1855 | 1.9 | 1.9 | 0.7 | 1.1 | 0.7 | 1.5 | 1.8 | 2.1 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 1.7 | 0.7 | 48.5 | 1830 |
| San Diego, Cal., 6 yrs. 1850-1855 | 19.5 | 9.8 | 7.8 | 10.7 | 8.0 | 14.0 | 14.7 | 8.3 | 8.9 | 6.4 | 8.8 | 9.4 | 62.6 | 1853 |
| San Francisco, 6 yrs. 1849-1855 | 0.1 | 0.7 | 0.9 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 1.8 | 0.8 | 1.3 | 0.6 | 0.7 | 0.1 | 0.8 | 39.9 | 1852 |
| | 4.6 | 6.7 | 7.6 | 7.6 | 11.2 | 17.0 | 9.4 | 9.7 | 5.6 | 8.7 | 8.6 | 10.9 | 65.8 | 1843 |
| | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.7 | 2.2 | 2.3 | 1.4 | 0.8 | 0.4 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 1.1 | 0.7 | 30.8 | 1858 |
| | 6.4 | 6.4 | 8.2 | 8.1 | 9.0 | 11.5 | 8.9 | 7.3 | 7.5 | 9.5 | 6.6 | 9.4 | 65.1 | 1847 |
| | 0.4 | 0.8 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 1.3 | 1.5 | 2.0 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.1 | 1.6 | 0.6 | 30.6 | 1839 |
| | 1.6 | 1.4 | 4.1 | 5.6 | 6.5 | 7.5 | 11.1 | 9.6 | 6.5 | 5.3 | 3.4 | 2.8 | 49.6 | 1849 |
| | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.5 | 0.0 | 1.5 | 0.8 | 0.7 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 15.0 | 1852 |
| | 4.8 | 4.8 | 8.0 | 2.2 | 4.1 | 10.4 | 7.5 | 5.0 | 11.3 | 7.7 | 7.4 | 4.7 | 56.3 | 1835 |
| | 0.0 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 4.1 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 20.7 | 1850 |
| | 2.4 | 4.8 | 2.1 | 1.8 | 2.1 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 1.8 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 2.8 | 4.5 | 12.0 | 1864 |
| | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 7.4 | 1851 |
| | 6.0 | 8.4 | 6.4 | 5.0 | 0.6 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 2.1 | 5.5 | 11.9 | 25.8 | 1852 |
| | 0.5 | 0.1 | 1.8 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 15.1 | 1851 |

The following table of temperature will also be found interesting:

| STATIONS. | Mean of Aug. | Aug. to Sep. | Sep. to Oct. | Oct. to Nov. | Nov. to Dec. |
|-------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Houlton, Me. | 64.5 | 9.3 | 11.9 | 12.5 | 12.7 |
| Portsmouth, N. H. | 65.1 | 6.1 | 9.5 | 10.7 | 10.1 |
| West Point. | 71.8 | 7.5 | 11.3 | 10.8 | 10.3 |
| Toronto. | 66.3 | 8.2 | 12.9 | 8.6 | 10.4 |
| Pittsburg. | 71.2 | 7.7 | 12.6 | 11.1 | 8.5 |
| Norfolk. | 77.2 | 5.2 | 10.4 | 10.2 | 8.3 |
| Tampa Bay, Fla. | 80.4 | 1.1 | 5.3 | 7.1 | 5.0 |
| New Orleans, (Fort Pike,).. | 82.9 | 3.8 | 8.6 | 7.7 | 7.0 |
| Fort Gibson. | 80.2 | 6.7 | 12.0 | 12.4 | 9.1 |
| St. Louis. | 76.1 | 6.6 | 15.3 | 11.7 | 10.6 |
| Detroit. | 67.4 | 7.4 | 12.4 | 9.4 | 11.4 |
| Fort Mackinac. | 64.0 | 9.0 | 9.9 | 12.8 | 11.2 |
| Fort Snelling. | 70.0 | 11.2 | 11.7 | 15.5 | 14.7 |
| Council Bluffs. | 75.4 | 10.2 | 13.6 | 15.6 | 15.8 |
| Fort Kearney. | 72.3 | 7.9 | 14.9 | 15.5 | 12.2 |
| San Antonio, Texas. | 83.9 | 4.2 | 7.6 | 10.3 | 10.9 |
| Matamoras, (Fort Brown,).. | 83.8 | 3.2 | 6.2 | 5.3 | 6.5 |
| El Paso, (Fort Fillmore,).... | 79.6 | 2.4 | 12.4 | 13.2 | 4.8 |
| Santa Fe. | 70.0 | 8.1 | 10.7 | 12.7 | 8.3 |
| San Diego. | 73.6 | 2.8 | 5.3 | 8.6 | 5.2 |
| San Francisco. | 57.2 | +1.0 | 0.3 | 3.6 | 3.1 |
| San Joaquin, (Fort Miller,).. | 83.0 | 7.0 | 8.5 | 12.0 | 7.4 |
| Fort Vancouver. | 65.5 | 4.7 | 7.5 | 6.8 | 10.0 |

* The first series is by Dr. Lining, the second at the military post. Though separated by a century they agree very nearly.

† 1841 and 1842 by Dr. Nott at Mobile, the remainder at Mount Vernon Arsenal.

‡ The observations of Dr. Barton included with those of the Military Register.

§ Record of Prof. Ray completed from observations by John Lea, Esq.

] Record of Dr. Gibbons, and the Military Register commencing December, 1849.

We have here a table giving the comparison of the earliest date of first frosts at various points which will be extracted entire:

| STATIONS. | 1849. | 1850. | 1851. | 1852. | 1853. | 1854. |
|--------------------|----------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Norfolk..... | Nov. 1 | Nov. 18 | Oct. 27 | Nov. 14 | Oct. 25 | Oct. 16 |
| Charleston..... | Dec. 13* | Oct. 26 | Nov. 7 | Nov. 15 | Oct. 25 | Nov. 14 |
| St. Augustine†.... | Dec. 6 | ..... | Dec. 5 | Dec. 18 | Dec. 30 | Dec. 21 |
| Fort Brooke..... | None. | ..... | Dec. 5 | Dec. 12 | Dec. 12 | Nov. 29 |
| New Orleans..... | Nov. 9 | Nov. 17 | Nov. 25 | Nov. 28 | Oct. 31 | ..... |
| Baton Rouge..... | Nov. 6 | Oct. 28 | Oct. 14 | Oct. 16 | Oct. 25 | Nov. 13 |
| Fort Kearney..... | Sep. 25 | Oct. 5 | Sep. 27 | Sep. 26 | Sep. 30 | Oct. 4 |
| Fort Laramie..... | Sep. 25 | ..... | Oct. 5 | Sep. 23 | Sep. 30 | Oct. 16 |
| Fort Arbuckle..... | ..... | Oct. 18 | Oct. 12 | Oct. 9 | Oct. 2 | Oct. 20 |
| Fort Brown..... | Dec. 10 | Dec. 5 | Nov. 25 | Dec. 22 | Dec. 18 | Dec. 6 |
| Fort McIntosh..... | Nov. 25 | Nov. 28 | Nov. 21 | Nov. 26 | Nov. 10 | Nov. 13 |
| El Paso..... | ..... | ..... | Oct. 9 | Oct. 9 | Oct. 26 | Oct. 29 |
| Santa Fé..... | Oct. 2 | ..... | Oct. 1 | Sep. 20 | Sep. 14 | Oct. 4 |
| Fort Yuma..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Dec. 3 | Dec. — | Dec. 26 |
| San Diego..... | Nov. 24 | Nov. 6 | Nov. 28 | Nov. 6 | ..... | Oct. 14 |
| San Francisco..... | Nov. 6 | Nov. 4 | Nov. 28 | Nov. 25 | Nov. 4 | Oct. 27 |
| Fort Vancouver.... | ..... | Oct. 4 | ..... | ..... | Oct. 22 | Oct. 20 |
| Steilacoom..... | ..... | Oct. 5 | Oct. 11 | Sep. 22 | Sep. 1 | Sep. 19 |

In his chapter upon winds, the author furnishes the following catalogue of some of the most remarkable hurricanes which have occurred in the history of our country:

List of Hurricanes on the Coast of the South Atlantic States, and on the North Coast of the Gulf of Mexico.

- 1700, Sept. 16th. (*Ramsay*.) "Sea rushed in upon Charleston with amazing impetuosity." Many lives lost.
- 1713, Sept. 16th–17th. (*Ramsay, Lamboll*.) "The great hurricane, attended with an immense inundation from the sea." All the vessels at Charleston except one driven ashore.
- 1723, — (*Barton*.) "A remarkable hurricane visited New Orleans this year, and nearly destroyed all the buildings."
- 1728, Sept. 14th. (*Hewat, Ramsay*.) Town and lowlands of Charleston inundated; twenty-three ships driven on shore and mostly destroyed, &c. Weather very hot preceding it.
- 1752, Sept. — (*Chalmers*.) "The two hurricanes which happened in Sept., 1752, were scarcely perceived 100 miles back in the country, though the first raged for ten hours," &c.
- 1752, Sept. 15th. (*Prioleau, Chalmers, Ramsay*.) The whole summer very warm at Charleston; all the vessels in the harbor driven ashore and some of them six miles inland over the marshes and small streams; the inhabitants taking refuge in the upper parts of their houses as in each previous case. "The hurricane of 1752 very far exceeded, both in violence and devastation, that of 1804." (Dr. Prioleau, from Dr. John Moultrie.) "All wooden houses above one story in height were either beat down or shattered; many gable ends of houses were blown out." Trees which were stripped of their leaves again blossomed and bore fruit in the late autumn which followed. (*Ramsay*.)

* Frost on other parts of the island and on the main land earlier. For 1850, the date is that observed at Oglethorpe Barracks, Savannah, Georgia, and in 1851 there was no "killing frost" at Fort Moultrie until December 3.

† For 1849 the observation was at Pilatka, for 1853 at Fort Pierce, and for 1854 at Forts Capron and Myers. The dates correctly represent the east coast of Florida, below St. Augustine.

- 1756, — (Lyell.) An instance of the flooding of St. Simons Island, coast of Georgia, referred to by Lyell. (*Second Visit to the United States.*)
- 1772, 31st August to Sept. 3d. (Gayarre.) A destructive hurricane in southern Louisiana though not so great at the city of New Orleans. The sea was driven over the islands along the coast of the Gulf. East of Lake Borgne the wind was from the sea, (E. S. E.,) but farther west it blew with the greatest violence from N. N. E. and E. Towards Mobile it destroyed the woodlands for thirty miles inland—spray was driven four or five miles inland in heavy masses and showers. Mulberry trees subsequently blossomed and bore the second crop of fruit.
- 1778, Oct. 7th to 10th. (Galvez, Gayarre.) Cited by Gayarre as very destructive to coast establishments near New Orleans.
- 1779, August 18th. (Gayarre.) Cited by this author as of less severity than others.
- 1779, Oct. 7th to 10th. (Galvez, Gayarre.) "It raged with such violence, in lower Louisiana, that the sea was higher than ever before, entirely destroying all the establishments at the Belize, Bayou St. John, and Tigouyou."
- 1780, Aug. 24th. (Gayarre.) This swept over the province of Louisiana, destroying all crops, tearing down buildings, and sinking every vessel or boat which was afloat on the Mississippi river. The Intendant Navarro, issued a consolatory circular to the inhabitants.
- 1780, Oct. 3d to 5th. (Redfield.) October 3d, at the western part of Jamaica; 4th at Cuba; 5th in the Gulf of Florida. (*Am. Jour. Sci.*, 1837.)
- 1780, Oct. 10th to 18th. (Redfield.) October 10th at Barbadoes; 12th north of Jamaica; 16th off Havana; 18th near Bermuda. Both these storms of 1780 are no doubt imperfectly traced, and it is probable that they are like others.
- 1797, Sept. — (Drayton.) "The tide rose some feet, and overflowed the wharves at Charleston; vessels were damaged and driven from their moorings."
- 1804, Sept. 3d to 9th. (Ramsay, Drayton, Redfield, Lyell.) September 3d at Antigua; 6th at Nassau, New Providence; 7th at Charleston; 8th at Norfolk; 9th at Boston, &c. This kept near the coast and was very severe; "at 10 p. m. of 7th the gale began at northeast, at 7 a. m. of 8th it was at east with redoubled force; in the afternoon of the 8th it was at southeast and did not decline in violence till 10 p. m." Houses were blown down, wharves destroyed, &c., at Charleston; immense damage was done on the coast of South Carolina and Georgia, but it did not extend beyond Wilmington, N. C. (Ramsay.) After this gale fruit trees flowered and bore fruit a second time. (*Ibid.*)
- 1811, — (Dr. Barton.) Hurricanes cited in Dr. Barton's report, at New Orleans.
- 1811, Sept. 10th. (Niles' Reg.) At Charleston. A continued gale with heavy rain from northeast through Monday, Sept. 9th, and to 10 a. m. of Tuesday, 10th, when it suddenly changed to southeast. At 12½ p. m., a violent tornado struck the city, passing from southeast to northwest in a line 100 yards wide, destroying many lives and an immense amount of property. In violence it was next to the Natchez Tornado, and it was apparently an incident of the great storm of West India origin then prevailing.
- 1812, Aug. — (Drake.) At the mouth of the Mississippi; the Balize inundated, buildings washed away, &c.
- 1813, Aug. 27th. (Niles' Reg.) At Charleston; many persons drowned and vessels lost—the coast inundated, &c.
- 1814, July 1st. (Niles' Reg.) A violent tornado at Charleston, apparently central to a general hurricane as in the case of Sept., 1811.
- 1815, Sept. 18th to 24th. (Redfield.) At St. Bartholomew's, Sept. 18th; New York 22d; coast of Rhode Island on morning of 23d, "awfully destructive from southeast," &c.
- 1821, — (Dr. Barton.) Cited as one of the hurricanes experienced at New Orleans.
- 1821, Sept. 1st to 4th. (Redfield.) Sept. 1st north of Porto Rico; 2d off St.

- Augustine; 3d at Norfolk; 4th at Portland, Maine, &c. This is distant from the coast at Charleston, and the track is drawn in a line too nearly directly northward to be conformable to others.
- 1822, Aug. — (*Papera*.) Severe on the coast of the Carolinas.
- 1824, — (*Lyell*.) A hurricane flooding St. Simon's Island, Ga., in this year, is mentioned in Lyell's *Second Visit to U. S.*
- 1827, Aug. 17th to 27th. (*Redfield*.) August 17th at Barbadoes; 19th near Hayti; 24th east of Charleston; 25th off Cape Hatteras; 27th east of New York; 28th east of Halifax. This was central to the Gulf Stream through its whole track, and nearly midway between Bermuda and Charleston. Mr. Redfield gives 11 nautical miles per hour as the ratio of movement of this storm.
- 1829, — (*Bonsignea, Lt. Webster*.) The date of this is not given more nearly, it was an inundation of the coast at the Rio Grande.
- 1830, Aug. 10th to 19th. (*Redfield*.) August 10th at Barbadoes; 12th at Antigua; 15th at St. Augustine; 16th between Charleston and Norfolk; 18th off Boston; 19th at Newfoundland. This followed the coast from the south of Florida to Norfolk, and then passed off on a line more easterly than usual. Progress 17 geographical miles per hour; width of whole storm 5 to 600 miles; of hurricane 150 to 250 miles.
- 1830, Aug. 22d to 27th. (*Redfield*.) This storm has a similar general track, but lies farther east than the last. Its path divides the distance between the West India Islands and Bermuda on the south, and between the Atlantic coast and Bermuda through the entire curve of its course. Off Cape Hatteras its duration was 42 hours.
- 1830, Sept. 29th, 2d Oct. West India Islands to Grand Banks of Newfoundland, at the east of the usual track.
- 1831, Aug. 10th to 18th. (*Redfield, 1832; Berlandier*.) At Barbadoes August 10th; 13th east of Cuba; 14th at west end of Cuba and Havana; 16th near the north shores of the Gulf south of New Orleans; 17th and 18th continuing on the coasts of the Gulf, inundating the Balize and sweeping away houses, and wasting in heavy rains inland. This did not reach the Atlantic coast, though in all respects like those that do so by the longer route west of Florida, and the crossing of the lowlands of the north of Florida. The rate of movement was $13\frac{1}{2}$ nautical miles per hour by Mr. Redfield's calculation. It was very destructive at the Rio Grande in lower Texas.
- 1831, — (*Barton*.) Cited by this author as one of the storms inundating New Orleans.
- 1834, Sept. (?) (*Lopez, Bonsignea, Lt. Webster*.) A hurricane is enumerated for September of this year by these authorities in a list of those destructive on the coast of lower Texas since 1828. (Lt. Webster's survey of the coast at the mouth of the Rio Grande, 1848.)
- 1835, Aug. 12th—18th. (*Redfield, Berlandier*.) At Antigua, &c. on the 12th; 13th Porto Rico; 14th Hayti and Turk's Island; 15th Matanzas and Havana; 16th Tortugas and the central districts of the Gulf toward New Orleans; 18th at Matamoras, Mexico. "It went to Galveston, but was not felt at New Orleans." This is one of the hurricanes which are exhausted in the western areas of the Gulf and on the coast of Texas without returning eastward to the higher latitudes.
- 1837, Aug. 2d. (*Doc.*) At St. Thomas and Porto Rico Aug. 2d. At first a hurricane from N. W. 2 hours; then a dead calm 45 minutes, then hurricane S. E. $6\frac{1}{4}$ hours.
- 1837, Sept. 27th to Oct. 10th. (*Berlandier, Lopez, Redfield*.) Sept. 27th south of Jamaica; Oct. 1st at Yucatan; 2d and 3d at Matamoras, destroying the town of Brazos Santiago, and inundating the coast for many miles inland (Berlandier;) 5th at Galveston; 6th near New Orleans; 7th at Mobile; 8th near Charleston; 9th and 10th passing off E. N. E. from Charleston southward of the usual line.
- 1837, Aug. 12th to Aug. 23d. (*Reid, Redfield*.) On Aug. 10th this began at 50° W. long. in the latitude of Antigua; it came near the coast at Savan-

- nah and Charleston, and returned to the same meridian at the 41st parallel on Aug. 23d. No other dates are given.
- 1838, — (*Bonsignea, Lt. Webster.*) At Brazos Santiago. But one of the authorities cited by Lt. Webster mentions this as flooding the coasts at the lower Rio Grande.
- 1840, — (*Bonsignea.*) This is mentioned in the list cited by Lt. Webster. It is not known whether this extended elsewhere, but the coast villages near the mouth of the Rio Grande were either greatly injured or destroyed.
- 1842, Aug. 30th to Sept. 9th. (*Redfield, Lopez.*) This pursued a nearly direct line westward from its point of origin in long. 63° W. to the coast of Mexico at Tampico; the track lying between the 21st and 30th parallels. First observed in lat. 25° 54', long. 63° W. on Aug. 30th; Sept. 1st north of Turk's Island; Sept. 3d south of Nassau, N. P.; Sept. 4th between Key West and Havana; 5th S. W. of Tortugas; 6th south of New Orleans in lat. 25°; 7th S. E. of Matamoras; 8th between Matamoras and Tampico; 9th wasting at sixty miles inland from Tampico. This inundated the coast at the lower Rio Grande. The body of the hurricane passed over the south part of the peninsula of Florida on Sept. 4th. Its track was nearly due west at a mean rate of 10½ statute miles per hour. (*Redfield.*)
- 1842, Oct. 2d to 9th. (*Redfield.*) First observed Oct. 2d at Tampico; Oct. 4th, 5th off Balize; Oct. 5th over a large portion of the peninsula of Florida, central a little north of Tampa Bay; 6th at St. Augustine and Charleston; 9th north of Bermuda, and going more directly eastward than usual. Appalachicola and Charleston were on the northern border, and Bermuda on the southern. At New York the barometer was very high, 30.10 to 30.46 on 4th to 7th. This was a *norther* on the Mexican coast. Immense numbers of sea and land birds were killed and found floating at sea. Progress less than 10 miles per hour.
- 1844, Aug. 4th—6th. (*Berlandier, Lopez.*) "The most terrible and destructive of any, though very little rain fell (at the Rio Grande.) Not a vestige of a single house remained at Brazos Santiago, or at the mouth of the river. The waters of the sea were forced up three leagues from the beach." (*Berlandier.*) About seventy lives were lost at this point. Mexican custom-houses and stores were withdrawn from their former positions after this storm, and the coast was abandoned as insecure.
- 1844, Sept. 14th. (*Hist. Ga., &c.*) Severe at Charleston on this day, but not traced elsewhere.
- 1844, Oct. 4th to 7th. (*Redfield, Espy, Thrasher.*) On both coasts of the west end of Cuba Oct. 4th; Oct. 5th at Key West; 6th east of Charleston and central to the distance between Charleston and Bermuda; 7th off Halifax, &c. This was terrific on the south coast of Cuba, 158 vessels were wrecked, and 2,546 houses destroyed. (*Humboldt's Cuba, Thrasher.*) Very destructive at Key West alone. This is thought by Mr. Redfield to have developed a second, which passed one to two days later along its track in the Atlantic.
- 1846, Sept. 11th to 21st. (*Redfield.*) At St. Vincent, Sept. 11th; Porto Rico 12th; west of Bermuda 17th; east of Halifax 20th; and passing at the west and north of the British Islands as drawn by Mr. Redfield. This did not appear on the coast at Charleston.
- 1846, — (*Barton.*) Cited by this author as inundating the coast near New Orleans.
- 1846, Oct. 6th to 14th. (*Redfield.*) Beginning at the south of Jamaica, it is traced nearly northward by Havana, Cedar Keys, the interior of lower Georgia on the 12th; the interior at Washington on the 13th; and near Quebec on the 14th. This track must be regarded as very doubtful in the north. It was very severe at Havana and Key West. (Key West and Havana papers.)
- 1848, Aug. 22d to Sept. 3d. (*Redfield.*) Began near Antigua Aug. 22d, passed Turk's Island and Nassau, N. P.; returning eastward lower than usual, and reaching 45° north lat., and 35° West long. on Sept. 3d.
- 1850, Aug. 23d — (*Papers.*) Appalachicola and Marianne, Fla. (Not at Savannah.)

- 1851, Aug. 16th to 28th. (*Redfield, Allston.*) Aug. 16th at 50° W. long. east of Antigua; 18th Porto Rico; 20th Havana; 22d between Havana and New Orleans; 23d at Appalachicola; 24th in interior at Augusta, Ga.; 25th near Norfolk; 26th lat. of Philadelphia; 27th lat. of Halifax. This was farthest inland or westward of any storm charted by Redfield, and its track was very nearly like that of Aug. 27th to Sept. 1st, 1856.
- 1853, Aug. 30th to Sept. 11th. (*Redfield.*) This was the most extensive on record. Mr. Redfield devotes much space to its investigation, and it appears to have begun on the coast of West Africa at 17° N. lat., passing slowly W. N. W. above or north of most of the West India Islands, going to 75° W. long. off Charleston, on the 6th and 7th, and then returning northeastward twice as rapidly, and passing on the line of the Gulf Stream toward Iceland. It was felt in various ways at all exposed points of the coast, and particularly at Cape Hatteras; Mr. Redfield designating it the *Cape Verde and Hatteras Hurricane*. (Am. Jour. of Science, 1854.) In the path of the storm the depression of barometer was *two inches* below the mean.
- 1854, Sept. 6th to 14th. (*Baldwin, Posey, &c.*) First noted off Cape Florida on the 6th; 8th at Jacksonville, Fla.; 9th at Charleston; 10th at Norfolk; 11th at Boston, &c. The whole area of the Gulf Stream was occupied with terrific storms and gales, and though great quantities of water fell inland, the central line was doubtless some distance from the coast. At Savannah Dr. Posey's barometer fell to 29.04, or nearly an inch below the mean.
- 1856, Aug. 9th to 12th. (*Barton's New Orleans papers, &c.*) This hurricane produced a fatally destructive inundation of portions of the coast south of New Orleans, Last Island (Isle Derniere) particularly. At New Orleans 13 inches of rain fell. (Barton.)
- 1856, Aug. 27th to Sept. 2d. This very recent hurricane, "the most disastrous since 1848," is thrown farther westward than any other from Cuba; the first notes we have of it are from the east of Cuba, Aug. 27th, where it was very destructive; it was central at Havana on the 28th; central midway from Havana to Mobile on the 29th, with the barometer (steamship D. Webster) at 28.6 inches; between Mobile and Appilachicola on the 30th; Montgomery, Ala., and Milledgville, Ga., on the 30th and 31st; at Edgfield, S. C., and Goldsborough, N. C., on the 31st; and at Norfolk Sept. 1st. It then passed eastward at a low angle, not reaching any northern city as a storm, though there were threatening appearances as far as New York.

Treating of climatorial range of the native forests and vegetation, Mr. Blodget tells us that the removal of the forests is designated by some as the cause of the present aridity and bareness of the shores of the Mediterranean, and the diminished population of the historic nations of the East, and also, that the same cause has modified the climate of the Eastern States of the United States. The quantity of rain is also supposed to be diminished, and woodland rivulets which had considerable volume while the forests remained, disappear when it is cut away; rivers also diminished. The *sugar maple*, though rare east of the Alleghany south of Philadelphia, is abundant in Kentucky and Tennessee, parts of Missouri and Arkansas, and has even been found in Louisiana. The *beach* shows a similar range, except in an especial preference for alluvial soils. Other species of *maple* are almost universal in American climates. The *elm* pushes further northwestward than the sugar maple, though generally its limits are the same. The *black cherry*, *tulip*, and *cucumber tree* furnish liberal growths in the latitude of New York. The *magnolias* of the South

furnish a variety of forms, but those of the North are in the heavy woodlands. The *white ash* is remarkable for size and beauty as a Northern forest tree. The *poplars* and *cotton wood* or *sycamore* make up a large share of the free growths of the interior woodlands on alluvial or prairie soils. The *oaks* and *chestnuts* follow European rules, the latter preferring hills and mountain sides, coming nearly to the sea level in some cases as far South as Maryland. The *walnut* and *hickory* are similar, but grow in warmer climates and further South in the Mississippi valley. Texas abounds in an associated species in fine perfection, the *pecan nut*, the *linden* or *bass wood* characterizes the mixed forests of the North. The sub-tropical tree forms begin to abound in Ohio and southward, increase in numbers until they become exclusively tropical in the *oranges*, *palms*, *live oaks*, and *mangroves* of the lower half of the Florida peninsula. The *paw paw*, *cypress*, and *gum trees* commence in the Ohio valley, while *long leaved pines*, *cypress*, and *live oaks* appear on the Atlantic coasts at Norfolk; *evergreens*, *magnolias*, *palmettos*, and the *wild olive*, follow before reaching Savannah, and the border of the gulf affords many constant forms equally marked as tropical. The forest of the coast at Charleston abounds in rich tropical forms, *red and white bays*, *giant laurels*, *cabbage palms*, *live oaks*, &c. At St. Augustine the *wild orange* is added, and in the southern part of the peninsula *satin wood*, *mahogany*, and *mangroves*. The original growth of the *live oak* is traced as far north as Norfolk, increasing and lining the coast to New Orleans, without going back very deep. It is interrupted near the Sabine, but west of it becomes frequent again, going over the high lands of the interior of southwestern Texas, and entirely to the Pacific. A belt from the Mississippi eastward along the 45° parallel, includes the best tracts of *white pine*, embracing, in part, the high lands of N. York and Northern Pennsylvania; not much of this species is found elsewhere. In the Middle States a rough and singular growth of *pitch pine* covers the sandy and deserted tracts, which sometimes attain a sufficient size for lumber. South of Virginia the *yellow pine* becomes abundant, attaining the most perfect growth. It covers a large area of lands on the lower plain of the Southern States to Louisiana. A tract of these pines exists in Missouri, portions occur southward from it to Red river. In the arid interior the *cedar* is the most abundant of evergreens. In New Mexico the pines with edible fruit abound. The *cypress* of the Pacific coasts reaches giant proportions, 350 to 400 feet in height, and 15 to 30 in diameter. The *red wood*, the *Douglass*, *sugar*, and *yellow pine*, also, make up these giant forests. The *hemlock* is remarkable for its growth in the Eastern States, where it forms the heaviest

forests. But we have not the space to follow any further the teachings of this interesting chapter.

Passing over the climatological range of the several American staples, we will take an example or two :

1. *Indian corn*.—There is a wide band stretching to the foot of the Rocky mountains at the west, and from the 51° parallel of latitude, southward to the tropics, which is everywhere adapted in climate to this most productive plant. West of this belt the distribution is irregular, except in the northerly bends of the Columbia (Oregon.) West of 120° long. it does not appear on the Pacific coast. The Indian corn is cultivated in Africa, only in the states that are bordered by the Mediterranean. In Europe its range is comprised by Spain, the south of France, Italy, the valleys of Austria, Hungary, and Turkey, with the islands of the Mediterranean. It is not adapted to Central Europe or the British Islands.

Sugar cane.—We here insert two valuable tables together with the remarks which accompany them :

Mean Temperatures of the Cane and Cotton Districts of the United States, with some Foreign Comparisons.

| PLACES. | Spring. ° | Summer. ° | Autuma. ° | Winter. ° | Year. ° |
|---------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------|
| Key West..... | 76.7 | 83.0 | 79.1 | 71.2 | 77.5 |
| Cedar Keys..... | 70.6 | 80.0 | 72.1 | 57.8 | 70.1 |
| St. Augustine..... | 67.4 | 79.4 | 71.0 | 56.8 | 68.7 |
| Savannah..... | 67.7 | 80.4 | 67.5 | 53.0 | 67.2 |
| Mobile..... | 70.7 | 82.4 | 70.1 | 56.4 | 69.9 |
| Pensacola..... | 69.9 | 83.0 | 70.4 | 57.3 | 70.1 |
| New Orleans..... | 67.7 | 79.5 | 67.9 | 55.2 | 67.5 |
| Galveston..... | 71.0 | 82.5 | 70.2 | 53.8 | 69.4 |
| Brownsville..... | 74.3 | 82.9 | 73.7 | 62.4 | 73.3 |
| San Antonio..... | 70.5 | 82.2 | 71.4 | 54.2 | 69.6 |
| Fort Jesup..... | 66.8 | 81.3 | 66.3 | 51.0 | 66.4 |
| Natchez..... | 68.5 | 81.3 | 66.6 | 51.4 | 66.9 |
| Fort Washita..... | 62.4 | 79.6 | 63.3 | 45.1 | 62.6 |
| Vicksburg..... | 66.7 | 78.4 | 64.7 | 50.3 | 65.0 |
| Memphis..... | 61.1 | 78.1 | 61.4 | 42.6 | 60.8 |
| Erie..... | 65.2 | 79.7 | 64.4 | 51.3 | 65.2 |
| Perry..... | 66.2 | 79.8 | 65.3 | 48.6 | 65.1 |
| St. John's, Berkeley..... | 63.4 | 77.2 | 64.1 | 51.6 | 64.0 |
| Havana..... | 79.1 | 83.4 | 79.0 | 71.2 | 78.2 |
| Kingston..... | 78.1 | 81.1 | 79.7 | 76.1 | 78.7 |
| Barbodoes..... | 79.2 | 78.5 | 82.1 | 78.5 | 79.5 |
| Madeira..... | 65.6 | 71.3 | 69.0 | 65.8 | 67.9 |
| Catania..... | 52.8 | 62.8 | 84.6 | 69.4 | 67.5 |
| Alexandria..... | 66.4 | 78.3 | 73.8 | 58.5 | 69.3 |
| Calcutta..... | 85.5 | 84.3 | 80.6 | 70.9 | 80.3 |

Mean Monthly and Annual Fall of Rain in the Sugar and Cotton Districts of the United States (inches and tenths vertical depth.)

| PLACES. | Spring. | Summer. | Autumn. | Winter. | Year. |
|------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| Whitemarsh Island..... | 9.9 | 13.4 | 8.7 | 6.9 | 39.1 |
| Savannah..... | 11.8 | 23.5 | 9.7 | 8.4 | 53.4 |
| St. Augustine..... | 6.4 | 12.3 | 6.0 | 5.8 | 30.5 |
| Cedar Keys..... | 5.0 | 21.9 | 18.2 | 6.3 | 51.4 |
| Fort Brooke..... | 8.4 | 28.4 | 11.7 | 6.9 | 55.5 |
| Mobile..... | 12.6 | 19.4 | 12.2 | 16.9 | 61.0 |
| New Orleans..... | 10.2 | 17.4 | 10.1 | 15.6 | 53.4 |
| Fort Brown..... | 4.0 | 6.4 | 12.2 | 7.9 | 30.5 |
| San Antonio..... | 8.9 | 9.4 | 6.0 | 8.3 | 32.7 |
| Fort Croghan..... | 12.5 | 7.7 | 8.2 | 8.4 | 36.7 |
| Fort Towson..... | 15.5 | 15.6 | 12.4 | 9.3 | 53.0 |
| Fort Jesup..... | 13.1 | 11.1 | 11.1 | 11.2 | 46.5 |
| Natchez..... | 14.8 | 13.6 | 13.3 | 16.4 | 58.2 |
| Jackson..... | 10.9 | 14.2 | 9.5 | 18.4 | 53.0 |
| Vicksburg..... | 10.0 | 9.5 | 11.2 | 16.3 | 48.4 |
| Memphis..... | 11.0 | 7.8 | 7.9 | 15.0 | 41.8 |
| Monroeville..... | 19.2 | 21.4 | 8.7 | 16.2 | 65.6 |
| Perry..... | 10.3 | 16.5 | 12.0 | 7.8 | 46.7 |
| Charleston..... | 10.6 | 18.0 | 9.7 | 7.6 | 45.9 |

It is not supposed that these results give any definite guide in regard to the limits of the sugar region; they only show that it is generally rainy, and, as it now exists, less subject to the droughts which prevail at intervals over parts of the South than the cotton districts. At the earlier periods of the introduction of the cane it was vigorously pushed towards the interior of South Carolina, and in Georgia and Florida; but with little success. It was thought in some cases that the droughts restricted it, but usually the impossibility of preserving it through the winter most discouraged its cultivation. The border of the present cane district is much more liable to intervals of protracted drought than lower Louisiana and Florida, as may be seen at the stations in Georgia and Alabama at a little distance from the coast—Perry, Monroeville, Jackson, Miss., and Memphis. In Texas the point may be more decisively tried, since the coast at Corpus Christi and Fort Brown must be sufficiently warm, and if the cane may bear the comparatively dry climate, it should be eminently successful.

The latitudes of Texas corresponding with those of its greatest success in Louisiana are not adapted to it for several reasons, the reduced temperature being the principal. The changes are too sudden, also, and the sweep of the winter cold more extreme; making the risks greater than the averages of temperature would lead one to suppose. In all of it the summer curve of heat is sufficient for the best result if the period of growth could be shortened, and the extension of this most desirable cultivation now rests on the solution of the single question of capacity for acclimation to a period not so great as ten months.

As a general fact indicating climatological characteristics the presence of this extreme tropical form as a successful commercial staple is extremely significant, and it sustains the analogies derived from the great success of its associate, Indian corn, and the great area covered at favorable spots by yuccas and the native cane of the river marshes. The sorgho, a cane of Chinese origin and similar characteristics, also grows freely, and may ultimately prove to have value as a sugar producer. There are many minor forms of these strong succulent plants, in which the ripening process develops a great quantity of saccharine matter, that belong pre-eminently to the climate of the United States; and bearing this fact in mind we may yet add valuable staples and plants of a like character, with a measure of success the more important from the fact that few or none of them will grow in Europe.

In actual cultivation the cane is being extended in Florida and in lower Texas, in both of which States there are large areas quite as safe from extremes of cold as in Louisiana—taking the counties bordering the Gulf in Texas, and the central tracts of the Florida Peninsula. A very little appears in States quite re-

mote from the Gulf, in both Kentucky and Tennessee sugar is actually made from the cane, and it has long been the practice to provide for the domestic demand on the smaller estates in Georgia and parts of South Carolina by planting small patches of cane. In New Mexico it is said that the saccharine development of the stem or stalk of Indian corn is such that sugar is made from it in the same manner for domestic supply. The very high measure of temperature attained in summer there, with a cold winter and dry atmosphere, favor this saccharine form of the ripening process in the highest degree.

In Texas the present year, 1856, has exhibited its greatest feature of disadvantage in a severe and protracted drought. The want of moisture in the soil is an irremediable injury, but it does not appear that a dry atmosphere simply, as that from the Rio Grande to Brazoria and Galveston usually must be in summer, is decidedly injurious.

We regret the impossibility in our limited space of following Mr. Blodget in his invaluable deductions relating to the general sanitary relations of the United States, and the permanence of its climates. These chapters abound in the most interesting particulars, and would be read profitably by every citizen. His remarks in regard to the mortality statistics of the census, compiled by ourself, go very far to show that they may be relied upon to represent the distribution of the principal causes of mortality. This is our own opinion, and the future value of the publication will on that account be great.

IS SLAVERY DECLINING IN MISSOURI?

THE census of 1856, as compared with that of 1851, taken by State authority, undoubtedly warrants an affirmative reply, although the actual increase of slaves was 12,492; the whites in the same time having increased 205,703, or sixteen times as fast. This fact should admonish the South of the danger which threatens it in that direction. Who can doubt that the cause is to be found in the border troubles, and the almost positive certainty that Kansas is destined to become the prey of the free-soilers? Surrounded on three sides by non-slaveholding communities, can any one in his right mind expect to see slavery maintain itself in Missouri? Under the present Union the border States must all in a short time be lost to us. Were that Union at an end the South would become at once a *unit*, and continue such for perhaps a century. The terms of a new confederation would secure this. The Union may be, and doubtless is, on a thousand accounts, very valuable; but let it be understood, that this is one of the items of the price that is paid for it.

In twenty-five counties of Missouri, the decrease in slaves in six years, reached 4,412.

Increase of free whites in ninety-five counties. . . . 184,290.

Increase of slaves in ninety-five counties. 2,262.

Ratio, 81 to 1.

In the same counties, the aggregate white population is

669,921, and the aggregate slave, 57,471, or 11 to 1. In the counties which adjoin Iowa, the following remarkable results are seen :

| COUNTIES. | SLAVES. | | FREE WHITE. | |
|--|---------|-------|-------------|--------|
| | 1851. | 1856. | 1851. | 1856. |
| Atchison..... | 83 | 85 | 1,648 | 3,312 |
| Nodaway..... | 70 | 148 | 2,043 | 4,624 |
| Gentry..... | 50 | 69 | 4,197 | 8,721 |
| Harrison..... | 13 | 8 | 2,434 | 7,634 |
| Mercer..... | 14 | 23 | 2,676 | 5,569 |
| Putnam..... | 10 | 31 | 915 | 5,570 |
| Schuyler..... | 55 | 51 | 3,232 | 4,635 |
| Scotland..... | 151 | 206 | 3,663 | 7,157 |
| Grundy..... | 149 | 188 | 1,856 | 4,989 |
| Sullivan..... | 88 | 62 | 2,895 | 5,044 |
| | 633 | 871 | 25,564 | 57,255 |
| Increase of slaves from 1851 to 1856..... | | | 238 | |
| Increase of free whites from 1851 to 1856..... | | | 31,691 | |

A VISION OF A STUDIOUS MAN.

Says a friend in writing to us, "your Review is one undoubtedly of interest and value to the people of the South, but I regret that, with its weighty ammunition, are not occasionally mingled a few small shot. One does not wish to philosophize, economize, and statisticalize always. It is agreeable to play a little, to nod a little, at times, and besides one has a sister, wife, or daughter, who may be very much inclined the same way. Can you not, Mr. Editor, throw in some "spice" now and then—some light and glowing sketches of fact or fancy, to amuse as well as to instruct us?"

There is some reason certainly in what our friend has said, and we have long, as editor, been coming to that way of thinking. To "eat saw-dust without butter," as one of the greatest English lawyers said of the duties of his profession, is not always a necessity. Hereafter, then, and none certainly will object, a chapter of the Review will be allotted, monthly, to sketches, like the following, original generally, but now and then selected.—EDITOR.

LONG ago—how many years since I do not like to think of, but it was when I was a young man and just beginning the world—I took delight in being a book-fancier; not a bibliomaniac, as the profane have it, but an ardent, eager bibliophilist, gathering together volumes from the ends of the earth. The famous collection at Donninghurst attests pretty well the extent of my labors in this vineyard. Arrayed in snowy vellum raiment, or in old tooled calf, or, better still, in ancient French morocco, they line these shelves of mine in the oak room, and are still the admiration—perhaps the envy—of the curious. Now that the fit has passed from me,—I look on them as so many memorials of an old folly, and find myself gazing at them curiously, as a lover might do at the faded writings of

an unworthy mistress. How I came to forswear this seductive pursuit and flee for ever from the temples of Christie, and Sotheby, and such famous brethren of the hammer, I will now try and set forth, as some entertainment for this passing hour.

When I first went down to Donninghurst, which was just after leaving Oxford, this book-fever, as it may be called, was very strong upon me, and I took exceeding delight in arranging and cataloguing the contents of certain great chests which had come down to me from London. And now, before going further, I may say a word concerning Donninghurst itself. It was nothing more than a small village—a quiet, retired, innocent little village of the Auburn kind, lying in a sheltered valley far from the busy hum of men. To look down from the brow of the hill upon the ancient church disguised in ivy, green and brown; upon the little bridge over the brook which divided the village; upon the noisy water-mill, the tiers of snowy cottages sloping down to the water's edge; this was pleasant and fit recreation for any contemplative man, and was as fair a prospect as could be seen upon a long summer's day.

Naturally enough, I had a great liking for Donninghurst, and were it not for the utter dearth of all congenial society—that is, of bibliophilist brethren—I should have pitched my tent there for good and all. True, there was the parson, who is traditionally supposed to be ardent in such matters, but who in our instance happened unfortunately to be a placid easy man, full of soft words, and with little scholarship beyond his Bible; in short, a smooth shaven respectability, as Mr. Carlyle would phrase it. I did not, therefore, grieve very much when I heard, on my second visit, that this reverend person had passed away to a brighter sphere—to a wealthier parish, that is—and that Doctor Erasmus Ashmole, F.R.S., F.S.A., Corres. Mem., &c., &c., had been appointed in his place. This was joyful news for me. In those mystic characters I saw wondrous visions shadowed forth: long Attic nights, earnest disputations, eager criticism, unique and matchless exemplars. Soon my card found its way to the vicarage, and within a very brief span I found myself in the full enjoyment of his friendship. I found him a fierce rude scholar of the true Bentley school—a man that called you Sir in loud tones, after the Johnsonian manner—with a way of beating the table savagely in the warmth of argument. All the golden visions I had read in the cabalistic letters were realized to the full. He had brought down a matchless collection—whole regiments of *Editiones Principes*; camel-loads of Fathers, clean and unsullied with virgin pages; Bellandists, Variorums, Aldines, all in superb condition and original bindings. Elzevirs, too, were there, not to speak of Plantins, Jansens, Baskervilles, Tonsons

and other famous imprinters. There were also strange black-letter volumes—creatures in ponderous oak covers, with rude metal fittings. And, last of all, he had brought down with him an exquisite copy from Nature's own press, printed in the fairest characters, one unique and beyond all price; in short no other than his own fair daughter, sweet Miss Lizzie Ashmole.

She was a bright little creature, with a beaming face and dark brilliant eyes, with arched pencilled eyebrows and soft wavy hair worn à la Grecque, which I was told fell nearly to her feet. Indeed, the other day, when I went to see a famous Little Lady at one of our great theatres, I was perfectly startled at the likeness. No wonder, then, that Doctor Erasmus loved her, if any thing, better than his books. From long habit, too, she had caught up some odds and ends of bibliographical doctrine, upon which she used to discourse very gracefully; and it was very pleasant to see her striving hard to feel due reverence for the dusty inhabitants of the doctor's study. She had, besides, a tinge of romanticism, very refreshing in these flinty days of ours, and was filled with a kind of buoyant earnest faith, which she was not long in communicating to others—delighting, moreover, in rehearsing ghostly narrative, and spectral appearances. This she did so prettily, and so mysteriously, that I, before a scoffer and unbeliever, came at last to feel uneasy of nights, and rather shrank from the idea of going up stairs in the dark.

In short, to this complexion it came at last, as indeed was only to be expected—that the Attic nights with the doctor grew to be insufferably dull, and the doctor himself, and the Johnsonian manner something of a bore. I soon began to see a deal of truth in that passage of the ingenious Mr. Little, where he informs us that his only books were woman's looks. What if he had seen the precious little volume always open before me, and which I took such wondrous delight in perusing! I felt the Poisoned Arrow with the Golden Shaft smarting more keenly every day. In brief, I found myself one morning asking the Reverend Erasmus for a few moments, private conversation, at the conclusion of which I received a paternal accolade and numberless benedictions. Then was sweet Lizzie sent for, who came in blushing most bewitchingly, as though she had a faint suspicion of what was going on. After a month's interval, during which time I conceived an utter disgust for all things of leaves and parchment, the usual ceremony took place, and the happy pair departed for London en route to foreign parts, as was only proper.

During the happy days that followed, I never once thought of Elzevir or Aldine—never felt the least yearning towards

my old objects of affection, until—yes, until we came to the ancient city of Bruges. No human virtue could have withstood that seductive town. We had been admiring its halls, churches, paintings, carvings, bits of Gothic, all day long, and were returning pretty well tired to our hostelry, when we suddenly found ourselves before one of those picturesque little alleys wherein this city abounds. “O!” said sweet Lizzie, how like a Turkish bazaar! We must walk down just once!” With a remonstrance, as though I had a presentiment of what was impending, I suffered myself to be led into the fatal street, and was utterly ravished, as the French say, with all I saw. Dark monstrosities carved out of oak, ancient china, arquebuses, vestiments of rich stuffs, silver statues, bits of stained glass, and Heaven knows what besides, were gathered there, tempting sweet Lizzie to the very verge of distraction. While I—my hour had come at last—was irresistibly drawn to some quaint shelves crowded with old tomes in the livery that was so familiar to me. With the first glance I saw they were of a superior order, doubtless noble exiles from some rich library in the Faubourg, bearing on their backs the insignia of their haughty masters. I took one in my hand, and, as I did so, felt a queer sensation coming over me. They were bound in that famous old red morocco; and there was, besides, a second series arrayed in rich mottled calf—altogether a very choice and tempting lot. I was back under the old dominion in a moment.

“Look here, sweet Lizzie,” I said, “did you ever see such a treasure?”

“Yes” said Lizzie, smiling; “very nice indeed”—she was at that moment studying an old Spanish rosary, thinking what a rare armlet it would make.

“Look,” continued I, in a perfect transport—“such a superb piece of mottled calf; veined and freckled like a bit of jasper!”

“It is very pretty,” said poor Lizzie, trying hard to admire it; “won’t you buy it?”

Buy it! I hesitated—not for the price, which was scarcely a hundred francs or so, but because I knew how much depended on that moment. A look at the old red morocco decided me, and I was back again under the thralldom of the Book Demon.

The next day was spent in diligent investigation of my new-found prizes, and, all their beauties were dwelt on pitilessly for the behoof of poor Lizzie. The day after, we were to have commenced our journey home, but it occurred to me that there were some famous libraries at Ghent, scarce an hour’s travel from Bruges. It would be a positive sin to leave these unexplored; such an opportunity might never occur again. At

Ghent, as everybody knows, are temptations enough for the book-gatherer; and from that city I returned very late at night, with a small sack filled with marvels of type and binding. Poor Lizzie, who had been sitting up for hours expecting me, looked ruefully at these trophies as I tumbled them out on the carpet before her. She was very tired, she said, and had passed a very weary day. What could have kept me? "There is type! There's margin!" I said, opening one wide. "I tell you what, sweet Lizzie; I have a rare scheme in my head—I planned it as I came along. Suppose we go back to Brussels; I hear there are things to be had there literally for a song. We might stay—let me see—a fortnight, whilst I rummage the great libraries. What say you, Lizzie?"

This was too much. I saw her bright little face suffused suddenly with a deeper crimson. How could I be so cruel to her! Especially when I knew she was dying to get home to her poor father. But she had been warned of this long, long ago. She ought to have taken advice. She knew, that, in my heart, I preferred those horrid books to her and every thing else in the world.

Good Heavens! here was a burst! I was astonished and indignant. But the fact was, women were so unreasonable, so very unreasonable. I must make allowance for that. Still, I did not like this trait in sweet Lizzie's character; I would speak to her seriously when we got home. And so, with a pitying smile, I said it was no matter; I would make any sacrifice for peace and quiet. The next day I suffered myself to be led away, out of Belgium, home again to London.

There, in sight of all my favorite haunts, the old fever came upon me with tenfold vigor. I was welcomed once more at Christie's and Sotheby's, and passed hours and days in their famous temples; while sweet Lizzie pined and languished at home utterly neglected. And such was the strange blindness over me, I could see none of this, but wondered, and sulked, and fell back on my old complaint of women being so unreasonable. Not a little of our money, too, was going in this wild fashion, in spite of imploring looks and gentle remonstrances from Lizzie. But I only held this for more of woman's folly; and, wrapped up in this selfish doctrine, I saw her cheeks fade and her light spirits sink without setting it down to any cause but whim and caprice. Ah? a cloud settles down upon me as I think over those days and my own stupid blindness—sacrificing living affection, truth, and love, on the altars of these cold paper gods!

So it went on for some ten months, when news came that the Reverend Erasmus had been suddenly called away to his last account when sitting in his study chair. This was a sore trial to

Lizzie, who loved her father dearly. She grieved very much and said, what should she do now that her only friend in the world was gone. At this epoch I felt a twinge of remorse, and for the next few days was so devoted and attentive, that I saw the roses coming back to her cheeks, and the old bright look into her eyes once more. But my enemies were still in wait for me. Had not Doctor Erasmus left me the rare and valuable library at Donninghurst, as one who would take care of it and keep it together for his sake? I was burning to get down and explore its treasures; and, after many faint struggles, fell back under the old yoke.

It was just coming on to the winter of that same year, a very raw unpromising season I well recollect, when I received one morning, with Messrs. Sotheby's respects, a catalogue of the extensive library of a distinguished person, lately deceased, which was about to be submitted to public competition. Glancing down its long files of names, my eye lit upon a work I had long sought and yearned for, and which, in utter despair, I had set down as *introuvable*. This coveted lot was no other than the famed Nuremberg Chronicle, printed in black-letter, and adorned with curious and primitive cuts. At different times, some stray copies had been offered to me, but these were decayed, maimed, cut-down specimens, very different from the one now before me, which, in the glowing language of the catalogue, was a "Choice, clean copy, in admirable condition. Another antique—richly embossed binding, and metal clasps—a unique and matchless impression." So it was undoubtedly. For the next few days I had no other thought but that one. I discoursed Nuremberg Chronicle; I ate, drank, and inhaled nothing but Nuremberg Chronicle. I dropped in at stray hours to look after its safety, and glared savagely at other parties who were turning over its leaves. Poor little Lizzie complained of being unwell, and lay all day upon the sofa; but what were such trifles compared with the well-being of the Chronicle? So I implored her to be careful of herself, and hurried away to watch over the precious treasure. What a change was here! And yet, not so long since, to save her a moment's pain I would gladly have made a huge pyre of all the black-letter rarities ever printed. But that was in the sunny days, when we lived at Donninghurst; she was very different then! So said I, shaking my head wisely, and hugging myself in my own folly.

The sale was to take place in about a week's time; and this particular lot was expected to come on about two o'clock, or thereabouts. All that morning I was very nervous and fidgety, and thought the hour would never draw near.

I had thirty pounds in clean crisp notes laid providently by

for such an emergency. Such a sum, I calculated, would be more than sufficient to secure the prize, though I was aware that at the Fonthill and other great sales copies had fetched considerably more. My coffers at this period were at a very low ebb; I had been indulging this wild taste to an extravagant degree, giving fancy prices whenever required; and there were to be seen in our hall significant groups of dissatisfied claimants, who were only to be got away with lame excuses and abundant promises. Still, I had contrived to gather together these thirty pounds, which had lain perdus in my drawer until such an occasion as the present. It had now got on to one o'clock, and I was thinking it was full time to be setting out, when my agent from the country was announced. Was ever any thing more unfortunate? Still he had business, business not to be deferred; and besides, had to leave town that evening; so I had to sit patiently and hear him out. When he had departed, and I was just getting my hat and gloves, down came an express from Lizzie, begging to see me before I went out, just for one moment. It was out of the question, I said; utterly out of the question. I would be too late as it was; she must wait till I come back. Here the Abigail, who bore the message, putting on a mysterious manner, began to hint darkly concerning her mistress' health—that she had been ailing these few days back, and must be treated gently. Muttering certain ejaculations, I bounded up the stairs, and rushed violently into the drawing-room, where Lizzie was still lying upon her sofa. "Well, what is it?" said I, impatiently; "I am in a hurry."

"O," said Lizzie, in her gentle way, "do come and sit down beside me; I want to speak to you very much—that is, to ask a great favor."

"Is the child mad?" I said, very roughly I fear. "I tell you I haven't a moment to spare; can't you say it out at once?"

Poor Lizzie sighed. "Well, then," she said, "you'll promise me not to be angry?"

"No, no," said I, stamping, "do be quick."

"Well," said she, taking out a little bit of paper from behind the cushion, "here is Madame Dupont been writing me a most impertinent letter, and——"

"What have I to do with Madame Dupont?" I interrupted; "who is she?"

"Don't you know?—the milliner," said Lizzie; "and now I want you, like a good dear, to give me the money for her—only twenty pounds; only to pay her and have done with her."

She said this so prettily, with that little earnest manner of hers, that my heart smote me; and, for a moment, she and the famous Chronicle were balancing each other in the scales.

It was only for a moment. Ah, the choice copy! the rich embossed binding and clasps! It was not to be thought of!

"No, Lizzie, I have no money to spare at present; we must try and put off Madame Dupont."

"Well, ten pounds; only ten!"

"Impossible."

"What," said Lizzie, with a little sigh, "couldn't you spare me that much out of all I saw in your desk yesterday?"

I blushed scarlet, not from shame, but from rage at being detected. "A spy!" I exclaimed, in a perfect fury; "a spy upon my actions! I hate such mean tricks. But," I added, turning sharp upon her with a feeling that must put a stop to this work, "I won't tolerate this interference; I'm not to be brought to an account for the little money I lay out on myself. Such low, mean prying! But money must be had for all your finery—of course, of course," and more to the same effect, which it chills my very heart to dwell on now. My only hope and consolation is that I was beside myself all that time. Poor Lizzie listened to me, perfectly overwhelmed, and trembling like an aspen leaf. She never answered me, but sank down upon the sofa without a word. I left her, thinking I had given a wholesome lesson, and walked out of the house in a proper state of indignation.

But the Chronicle—the famous Chronicle. I had utterly forgotten it. I felt a cold thrill all over me as I took out my watch. Just two o'clock. I flew into a cab, and sat off at a headlong pace for Sotheby's. But my fatal presentiment was to be verified. It was over; I was too late. The great Chronicle, the choice, the beautiful, the unique, had passed from me forever, and beyond recall; and, as I afterwards learned, for the ridiculous sum of nineteen pounds odd shillings.

And who was I to thank for this—this cruel prostration of all my hopes? Here was the prize torn from me, lost by a minute's delay, and all for a woman's absurd whim and caprice. By Heaven, it was enough to drive me distracted. But no matter; when I got home I would give her a piece of my mind. I would be master in my own house. Lashing myself thus into a rage, I strode moodily into the house, and made my way straight to the drawing-room. There I burst into a catalogue of all my griefs, mingled with a torrent of reproaches. She had ruined me—such an opportunity would never come again; I never would forget it to her. But let her take warning in time. I would put up with this kind of interference no longer. Poor Lizzie listened first with astonishment, but, as she began to understand me, I saw her bright

eyes flashing in a way I had never seen before. "And so," she said, her voice trembling with excitement, "this was why you refused me the little sum I asked. For shame! I could not have believed you so cruel—yes, so selfish. But I ought to have known this before; kind friends told me that this would come to pass—that you would sacrifice me to this wretched passion."

Again my heart smote me, and I felt a longing to sink down before her and beg forgiveness; but at the same instant I heard something whispering secretly in my ear that she it was who had lost me my precious treasure. On this I froze again in a moment. What right had she to hold this tone to me? I asked. I was sickened and repelled, I said, with her coldness and want of interest in all that concerned me. Then Lizzie, raising herself up from her sofa, and her eyes flashing more than ever, said she would speak now, for my sake as well as her own: that as to my unkindness and neglect, that was not so much matter—she would try and bear it—she would get accustomed to it, she supposed; but that I was fast ruining myself, making myself a laughing stock—yes, a laughing stock—to every one. It was a pity we had ever come together.

"Yes," I said, bitterly, "it was a pity, a great pity, I did not meet one more suited to my tastes—one that might have made some allowances, at least, for my old habits and associations. But it was no use talking about it now; it was too late." With that I hastily turned away; and feeling that I had been aggrieved, retreated to my study, full of bitterness and disappointment. Was there ever anything so unreasonable? And, instead of showing some sorrow for causing me such a disappointment, to turn round and beard me in this manner. A laughing stock! Those words grated unpleasantly on my ear, as I thought them over. I felt an envenomed sensation against poor Lizzie, which I cannot describe.

And how long was this to go on? (I put this question to myself, sitting among the dark gloomy shadows of my study.) Were all my studies to be broken in upon with cold looks and harsh words? Was I to have my chief hope and comfort in life embittered? An idea struck me. In a day or so I should have to go down to Donninghurst on business. Suppose I went that very evening instead? I would be there in an hour or so, and could return to-morrow if it suited me. Here was a ready means of release offered me. I could withdraw myself for a little from London, which I had begun to hate, and from home, which was growing distasteful to me. It would be a pleasant change of scene; and I felt, besides, a craving

for solitude and the companionship of my books. I longed for a quiet evening in my little study, many miles removed from unkindness and domestic bickerings. So all these things then appeared to my distorted vision.

It seemed a rare scheme; and so I lost no time in executing it. I packed up a few things, and telling Lizzie, coldly enough, that I would most likely return early in the morning departed by that night's train.

About seven o'clock that evening we came rolling into Donninghurst. It was a raw, bleak night, with a harsh, black frost abroad; not your true, genial, inspiring weather, covering the ground with crisp snow, and making the cheeks tingle, but a dark, lowering atmosphere, very dispiriting and oppressive. Therefore it was that I felt very uncomfortable and out of sorts as I stood in the cold, comfortless study, watching the slow process of kindling a fire. No one had expected me on such a night—naturally enough—so I found everything cold and desolate. There was an ancient retainer always left in charge of the house, whom I took a dismal pleasure in likening to Caleb Balderstone, in the novel. His queer ways and curious make-shifts in providing for the emergency, were so many occasions of identifying myself with the unhappy Master of Ravenswood and his follower. At last a fire was lighted, and I settled myself down for the night. What should I have done, I said, looking round affectionately on the shelves. Old Fuller?—None better—Old Fuller, by all means. I got him down reverently and cleared the dust from him gently. I was going to have a night of enjoyment.

When he was properly bestowed upon the oaken reading-desk, and the lamp had been turned up to the full, and one last poke given to the fire, I felt that I had all the elements of a studious night to hand, and that I ought to be exceedingly pleasant and comfortable. Yet some way Good Old Fuller seemed to me not quite so racy that night. I felt inexpressibly lonely, and every now and again I heard the wind, which had begun to rise, coming round the corner with a low moan, which gave me a very dismal feeling. Do as I would I could not shut out Caleb Balderstone. Then, too, I found my eyes were perpetually wandering from Good Old Fuller to the coals, where I would discover all manner of distracting visions.

It certainly was a noble edition—that Chronicle, said I, reverting to the events of the day—a noble one truly. O how could she have let me miss it! And yet who knows? I might fall in with another copy some of these days! But then she had no need to speak to me in that way—to ridicule me—to reproach me. No matter about that now—to busi-

ness—with that, I came back again to old Fuller—for about a page and a half of him—as it might be. It was very singular. I could not lay myself down to work. I grew annoyed—vexed. Impatiently I pushed the Ancient Worthy far from me, and leaning back in my chair fell to studying the fire once more—watching the wreaths of smoke curling upwards—every now and then taking the shape of a bright, gentle little face that seemed to look at me reproachfully.

Alone, here, in this desolate spot—alone with Old Fuller and his brethren. And these false slaves to whom I had bound myself, and sacrificed all, were now deserting me when I most needed their assistance. I likened them, bitterly, to the Familiars in the old Magic Legends who treacherously abandoned their masters in their greatest straits. And Lizzie (sweet Lizzie she was once!) all alone in the great London world, keeping her lonely vigil! Just then there came up before me, as it were, floating from the past, a vision of another time—not so long passed away—coming to me, as it were, in a flood of golden light, wherein Old Fuller appeared to shrivel up, and shrink away into a dry, sapless Ancient, as he was. It was on a clear moonlight night—I well recollect—with the ground all covered with snow, and I was coming out beneath the vicarage-porch, going home for that night—when she, sweet Lizzie, came out into the moonlight, and we lingered there for a few moments, looking round and admiring the scene. Such a soft tranquil night, with a bright glare shining forth from the midst of the dark mass rising behind us, showing where the Doctor was hard at work in his room. I often thought of that night after, and of the picture of Lizzie, as she stood there with her face upturned to the moon. Conjuring up this vision from the fire, and recalling her mournful, subdued, face, as she lay upon the sofa, when I so abruptly quitted her, I felt a bitter pang of self-reproach and found my repugnance for the cold, senseless creatures around me, increasing every instant.

After that there came a feeling over me that I had been sitting there for hours—for long weary hours, and that morning would never come. Suddenly it seemed to me that I heard the sound of wheels outside on the gravel, with strange confusion as of many tongues, and that some one came rushing in hurriedly—seeking me—and telling me I must lose no time—not an instant. I knew by a kind of instinct what it was all about, and why it was I was thus brought away.

There was a heavy load upon my heart, as of some evil impending—some dreadful blow about to fall. Then came the long, hurried journey throughout the dark night—the rattle

over the pavement, and the flittering of lights past the window, as we drew near the noisy city. Then was I led up-stairs softly in a darkened room—the drawing room, where were many people crowded together, and whispering. And there on the sofa, just as I had left her, I caught a dim vision of sweet Lizzie—very pale and sad—with the same gentle look of reproach. I heard the old soft voice, full of affectionate welcome and forgiveness, and then it seemed as though the shadows were beginning to fall, and shut me out from her forever. With a wild cry I stretched forth my arms to the fading vision—and there was I back again in my old study at Donninghurst, with the fire sunk down in ashes, and the lamp flickering uneasily on the verge of extinction, and great gaunt shadows starting up and down all around me on the wall. The scales had fallen from my eyes. The delusion had passed from me forever. Just then the village clock began chiming out the hour—three-quarters past eleven. I recollected there was a train to London at midnight, and in another instant I had fled from the house, and was rushing up the deserted street. There was scarcely any passengers—so late was the hour—and there was a lone, deserted look over the vast station, very chilling and dispiriting to one in my mood—after what seemed a weary, never-ending journey, we reached London, and in ten minutes I was in my own house, at the drawing-room door. She had not gone to bed; and, as I opened it softly, I saw her stretched upon, where she had cried herself to sleep—just as I had seen her in my dream.

What a meeting followed on that waking, may be well imagined, and need not be set down here. I never fell back into the old slavery. All my famous treasures were ruthlessly sent away into banishment down to Donninghurst, where they may now be seen. And, not very long after, I heard of another copy of the great Chronicle being in the market; but I heard it with the utmost placidity.

Thenceforth our lives ran on smoothly as a bright summer's day; and, as they tell of the good people in the story-books, we lived happily together forever after.

Forever after! It were better not to cast a shadow upon this vision of a poor lonely man, by dwelling on what befel me within a brief interval after that. I have not courage to say it now. So let those cheerful words stand, by way of an endearing fiction, to receive, as my only hope and comfort, their full enduring truth in the long hereafter of another world.

THE COTTON CROP OF 1856-'7.

We continue (see October number, p. 443) the Statistics as published in the New York Shipping List, premising that they differ a few thousand bales in the aggregate from the accounts made up by the Southern papers. The difference is, however, scarcely appreciable, though it will be referred to at another time.

There were received during the year 2,022 bales of Cotton at New York, from Memphis, Nashville, &c., up river, 1,236 at Philadelphia, 1,496 at Baltimore, being a decline upon either of the two preceding years.

Export to Foreign ports from September 1, 1856, to August 31, 1857.

| FROM | To Great Britain. | To France. • | To North Europe. | Other For. ports. | TOTAL |
|---------------------|-------------------|--------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| New Orleans..... | 749,485 | 258,163 | 156,450 | 129,619 | 1,293,717 |
| Mobile..... | 211,231 | 84,840 | 16,570 | 2,348 | 314,989 |
| Texas..... | 9,792 | 4,428 | 6,687 | ..... | 20,907 |
| Florida..... | 29,125 | ..... | 1,764 | ..... | 30,889 |
| Savannah..... | 138,694 | 3,504 | 5,976 | 10,665 | 158,839 |
| Charleston..... | 138,876 | 40,821 | 28,296 | 21,192 | 229,185 |
| North Carolina.... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Virginia..... | 200 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 200 |
| Baltimore..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Philadelphia..... | 820 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 820 |
| New York..... | 145,984 | 21,601 | 28,600 | 808 | 196,992 |
| Boston..... | 4,663 | ..... | 1,455 | ..... | 6,118 |
| Grand total..... | 1,428,870 | 413,357 | 245,798 | 164,632 | 2,252,657 |
| Total last year.... | 1,921,386 | 480,637 | 304,005 | 284,578 | 2,954,606 |
| Decrease..... | 492,516 | 67,280 | 58,207 | 83,956 | 701,049 |

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF GROWTH.

| CROP OF | CROP OF |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1856-'7.....bales. 2,939,519 | 1839-'40.....bales. 2,177,835 |
| 1855-'6..... 3,527,845 | 1838-'9..... 1,360,532 |
| 1854-'5..... 2,847,839 | 1837-'8..... 1,801,497 |
| 1853-'4..... 2,980,027 | 1836-'7..... 1,422,930 |
| 1852-'3..... 3,262,882 | 1835-'6..... 1,360,725 |
| 1851-'2..... 3,015,029 | 1834-'5..... 1,254,328 |
| 1850-'1..... 2,355,257 | 1833-'4..... 1,205,394 |
| 1849-'50..... 2,096,706 | 1832-'3..... 1,070,438 |
| 1848-'9..... 2,728,596 | 1831-'2..... 987,477 |
| 1847-'8..... 2,347,634 | 1830-'1..... 1,038,848 |
| 1846-'7..... 1,778,651 | 1829-'30..... 976,845 |
| 1845-'6..... 2,100,537 | 1828-'9..... 870,416 |
| 1844-'5..... 2,894,503 | 1827-'8..... 727,593 |
| 1843-'4..... 2,030,409 | 1826-'7..... 957,281 |
| 1842-'3..... 2,378,875 | 1825-'6..... 720,027 |
| 1841-'2..... 1,683,574 | 1824-'5..... 569,249 |
| 1840-'1..... 1,634,945 | 1823-'4..... 509,158 |

CROP OF SEA ISLAND COTTON.—The crop of this Staple for the past year (included in the General Statement) was as follows: Florida, 20,865 bales; Georgia, 9,764; and South Carolina, 15,185—total, 45,814 bales, against 44,512 in 1855-'6; 40,841 in 1854-'5; and 39,686 in 1853-'4.

CONSUMPTION.

| | | |
|---|-----------|------------------|
| Total crop of the United States, as before stated | bales.. | 2,939,519 |
| Add Stocks on hand at the commencement of the year, | | |
| September 1, 1856—In Southern ports..... | 20,014 | |
| In Northern ports..... | 44,157 | |
| | | <u>64,171</u> |
| Makes a supply of | | 3,003,690 |
| Deduct therefrom the export to Foreign ports.. | 2,252,657 | |
| Less, Foreign included.. | 1,161 | |
| | | <u>2,251,496</u> |
| Stocks on hand, September 1, 1857: | | |
| In the Southern ports..... | 22,580 | |
| In the Northern ports..... | 25,678 | |
| | | <u>49,258</u> |
| Burnt at New York and Baltimore..... | 798 | |
| | | <u>2,301,552</u> |
| Taken for Home use..... | bales.. | 702,138 |

Quantity consumed by and in the hands of Manufacturers North of Virginia.

| | | | | | |
|----------------|---------|---------|----------------|---------|---------|
| 1856-'7..... | bales. | 702,138 | 1840-'1..... | bales. | 297,288 |
| 1855-'6 | 652,739 | | 1839-'40 | 295,193 | |
| 1854-'5 | 598,584 | | 1838-'9 | 276,018 | |
| 1853-'4 | 610,571 | | 1837-'8 | 246,063 | |
| 1852-'3 | 671,009 | | 1836-'7 | 222,540 | |
| 1851-'2 | 608,029 | | 1835-'6 | 236,783 | |
| 1850-'1 | 404,108 | | 1834-'5 | 316,888 | |
| 1849-'50 | 487,769 | | 1833-'4 | 196,413 | |
| 1848-'9 | 518,039 | | 1832-'3 | 194,412 | |
| 1847-'8 | 531,772 | | 1831-'2 | 173,800 | |
| 1846-'7 | 427,967 | | 1830-'1 | 182,142 | |
| 1845-'6 | 422,597 | | 1829-'30 | 126,512 | |
| 1844-'5 | 389,006 | | 1828-'9 | 104,853 | |
| 1843-'4 | 346,744 | | 1827-'8 | 120,593 | |
| 1842-'3 | 325,129 | | 1826-'7 | 103,483 | |
| 1841-'2 | 267,850 | | | | |

THE YELLOW PINE FOREST OF THE SOUTH.

THE rapid disappearance of the pine forest, under the axe of the planter and timber-getters of the Southern States, known as the *yellow pine* among ship builders, is beginning to attract the attention of the public.

This belt of forest runs east and south of a line drawn from the Chesapeake Bay through Raleigh, in North Carolina; Cheraw and Columbia, in South Carolina; Augusta, Macon, and Columbus, in Georgia; Montgomery in Alabama. This line may be said to be the base of the Blue Ridge.

From this base line stretching to the seaboard, over a level or gently undulating country, but occasionally interspersed with oak and hickory, lies this great pine belt.

Its width, save that tongue jutting into Florida, may be estimated from seventy-five to one hundred and fifty miles, but on that portion touching the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, a width of from thirty to forty miles, the pines are scattering and of stunted growth, and almost worthless for commerce, save for turpentine; so that it may be safely estimated that that portion of the pine belt adapted for the cutting of timber cannot exceed an average of more than seventy-five miles in width, and of this, probably near one-half of the forest, since the first settlement of the country, has been deadened and the soil put in cultivation.

It is well known that the stronger and better the soil, the larger, longer, and straighter are the pines, and thousands of acres of these pine forests are annually deadened by the planters for the purpose of putting fresh land into cultivation, while the timber-getters are culling and cutting for commerce that which is within a convenient distance for water carriage. Nor will the planter desist from this wholesale destruction of these forests until the value of the trees shall be so enhanced as to make it an object for him to hold them for their value as lumber.

Thus will the forest continue rapidly to disappear, until it will be found, perhaps too late, that there is a scarcity of this valuable timber, and which, if ever replaced, will require centuries.

For more than a quarter of a century the United States Government has been guarding and protecting the live oaks that grow within a limited distance of the seaboard, and yet it is a well-established fact that the live oaks are of a much more rapid growth than the yellow pine.

It has been estimated by the timber-getters that a large pine, sufficient for the spars or beams of a first-class ship, requires from two to three hundred years to grow.

The pine forest of Virginia, North and South Carolina, which is within a convenient hauling distance to water carriage, is already nearly exhausted.

In Georgia, that which is on the principal rivers has been culled for some miles on either side of the streams, and timber is now being hauled from ten to fifteen miles to Savannah river for shipment.

The French Government at the present time is having its orders for timber filled by trees cut in Georgia, upon the rivers that flow into the Gulf of Mexico, and here the rafting of timber for miles across the open bays to the points where the shipping can come to receive it, renders it exceedingly troublesome and expensive, and often attended with the entire loss of the rafts.

With a knowledge of these facts, and doubtless startled by the rapid destruction of these pine forests, our Government has acted wisely in withdrawing from sale (now for the first time) her pine lands which lie upon the Suwannee river in Florida, with the view of holding them for their lumber for the future use of her navy; and it may now be seen—and perhaps too late—that this wise precaution should have been taken years ago, by withdrawing those pine lands in Florida which are situated upon the waters that flow into the Atlantic.

SALT—HISTORICALLY, STATISTICALLY, AND ECONOMICALLY.

IV.

SALT APPLIED TO AGRICULTURE—ELEMENTARY NOTIONS OF AGRICULTURAL CHEMISTRY—THREE OF THE SALTS FOUND IN THE ASHES OF PLANTS TO BE MANUFACTURED HERE-AFTER—COMMON SALT A CONCENTRATED FERTILIZER—ITS INFLUENCE ON THE COTTON PLANT, AND PROSPECT OF ITS FUTURE CONSUMPTION BY AMERICAN PLANTERS—MIXED WITH FARM-YARD MANURES, IT IMPROVES THEM—MIXED WITH THE GUANO, IT MULTIPLIES THE VALUE OF THIS FERTILIZER, AND CREATES A WONDERFUL INCREASE OF PRODUCTIVENESS—FINANCIAL PROFITS OF THE APPLICATION.

THE use of salt in agriculture is one of the most controverted questions in the Old World, and of the most important to the planting and farming interest of the United States. In Europe the discussion of it has been always between governments, accustomed to make money with the duty on salt, and consumers, impatient to get rid of that tax, and delighting in making it hateful by exaggerating the agricultural profits prevented by the taxation of the article. Both parties having judged constantly the case at their own private point of view, one understands how the most of the European documents deserve little confidence on this serious question. Hence, also, our care to bring in it new facts and the best tried, in order to afford a basis for a complete and definitive decision.

The duty on salt, as a spring of public income, existing no more in the Federal Government, nor into the particular States, we have not to answer the old objections supplied by financial covetousness, and already refuted by the unanimous consent of getting salt at the lowest price. On the other hand, American consumers, not having to fight against an avaricious treasury, have no motive of favoring blindly the advocates of the use of salt as applied to agricultural pursuits. Thus they can establish the question on an experimental ground, equally far from theoretical extremes, and to the great honor of the United States resolve, on this new ground, the long disputed problem on which depends the increase of human welfare by the rational and practical use of a new fertilizer.

Salt, besides, has another importance and many functions to fulfil in agriculture. At first it constitutes a condiment for the food of cattle, and in this respect, as much as by the bonification of land, it interests owners and tillers of the soil. Antiseptic for domestic animals, it gives help to their vigor as to the health of man. This is a general rule in the animal kingdom, but subjected to a great variety of applications, and to exceptions important to be pointed out, in order to prevent the most dangerous misuse.

Thus, by an exception to this universal importance, salt seems deadly or useless to birds, because probably we do not know the infinitely small portion available to them. Fowls are equally disregarding of it, digesting by means of gravels, as the ostriches by means of pebbles. The feathery tribe seems, consequently, making no use of salt, and in any case it is one of the animal kingdom which uses the least of it.

Among quadrupeds, the carnivorous do not, apparently, call on salt. But the herbivorous feel so strong a want of it, that no distance, no difficulty, can prevent them from finding this indispensable article. First presumption, that their vegetable food being far from having the quantity of salt required, can itself, when growing, be supplied advantageously by the same element.

Common salt is sometimes replaced by equivalents in the digestive functions even among the various human races. The Esquimaux delight in eating marine plants, and do not take any care of manufacturing sea-salt. The Indians of California cook their game in the ashes, and eat it always with some of them, not wanting at all, and even disliking common salt, by an effect of habit, thus replacing this element by the alkalies of the burnt plants. Necessity of salt varies as much in the drink as in the aliment of man. Brackish water becomes disagreeable, even injurious to his health, generating fevers and *malaria*; but the same is often preferred by the cattle to the purest springs.

These effects of salt over the animals are ruling the vegetable kingdom with an equal diversity. There, also, the presence of salt is a necessity, equally subjected to numerous exceptions, and used by nature with an infinite variety as regard to the quantity of this element. Hence the danger to the farmers of its misuse, when the natural proportion and mode of applying it remains unknown or uncertain by lack of scientific notions and practical skill. Salt is a kind of digestive for plants, but too much digestive is sometimes worse than an indigestion. Thus, too much manure destroys the harmony of fertilizing principles, and even can momentarily produce an absolute sterility. For instance, the cotton-seed is one of the best fertilizers for the growth of this staple, but if it covers with excess the soil, it kills the most long-lived and multiplying plants. Such is also the case with the guano, of which the yearly importation into the United States reaches now 250,000 tons, and represents \$10,000,000, dedicated to the progress of the American agriculture. If this valuable, but so costly manure, was misapplied, it would become soon the true curse of the plantations enriched by it, and instead of adding every year twenty or thirty millions of dollars to the production of the United States, it would lessen it of an equal, if not greater value.

Well, now, the powerful influence of salt is already illustrated by these examples. Use or misuse of it will be new life or death for the plantations where it is to be applied in the most advantageous ways, either to the bonification of the soil, improvement of other fertilizers mixed with it, alimentation of domestic animals, preserving of seeds and farming provisions, or at least the destruction of parasitical herbs, and swarming of insects injurious to the crops.

As to the direct application of salt to the amendment and better adaptation of soil for the growth of plants, I suppose the following principles of agricultural chemistry are already known:

1st. Plants must be supplied with the same elements they contain: it is with substances wanted by them as essential, or at least useful, to their growth.

2d. These substances can be found by the most simple analysis of

plants, made by burning them. After losing their volatile parts, as water, carbonic acid, and ammonia, this analysis reduces any vegetable substances to ashes or salts; and we see these chemical salts used always among the best manures of plants.

3d. These salts coming out from the soil, if not carried away by rains and rivers to the sea, where they are found in immense quantities, are to be returned to their mother earth, and, as fertilizers, must regenerate her when she is worn out by successive croppings.

4th. Among these various and numerous salts, we notice Glauber's salt, (sulphate of soda,) Epsom's salt, (sulphate of magnesia,) and the common table salt, till now spoken of, and scientifically termed, chloride of sodium. These three kinds of salts, found in the ashes of plants, are consequently pointed out as suitable manures; and as they also are especially produced from the sea-brine, especially gathered on our salt-works, this simple fact already certifies the value of our salt manufacture for manuring purposes, and agricultural improvements.

Now comes the query—what are the peculiar advantages of using common salt? This salt is composed of two elements: the chlorine, an acid, and the sodium, an alkali, which, in the most various shapes, are universally diffused in soils and plants. Hence, a proof of their real wants when not in excess. Each of them plays, indeed, an important part on vegetation. For instance, the ammonia, one of the most important elements of plants and manures, is also the most volatile, the easiest to be lost, because existing always as vapor, unless fixed by a third element. Then, to supply this new element, let us use the common salt, of which the chloride having the strongest affinity with the ammonia, changes this volatile combination into a fixed ammoniacal salt or permanent manure. This, too, in order to be a great deal more valuable for plants, wants mineral constituents, among which is the second element of common salt, the sodium. Thus, the sodium, as mineral alkali, helped by the action of the ammoniac, becomes food for vegetation: on the other hand, it unites with the carbonic acid of the air, and with this great nourisher of plants, it produces the carbonate of soda, other supply for cultivation.

In this mysterious chemistry, when the leaves decompose by sunlight the carbonic acid of the air, and assimilate the carbon, when the aspirations of the roots carry on underground an alike working with the earthly alkalies, common salt brings there its sodium; and if this food is not directly the most nutritive, it seems the most stimulant—making more valuable, more easily assimilated, the other elements—and being, in this respect, when used judiciously, as useful to the growth and vigor of plants, as it is to the good digestion and health of the animal kingdom. Hence, the conclusion, that, when crops become poor, and land old and worn out, the two elements of salt, or the common salt itself, must be supplied in time and way appropriately to the condition of localities and various kinds of crops. But how is salt to be used, and how much, in order to restore for growing plants the virgin freshness of soil? How to make it new, even richer than before cultivated? This is the question, of which the practical skill remains alone supreme judge.

From these general principles let us go right to some positive facts, and draw from them clear applications and practical results.

As regards the cotton plant, for instance, peculiarities of soil and effects of climate, produce undoubtedly a great many varieties of it. One of them, the Sea Island cotton, is very much affected by the locality in which the seed is planted, in the midst of a saline atmosphere, and with the salt mud employed to manure it. This condition is decidedly favorable to the softness, color, and texture of this staple, which delights in sea-air and sea-soil, not far from the more salted ground, where the *Barilla* or soda plant can grow by a stronger assimilation of the marine alkali. All these facts prove that salt, in a shape and quantity to be determined hereafter, is necessary to the Sea Island cotton. And undoubtedly correct is this conclusion, for the same plant, produced from Sea Island cotton seed, degenerates from its first quality as soon as it is grown far from the saline influence—for instance, at 40, 60, or 100 miles from the sea, it becomes so coarse as to be scarcely distinguished from the *green seed*, or short staple plant. But that is not all; and the reverse case makes even more obvious the same conclusion, in showing the green seed cotton, when transplanted to the sea-coast, becoming itself of a longer staple, and much finer in its texture. Then I ask the practical planters: is it not possible that the same short staple could be improved in quality without moving from the interior land, towards the coast, if the healthy and invigorating influence of the sea could reach it, or be transported in any way? The sea-breezes certainly cannot be manufactured for the wants of this plant; but the sea-soil and the salt-mud can very easily be supplied in the shape of common salt.

The greatest progress of agricultural economy consists, not in the use of manures, generally too costly by expense of management, but in the use of their essential elements concentrated in powerful fertilizers, of easy application, and cheap portability. The common salt is one of these concentrated fertilizers, thirty and forty times superior to salt-mud, barn-yard, or marsh manure, so often used by cotton planters, but so seldom paying the cost of carriage and rewarding the trouble of their application. In this economical respect, salt rivals the guano, phosphate of lime, or any other concentrated fertilizers; and, like them, it is now to be applied more and more to agricultural pursuits. But mark well this point: its application ought to be always systematic: made in due proportion, according to localities, seasons, and various kinds of crops, thus requiring an intelligent agriculturist in order to prevent, with the misuse of it, any injury to cultivation.

After this indispensable precaution pointed out, let us look at the extension of lands where salt can be required, only from the coast of the Chesapeake bay to Florida, and from cape Florida to Texas. All the Southern sea-boards are sandy pine lands, which, after yielding two or three crops, would be impoverished for ever, if not renewed by manures. In the same time, these lands, by the benefit of climate, are the most desirable for annual growth of tobacco, corn, and cotton, and call every year for an immense amount of fertilizers.

As to cotton, from the sea-shores to the mountain ranges, and from

the Atlantic States to those of the lower Mississippi and Mexican gulf, all low-lands are especially fit for its cultivation, and afford an unlimited field for multiplying this vegetable wool, to clothe with it, if necessary, the Old and the New World. This cotton-growing region of America—abstraction made of Virginia and a portion of North Carolina—embraces an area of about 600,000 square miles, or 384,000,000 of acres. But 5,000,000 only are in full cultivation, producing a crop of 3,000,000 of bales, equivalent to three bales for every five acres. Hence, the estimate that forty millions of acres being certainly producing lands, will be, sooner or later, capable of supplying twenty-five millions of cotton bales, or eight times the present crop. Such are the prospect and basis of the agricultural greatness of the New World.

Now, to this producing capability and future growth of cotton, we must apply the future extension of the manure, the best appropriated to this wonderful staple. We know it already. Cotton plant delights in sea-breezes, and grows finer in soil manured with salt-mud, or what is the same, and forty times cheaper, manured with the common salt alone as a concentrated fertilizer. As to the advantages of this application, there is no doubt among the Sea Island cotton planters; but it is still doubtful among them how much salt per acre is required. The quantity to be used ought to be regulated, generally, by the proximity of the plantation to the sea, and can be increased, methinks, at greater distance from the coast, where the supply of brine from the sea-breezes is to be replaced by that from the soil. Even near to the coast the plant seems to be very much benefited by two or three bushels per acre; but the quantity depends also on the more or less permeability of soil. A soil, where clay prevails over the sand, being more conservative of the brine, must receive less salt than a sandy land, through which this fertilizer, after dissolved, is in great part carried away by rains, and can be advantageously renewed every year.

As to the sandy lands, which are the most propitious for cotton, and constitute the greatest part of the region spoken of, according to the opinion of the Sea Island cotton planters, we estimate that two bushels of salt could be used, per acre, to the great profit of the crop. Then, for the present cotton cultivation of five millions of acres, we must supply ten millions bushels of salt; and for the twenty-five millions of acres to be in future time put in full production, the immense amount of fifty millions of bushels, or nearly double the actual consumption of the United States!

Such a supply, being only for manuring one special kind of crops, can give an idea of the general amount of common salt to be used in other agricultural pursuits: for instance, the value of farm-yard manures depends mainly on the amount of ammonia they contain; but we know this ammonia is an element highly volatile, which we must prevent from escaping. To fix it in the animal manures, the sulphuric acid, diluted in a proportion of one pint to eight gallons of cold water, and sprinkled from time to time, has been regarded, till now, as the most effectual agent. But this method is a little dangerous. The sulphuric acid, if not sprinkled carefully, will burn your fingers, feet,

or clothing; and, besides, it costs two and-a-half cents per pound. Then, instead of this oil of vitriol, take at the same price a half bushel of salt—easy to be transported anywhere—dilute it in water, and sprinkle the brine over your stable manures. The chlorhydric acid, derived from the chlorine of this brine, will produce an effect equivalent to that of the sulphuric acid; preventing the manures from fumes, it will keep their ammonia from escaping; whilst, on the other hand, the second element of salt, the sodium, brings there with itself a mineral alkali of an important manuring value. Thus, the common salt, as applied in the precedent case, becomes manufacturer of good manures, and deserves, in this new respect, the careful attention of American farmers.

A last and more striking example of the same influence is afforded by the mixture of common salt with other concentrated fertilizers like itself, with guano—for instance. By the great affinity of its chlorine with ammonia, we know already how it fixes this volatile alkali of the guano, and thereby making an ammoniac salt—a lasting and permanent manure, it multiplies its value, and gives to the soil a supply of food durable for a rotation of crops. On the other hand, the ammoniac salts must, according to Liebig, be accompanied by mineral constituents in order to be efficacious, “and the effect,” said he, “is then proportional to the supply, not of ammonia, but of mineral substances.” Consequently, the sodium, as mineral alkali, is one of the constituents required to accompany the fixed ammonia of guano, and secure it all its productiveness. As to other advantages of this mixture, and the proportion of common salt to put in, the *Agricultural Report of the Patent Office* for 1854, in speaking of the qualities and application of these fertilizers, says: “It would always be well to mix the guano, before applying it to a dry soil, with charcoal or common salt, on account of the power which they possess of attracting moisture in dry seasons from the atmosphere. A mixture of about *three parts of salt*, or charcoal, to one part of guano, has been attended with the most important results as regards the increase of crop.”

By the same statement we can look already at the immense amount of our salt to be used in the mixture of guano, of which the application is annually swelling into greater magnitude. *Hunt's Merchants Magazine* gives, in this respect, the following statistics:

“The important part which the guano trade is performing in the commerce of the world, and its influence upon shipping interests, is but imperfectly understood. Vessels carrying cargoes to our west Pacific coast, formerly were obliged to depend for return freights upon China and the East Indies alone. Now they are directed to the Chinchas, which furnish cargoes at high rates, for foreign and American vessels, to a very large extent.

“Nearly 400,000 tons of guano are required for Great Britain and Ireland, and 250,000 tons for the United States. Every sea is explored to obtain this valuable fertilizer.

“The aggregate value of the different varieties now in use in the markets of the world, cannot be less than \$140,000,000 per annum. To the Peruvian Government the revenue derived from her guano trade exceeds the amount from all her other sources of income—her mines of gold and silver, agriculture, etc.”

From the commercial and agricultural value of this fertilizer, and from the quantity of its consumption in the United States, we must now conclude the future use of our salt, destined to be, by its cheap-

ness, the inseparable and always preferred companion of the former. 250,000 tons, or 16,000,000 bushels of guano are yearly imported into the Union; and in order to make available the ammonia and other manuring qualities, a quantity of salt three times greater, according to the Patent Office Report, seems required. Then, in this above case, 750,000 tons, or 30,000,000 bushels of salt, more than the actual consumption of the United States, should be provided for by the new salt manufacture, and mixed with the guano, in the said proportion of 3 to 1, would produce 40,000,000 bushels of fertilizing elements. What amount of crops and productiveness for the farming interest!

The financial profits of such a mixture are worth also some consideration.

| | |
|--|--------------|
| The guano spoken of, at one dollar per bushel, costs... | \$10,000,000 |
| And the 30,000,000 of the new salt, at five cents per bushel, will cost..... | 1,500,000 |

Thus representing as capital an expense of..... \$11,500,000 for making 40,000,000 bushels concentrated manure, perhaps equal to the value of \$40,000,000. Now take the balance of the expenses and profits, and you will have a clear income of \$28,500,000 to be divided among American planters. As to the selling price of the new salt, \$1,500,000, of course it will belong exclusively to the producers, and will contribute to the commercial wealth of the Southern States, as the salt itself to their agricultural greatness.

This example seems to illustrate some profits of the future salt business, when in full operation. In any case, the better avail of concentrated fertilizers, by the intelligent use of salt, will be one of the greatest progresses of agricultural economy.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

THE NEW TERRITORY OF ARIZONA.

THE "Mesilla Valley," or "Gadsden purchase," as it is generally designated, includes a tract of country about 27,000 square miles in extent to the south of New Mexico, and separating it from the Mexican provinces of Sonora and Chihuahua. The Colorado constitutes its western boundary, and we trust that a port will be secured to us upon the Gulf of California. This region has been attracting settlers, and will present itself for territorial admission at the next session of Congress. The country is adapted to slavery, and hence an angry struggle may be expected. It abounds in valuable minerals. The following facts are taken from a late report made by Sylvester Mowry, Lieut. U. S. A.:

"Already Colorado City, opposite Fort Yuma, is a place of pecuniary value and importance, and its position at the only secure crossing of the river, at the junction of the Gila and Colorado, and at the present head of navigation on the latter river, make it certain that it will be a large town at no distant day.

The Territory of Arizona is not only capable of attracting emigration and settlement, but it is now being rapidly settled. Families, women and children, are already moving from California into the new purchase, and many fine claims are already located in the numerous valleys of the middle portion of the territory. Old ranches, long deserted by the Mexicans, who had neither strength nor spirit to resist Indian attacks, are being re-occupied, and will this year yield large and paying crops. Two steamers ply regularly on the Colorado River to Fort Yuma and Colorado City. Already an active and rapidly increasing trade exists between the towns of Tucson and Tubac, in Arizona, and San Francisco. In almost any issue of the San Francisco papers your readers may see vessels advertised for the mouth of the Colorado. The mining companies of the "Purchase" alone, last year, consumed more than one hundred thousand dollars worth of goods purchased in San Francisco, and this amount will be largely increased this year. Settlements will at once be made at every point where military protection is afforded, and this will necessarily be at the mail stations—and the country will richly repay the industrious emigrant—be he farmer or miner. The Mesilla valley already contains a respectable population, and there is no doubt but that the territory will contain at least 2,000 permanent residents, voters, by the opening of Congress."

It is also worthy of remark, that Arizona is in the direct route of the new overland mail to the Pacific, which is as follows: "Beginning both at St. Louis and Memphis, on the Mississippi river, thence forming a junction at Little Rock, in the State of Arkansas; thence in the direction of Preston, in Texas, to the Rio Grande, at the most suitable crossing of that river near Fort Fillmore on Dona Ana; thence along the new road now being made under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, to Fort Yuma; thence by the best passes, and through the best valleys for safe and expeditious staging to San Francisco."

MINERAL RESOURCES, ETC., OF KENTUCKY.

We have before us an account of an exploration made by two leading geologists of a portion of the State of Kentucky, covered by what is known as the "Great Illinois Coal Fields." That part of the field which is within Hopkins County is now in possession of a company known as "The Mastodon Coal and Iron Mining and Manufacturing Company," and lies along the line of the Henderson and Nashville Railroad. The twenty thousand acres of land, chiefly in Hopkins county, Kentucky, owned by the company, as well as the additional five thousand acres on which they have mining privileges, occupy the southern margin of this most extensive coal-field in the position the most accessible for working, the most advantageous for drainage, entirely safe for the miner, and in near proximity to an important market for its valuable materials.

The explorations referred to cover no less than six distinct coal beds within the region of the company's lands, and the mean aggregate thickness of the

workable coal of good quality, imbedded, is stated to be about 25 feet. The agricultural character of the soil is also represented as better than that to be found in mineral regions and portions situated in the valleys, afford large and excellent timber, such as beech, maple, white oak, hickory, ash, elm, walnut, coffee-tree, etc., and exhibit fine crops of tobacco, probably averaging 1,000 pounds to the acre; while the uplands are excellent second-rate farming land, capable of producing, under good management, 800 pounds of tobacco to the acre, admirably adapted for wheat, rye, oats, and grasses, and doubtless suited for stock generally, but particularly for sheep; while there is also a very fair growth of timber, particularly oak, hickory, dogwood, and, occasionally, especially in neglected fields, sumach.

Intersected by a railroad, great commercial resources would be opened to the company it is thought, and also many of a manufacturing character. Lumber, shingles, staves, hoops, &c., oak and chesnut bark for tanning, sumach, &c., would be abundantly yielded.

In regard to iron, the indications are favorable, though the examinations are not sufficient to establish certainly the character of the metal. There are, however, abundant indications of argillaceous carbonate of iron in nodules as well as of ochreous iron ores. On the subject of the importance of the coal trade and the particular advantages of this location, we copy from the report, as follows:

"In an average depth of 25 feet there would be due about 40,000 tons to each acre of the 20,000 acres included in the tract. The lowest price of coal at Nashville is \$4 50 per ton. Put it at \$2 50, or ten cents per bushel, and the product of one acre would be \$100,000, of which the profit would be \$50,000, the cost of working being but one cent per bushel, and the transportation to Nashville, eighty miles by railroad, 4 cents more. It has already been wagoned from the lands for 25 miles and sold at Hopkinsville for 15 cents per bushel.

"The demand for coal between Louisville and the Balize is variously estimated. Some who profess to have examined the markets with care, have stated it as high as seventy millions of bushels a year. 'It appears that coal, of which ten bushels are equal to a cord of cotton-wood, can be delivered on the lower Mississippi at thirteen cents a bushel, and yield a fair profit. This equals cotton-wood at \$1 30 a cord, or less than half its average price.' 'Fifteen dollars a cord for pine wood has been paid at New Orleans by Louisville boats. Five and six dollars a cord for inferior cotton-wood has been no unusual price, on the Mississippi.' 'This is certain, that the demand for coal will increase more rapidly than the supply. In 1845 the sales at the Cannelton and Hawesville mines amounted to only 213,000 bushels. Now, this quantity and more is required *every month*, when the river is navigable.' 'Long that skilful, thrifty boatman, Captain Sturgeon, could not be induced to use coal, except in his cabin. Now the Eclipse often leaves the Ohio with 10,000 bushels upon her decks, even to the displacement of freight.'

"But the steamboat and sugar-mill demand for the fuel of the lower Ohio will soon be inconsiderable when compared with its demand for manufacturing purposes. In a few years the men of energy and capital in the west will wonder at their own blindness in not appreciating and profitably developing the immense natural advantages afforded by the minerals, the fuels, the subsistence, and by the easy transit on the lower Ohio for the manufacture of their own great staples. They will then understand the perspicacity of that veteran manufacturer and statesman, Richard Cobden, of England, who years ago declared that the chief seat of the cotton manufacture must eventually be on the coal-fields of the central west, where heat, power, iron, subsistence, transit, and material could be brought together and combined cheaper than anywhere else in the known world."

The Hopkins lands embrace the entire extent of the coal-fields through which the Nashville and Henderson road will pass. They are forty miles from the Ohio river, and the company expect to have in five or six months 100 barges and 10 steam tugs for supplying with coal the lower Ohio and the Mississippi as far even as New Orleans. The stockholders are men of reputation and wealth.

CONSEQUENCES OF ABOLITION AGITATION.

BY EDMUND RUFFIN, OF VIRGINIA.

NO. IV.

WHAT EFFECT DISUNION WOULD HAVE UPON SOUTHERN SLAVE PROPERTY
IN PEACE OR IN WAR.

Among the evil consequences to the South of a separation from the North, it is supposed by most persons that the abolition action of the North would be thereby stimulated and increased, and the effects would render the preservation of our slaves and the existence of slavery much more precarious than while the relation of union, under one government, continues. There is no ground to expect an increase of this evil action, or of its effects, whether in the state of war or of peace, and good reasons for the reverse.

The main cause of the ability of the abolitionists to operate on our slaves, to infuse discontent, and to seduce them to abscond, or to rebel, is to be found in the existing relation which the hostile incendiary agents from the North bear to us, in being also our fellow-citizens. The worst enemies of the South, even regular and the most mischievous agents of organized associations for stealing slaves, and exciting insurrection and massacre, have now every facility to enter the country, and to sojourn wherever they can best operate. Any pretext of business is enough to serve to account for their presence; and there is no neighborhood in the Southern States into which Yankees have not penetrated, and could freely operate as abolition agents. Under the Federal Constitution, they are citizens of any Southern State in which they temporarily reside, and their conduct and proceedings cannot be questioned, so long as there is cautious concealment from white witnesses of any felonious or incendiary acts. Not only have these agents, as our fellow-citizens, the protection of the Constitution of the United States, but we, the people of Virginia, and of all the Southern States, afford to these most dangerous of incendiaries the far greater protection of our own laws, by forbidding the evidence of negroes to be heard against any white person. In these cases of incendiary attempts to seduce slaves, or to plot with them to excite insurrection and massacre, it is next to impossible that any other than negroes should have heard their communications, and be able to inform of their proceedings. Consequently, not one case in the hundred, of which negroes could and often would readily testify, is detected and punished. A still stronger reason for changing this policy is, that, with the existing impunity, the abolition agent knows that he may safely attempt to delude or seduce any negro, as no statement of the negro can convict him. Even if suspected, at the worst he has only to shift his residence to some other place where he is not known, and then to operate as before. If the Northern agent was subject by our laws to be tried and condemned for this offence on the evidence of negroes, (as he would be at

home for any other felony,) he would not venture to incur the great risk of communication. Thus nearly all such action would be prevented.

Thus protected by the Federal Constitution, and our own mistaken legal policy in regard to evidence, it is no wonder that abolition agents are numerous and efficient in the slave-holding States. They are numerous in the Southern cities, especially, where they may be safe even from suspicion in their various ostensible or real employments of traders, mechanics and laborers, or sailors. In every county they have probably entered, and many have remained to operate as pedlars and sellers of Northern commodities and patent rights, solicitors for subscriptions to Northern publications, beggars for societies of various moral and religious pretensions, teachers, both male and female, and and even ministers (so esteemed) of the gospel of love and peace. Until within the last few years, and after numerous discoveries of such incendiary action and many convictions, (among them of two Northern preachers, and two at different times of the same Northern lady,) these agents had the most unrestrained access to all our country habitations and to our slaves.

There had previously been no suspicion entertained of such a system of villany. The primitive and general hospitality of our country served to admit every apparently decent stranger to our houses, as a welcome guest. And thus, as inmates, they had every facility afforded them for deceiving our slaves, and implanting discontent, as well as for aiding their escape, when any fit subjects were found. With such facilities for agents, and with the instigation, and aid of money of the Northern organized associations, and with the general spirit of the Northern people and their State governments to encourage such acts, and to screen the criminals, it is not surprising that these offences against the South have been every year increasing. The counties of Virginia bordering on Pennsylvania, Ohio, and even on the Potomac above Washington, have lost so many slaves, and their possession is so hazardous, that but few remain, and property in slaves is there of such uncertain tenure, as to be of but little value. The city of Norfolk, and its close vicinity, in one year, (preceding the late State law affording partial protection,) lost about one hundred slaves, of the most valuable description, all of which were doubtless forwarded by Northern agents, and taken off in Northern vessels. In and near Richmond, the losses have not been so numerous, but still very many. There, several agents have been convicted and punished.

But these pecuniary losses in slave property, and even the delusions and discontent produced in many more slaves than the actual fugitives, are as nothing compared to the other evils which abolition agents have the like facilities for encouraging and abetting, and which they are equally ready and zealous to bring about, in insurrections of the slaves, with all the horrible results of the attempts, however unsuccessful as they all must be, in reaching their great object, or indeed any considerable effect in general and political affairs. The continual efforts to excite mutiny and insurrection, even if failing to produce any open or

violent act, cause discontent and unhappiness, and a spirit of insubordination in the slaves, and much injury to their owners and to the commonwealth. If actual rebellion, or plotting to rebel, is attempted, it must always end in utter failure. And the worst and most deplorable consequences of such plots, or actual outbreaks, have been, and will be, (and the only spilling of blood, except in the single and peculiar case of the Southampton insurrection,) in the heavy punishments which have fallen upon the deluded victims of the abolitionists—while the far more criminal, and immediate instigators, have generally escaped—and their employers have remained safe in their Northern homes to continue pharisaically to thank God that they are free from the sin of slave-holding.

Even since the writing of these pieces was begun, there have been more cases of discovery of these iniquitous operations, and of more wide-spread extent, than has ever been known before—but not more than might have been expected from the ample means and facilities at command. Plots for simultaneous out-breaks or insurrections (which rumor said were to occur at Christmas) have been discovered at several remote points in Virginia, in Kentucky, Tennessee, and other Southern States. All, doubtless, were instigated by abolition agents, and induced by their delusive representations; and some of these instigators luckily have been secured, though others have escaped. Probably all these alleged plottings and their incidents have been much exaggerated, as usual, by false reports, and some of them may have had no existence. But there is enough certainly true to produce much uneasiness and extended panic among many of the whites, and to cause much suffering, both deserved or undeserved, by the implicated negroes. These are dreadful and most deplorable results of these abolition efforts, and the only results they can ever have, save one, which will be also the only good result. This is, that these numerous and far extended designs will be universally and truly inferred to have been instigated and forwarded by concerted abolition action, and to have been the result of, and connected with the recent sectional effort to elect an abolition President.* And the greater the immediate effects may be of this most recent incendiary instigation, the more will be the beneficial ultimate result, of inducing the Southern States to ward off, by the only effectual mode, all such future and effective operations of hostile Northern abolitionists.

The power of the abolition agents for mischief, and their security from detection and punishment, and all the evil consequences of their incendiary actions, are owing mainly to their privilege of citizens in the South. If the Southern and Northern States made two separate

* Before the election by the people had taken place it was known that slaves had been informed of the Northern motives of action, and had received the impression that the election of Fremont would cause the extinction of slavery. It is said that in the recent (designed) insurrection in Tennessee the poor wretches were deceived and encouraged by the belief, that they had only to fight their way to the north side of the Cumberland river, where Col. Fremont and his army would receive and protect them.

political communities, these agents would be deprived of all their present free access to our slaves, and of the facilities for their operations. Neither the agents nor their employers could find any substitutes for these facilities, in their new relation to us, of foreigners in peace, or enemies in war. It is true, that then, a fugitive slave who may pass the line of division will be safe from pursuit. But it is nearly so now—and the legal remedies, or means for recovering fugitive slaves within the Northern States, are null in fact, even when not expressly made so by State law, as is the case in Massachusetts. A mode of redress which cannot be obtained once in a hundred cases of wrong, and which, even when most effective, costs more than the value of the object sought, is clearly worthless. Therefore, the South would lose no more by the immediate and entire repeal of the present delusive “fugitive slave” law of Congress, and by the cessation of all future attempts to recover fugitive slaves from the North.

As a certain result of an independent dominion and government, the South would guard against such future action of emissaries by a strict examination of Northern immigrants, and a proper investigation of the objects and proceedings of those newly arrived and unknown. If incendiaries would be safe on the northern side of the line of division, on the southern they could be far more easily watched, detected, and by more stringent laws, speedily hung, as soon as found guilty. If the same disposition to interfere and agitate remained, (which would not be,) there would be much less opportunity left for it to be exercised. The new and severe policy of the South, in regard to incendiary actions, would at once restrain the action of the pious and gentle incendiaries, and greatly restrain the mercenary and boldest. If all such emissaries and agents were shut out from intercourse with our slaves, and deprived of their present facilities for deluding them, it would be very rare for any slave, without influence from abroad, to attempt, or desire, to escape permanently from his home and his condition of slavery. And the spirit of discontent which Northern abolitionists have produced by false representations, and the consequent spirit of insubordination—and the new and more stringent measures of discipline for repression of insubordination thus rendered necessary—all being the direct results of abolition action—are the only serious disadvantages, and sources of suffering, to the slaves, and the only thing to prevent their being the most comfortable, contented, and happy laboring class in the world.

The means for holding slave property, safely, would be so much increased by separation, and especially near the border lines, that the slave population of the border land would soon increase and extend, where it has been long decreasing, and, at this time, can scarcely exist, because of the inability of the proprietors to shut out the northern incendiaries.

So much for the supposed and expected relations of peace. But the great power of abolition action, and its greater, if not complete success, it is usually inferred, will be exhibited in the condition of war between the separated North and South. The consideration of this branch of the subject will be next considered.

If the Northern and Southern Confederacies were at war, and it were possible that the former could succeed in completely subjugating the latter, then, indeed, the conquered people would be at the mercy of the conquerors, who might abolish negro slavery, or do any thing else. But it is unnecessary to argue on the assumption of such impossible premises. In the very improbable event of any war occurring, the invasion of the Southern territory, if attempted, would not likely be successful—or allow more than transient occupation of a small extent of country. If admitting the North to be stronger power on its own territory, and still more on the water, all its power for invasion and offensive warfare, would be less than that of the South for repelling and punishing such aggressions on Southern ground. Under such circumstances, and with any thing like equal action, and balanced successes, the North would have much less chance for producing successful insurrection and enfranchisement of the slaves, than had the more powerful enemy in both our wars with Great Britain. In the war of the Revolution, at different times, the British forces were the masters over lower Virginia, and even extended their incursions to the middle country. They remained in possession of the neighborhood of their encampments for months together. In the farther South, the hostile occupation by the British forces was much more extensive, and continued for years. Encouragement was held out to the slaves, in offers of freedom and protection, to desert their masters and to rebel against and oppose them in arms. In the very commencement of the war in Virginia, the royal governor, Lord Dunmore—while still possessing all respect of the vulgar, and the authority of the representatives of the King, and esteemed as a King, and the only known supreme power in the minds of the ignorant slaves—in command of a regular military and naval force, raised together the royal standard, and the banner of negro insurrection—calling upon the slaves to side with the King, and to receive protection and freedom as the reward of their loyalty. Even this invitation, proceeding from the only known previous, and highest legal authority, and backed by the military power and the government of Britain, was a signal failure. Throughout the war of the Revolution, and in all the South, there was no such occurrence as even a partial insurrection of slaves, or of the negro deserters to the enemy being embodied for military service. There was no approach to nor the least apprehension of any danger of the abolition of slavery. That there were numerous losses sustained in the desertion or the stealing of slaves, is indeed true; as well as that our brave and patriotic fathers incurred numerous other and much greater losses, and risked the loss of everything, in their struggle for freedom and independence.

In the war of 1812, the many facilities for slaves to desert, or mutiny, and the attempts of the enemy to seduce them, were still less successful. At that time, many of the old negroes remembered, and all the younger had learned from the older, the inducements offered for desertion and rebellion of slaves in the Revolutionary war, and the treatment and various sufferings of many of the deceived victims, of whom many escaped from the British camps or ships, and returned to the masters they had been induced to desert. Probably it was owing to these recollec-

tions and traditions, that very few of the slaves of Virginia deserted or left their homes voluntarily, to go to the enemy during the last war, though British ships occupied permanently, portions of our waters during nearly all the time. Finally, finding that invitation and seduction had no effect, Admiral Cockburn and other officers of the British naval force resorted to compulsion. Then, on the borders of the Rapahannock, and other most accessible places, many slaves were taken by force from the farms, in marauding incursions of the enemy, and driven at the point of the bayonet to the boats of the British shipping. Thence, they were afterwards sent to Trinidad and elsewhere, and, as was reported, settled as slaves, or in bondage much worse than slavery in Virginia, on sugar plantations of the captors, or others. That the abduction of these slaves was effected by force, admits of no doubt. For, on that admitted ground, in the subsequent treaty of peace, the British government agreed to pay for these slaves, and the owners were so paid their full estimated value.

So much for the chances of voluntary desertion of our slaves to an enemy in arms, and of supposed superior force, and desiring and inviting such desertion. But even if counting this danger as nothing, it may still be feared that without the voluntary desertion of individual slaves, there might be produced by the encouragement of a neighboring abolitionist enemy in arms, a general spirit of insubordination, mutinous conduct, and results leading to revolt. The writer is old enough to have had some personal experience of the like causes, and the actual results from the beginning of, and through the war of 1812; and what he saw and heard then, bearing on this argument, may be new and of interest, and of weight as evidence to readers of the present day and generation.

In the beginning of 1813 British ships of war first occupied Hampton roads, and began the blockade of Chesapeake bay and of the rivers of the whole Atlantic coast south of New England, which blockade was strictly maintained to the end of the war in 1815. During all this time, all the rivers emptying into the Chesapeake, and also other accessible shores of the great bay were frequently visited by portions of the British marine force, and the bordering lands were subjected to the incursions and depredations of the enemy. Numerous and great depredations were committed in Virginia, including the forcible abduction of slaves mentioned above. There was no defensive force except hasty levies of the residents, acting as militia, and nearest to the places invaded or deemed in most danger of attack. And all the men of the tide water counties, then, (before the introduction of steam vessels, and of railroads, and of the electric telegraph,) would have been a very insufficient defence against an enemy having possession of and command on the water, and therefore able to change the points of attack, or feints of attack, in a few hours, to other points far removed from the previously assembled force, summoned for hasty defence, and this for many hundreds of miles length of the exposed river and bay shores. Along all these shores were the richest farms and the most dense slave population in Virginia; and wherever the British landed they were complete masters for the time, and usually the only white occupants of the place.

Therefore, they had every opportunity and means to operate on the slaves, by deception and seduction. Yet, only by force did they carry off any slaves—and in no manner or place did they induce any act or produce any indication of insubordination, then or thereafter.

In the tide water county of my then residence, the entire body of the militia was called out, in mass, on several different occasions of alarm, because of movements and expected incursions of part of the enemy's force. Each of these general and hasty unexpected calls for immediate service lasted for but a few days, except once, in 1814, when the service was continued for some weeks. During that time, the British vessels were much higher than usual in the river, and every man of military age in the county, and the overseers as well as the proprietors of the slaves, were encamped at one point, where the enemy was expected. Further, the most important operation and heaviest labor of our region, the wheat and oat harvest, was commenced and completed during this time that almost every farmer was from home, and unable to give the slightest attention to his farm, or to procure any fit substitute for the proprietor. Yet, not a single case of insubordination among the slaves was heard of, nor had there been any apprehension thereof. Our wives and children, and all our moveables, were left at home, surrounded by and all in the power of the slaves, and all in perfect security. In the actual absence of all superintendence on the farms, no doubt the harvest and other labors were performed more slowly and carelessly, than under different and ordinary circumstances. But I did not find in my own case, nor hear from others, of any important and serious loss on this score. Suppose that the entire male population, of military age, in a county of our non-slaveholding country, had been thus and so long removed from their farms and employments—or even all except the hiring farm laborers—would not the losses and evils have been very far greater?

The like general circumstances as here stated, to greater or less extent, attended every tide water county in Virginia and Maryland, and also every accessible river in the more southern Atlantic States. And every resident now living who then had reached the military age, can confirm the general facts, and especially what is here asserted of the obedience and good conduct of the slaves and their almost universal resistance to all attempts to delude them by offers of freedom and promises of gain and benefit. An invading force from the Northern States, whether coming by land or by water, will not be like to have as free communications with slaves, or as great facilities to remove them, whether by fraud or by force, as had the British liberators, and will scarcely meet with more success.

Judging of the whole southern Atlantic States in these respects by the known experience of eastern Virginia, it seems probable that all the slaves induced to desert or to go off voluntarily, in all these States and throughout all the war, did not amount to as many as in late years our Northern fellow-citizens have seduced and stolen within a single month.

(TO BE CONCLUDED NEXT MONTH.)

NEW ORLEANS AND GREAT NORTHERN RAILROAD.

From the last annual report of this company, we introduce some condensed statistics showing the importance of the road and its numerous connections, together with its earnings in the last two years.

It will be seen that the freight and passengers earnings for 1855 were \$123,305 34, and for 1856 \$177,639 99, making a difference in favor of last year of \$54,334 65, or about forty-four per cent. This increase, all things considered, is satisfactory, for although much work has been done on the road within the past year in the shape of graduation, masonry, and bridging, but little has been added to the track. Yet these earnings are insignificant if contrasted with what they will be when the road shall be entirely completed between New Orleans and Canton. The following is an estimate, made up last year, but it is probable that its figures will fall far short of the reality :

Estimated receipts of the New Orleans, Jackson, and Great Northern Railroad when finished to Canton, and before the Mississippi Central Railroad is completed.

| | |
|---|----------------|
| 100,000 passengers at \$8 each..... | \$800,000 00 |
| United States mail service..... | 41,200 00 |
| 50,000 bales of cotton from Jackson, and north of Jackson, at \$2 per bale..... | 100,000 00 |
| Way and miscellaneous traffic..... | 100,000 00 |
| Up freight of merchandise and supplies..... | 150,000 00 |
| | <hr/> |
| | \$1,191,200 00 |
| Deduct 50 per cent. for expenses..... | 595,600 00 |
| | <hr/> |
| Net annual receipts..... | \$595,600 00 |

The same, after the Central Railroad is finished.

| | |
|--|----------------|
| 200,000 passengers at \$8 each..... | \$1,600,000 00 |
| United States mail service..... | 41,200 00 |
| 100,000 bales of cotton, north of Jackson, \$2 per bale..... | 200,000 00 |
| Way and miscellaneous traffic..... | 200,000 00 |
| Up freight of merchandise..... | 300,000 00 |
| | <hr/> |
| | \$2,341,200 00 |
| Deduct 50 per cent. for expenses..... | 1,170,600 00 |
| | <hr/> |
| Net annual receipts..... | \$1,170,600 00 |

The various railroads with which the Great Northern will connect, are most accurately and clearly described by his Excellency, the Governor of the State, in his recent annual message to your honorable body.

Many of these roads are finished, and every one of those not yet completed is making satisfactory progress in the work of construction.

Few are aware of the very little yet remaining to be done to connect New Orleans by railroad with every part of the Union, east of the Mississippi. It can scarcely be doubted that in 1859, the traveller will be enabled to go by rail from New Orleans to the remotest part of the country. The Mississippi Central Railroad, with which this connects at Canton, runs in a northerly direction to Lagrange, Tenn., a distance of 188 miles, where it intersects the Memphis and Charleston railroad. It will be finished in 1858. The Mississippi and Tennessee Central Railroad connects with the Mississippi Central at Lagrange, and runs in a northerly direction to Jackson, Tenn., a distance of 45 miles, there tapping the Mobile and Ohio railroad. It will be finished within a few months. That part of the Mobile and Ohio railroad between Jackson, Tenn., and Columbus, Ky., on the Mississippi river, 16 miles south of Cairo, at the mouth of the Ohio river, will be finished by November of the present year. A line of steamboats on the sixteen miles between Columbus and Cairo, to be run by the Illinois Central Railroad Company, will connect the Illinois Central and the Mobile and Ohio railroads, until the 16 miles of railroad between those two points shall be completed. The distance from Jackson, Tenn., to Cairo is 126 miles, and the total distance from New Orleans to Cairo is 565 miles. The time required to run through will be 23 hours. The time by steamboats is from five to eight days.

The Memphis and Charleston railroad will be completed in a few months. (Now completed.) It runs from Memphis to Stevenson, on the Nashville and Chattanooga railroad. By this road and those running from its eastern terminus in a northeasterly direction, all completed except the "East Tennessee and Virginia," and the "Orange and Alexandria" railroads, (and they will be finished in 1858,) we have a direct route, entirely by railroad, from New Orleans to New York, 1,318 miles in length, which may be run over at moderate speed, in 53 hours.

GROWTH OF GALVESTON, TEXAS.

THE receipts of Cotton at this port, during the last ten years, show as follows, as given in the "Civilian:"

| Year ending Aug. 31, 1848.... | Bales. | Year ending Aug. 31, 1853.... | Bales. |
|-------------------------------|--------|-------------------------------|---------|
| " " 1849.... | 39,774 | " " 1854.... | 85,790 |
| " " 1850.... | 33,827 | " " 1855.... | 110,325 |
| " " 1851.... | 31,405 | " " 1856.... | 80,737 |
| " " 1852.... | 45,900 | " " 1857.... | 116,078 |
| " " 1852.... | 62,433 | " " 1857.... | 89,891 |

The value of the Cotton exported from this port during the year is, according to the Custom-house appraisement, \$3,600,000. The value of that exported last year, according to the same authority, was \$2,979,834.

The following have been the receipts of Cotton and the sources of supply for the last two years:

| FROM | Last year. | This year. |
|-----------------------------|------------|---------------|
| Houston and Harrisburg..... | 63,162 | 58,182 bales. |
| Galveston Bay..... | 954 | 1,659 " |
| Matagorda Bay..... | 2,027 | 539 " |
| Trinity..... | 20,366 | 6,724 " |
| Sabine..... | 1,138 | 1,380 " |
| Brazos..... | 2,651 | 2,996 " |
| Total..... | 90,298 | 71,390 " |

The receipts of Texas Sugar and Molasses, at this port, for the calendar years named below, were as follows :

| | Molasses, barrels. | Sugar, hds. |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| Year ending December 31, 1850..... | 2,427 | 2,782 |
| " " 1851..... | 1,909 | 1,036 |
| " " 1852..... | 2,576 | 1,329 |
| " " 1853..... | 6,086 | 4,076 |
| " " 1854..... | 5,398 | 4,754 |
| " " 1855..... | 6,728 | 4,731 |
| " August 31, 1855..... | .... | 5,375 |
| " " 1856..... | .... | 7,570 |
| " " 1857..... | .... | 124 |

HIDES.—The receipts at this port exceed 34,000 in number, and their value, in this market, is about \$100,000.

BEEVES.—The number cleared for New Orleans, through this port, has been 4,189; but the real number which has passed through this bay is about 6,000. Their value here is equal to \$20 each.

WOOL.—The receipts of the season are 423 bales.

LUMBER.—The receipts of the year have been 5,012,000 feet, worth \$100,000 in this market. Of shingles, the receipts have been 3,743,500.

PECANS.—The export has been short, in consequence of the unfavorable season last year. Our tables show shipments of 4,643 packages, or 696,300 lbs., valued at 8 cents per pound in the market, and giving as the value of the export of this article \$58,804.

SKINS AND PELTRIES, to the amount of 242 bales, have been exported.

The value of foreign goods imported directly into this port is only \$152,242, while the value of the exports to foreign ports has been \$1,228,615—or nine times as great as our imports. The value of exports coastwise, according to the Custom-house returns, is \$2,997,889, making the total value of commodities cleared here within the year, \$4,226,504.

Imports of provisions have been as follows :

| | | |
|---|--------|-----------|
| Flour, 28,657 barrels, average value..... | \$8 50 | \$233,684 |
| Corn, bushels, 132,595..... | 1 00 | 132,595 |
| Bacon, casks, 533..... | 120 00 | 65,560 |
| Hams, tierces, 901..... | 40 00 | 36,040 |
| Oats, bushels, 18,092..... | 90 | 16,374 |
| Hay, bales, 13,766..... | 6 00 | 82,596 |

COURSE OF EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA.

AN Educational Convention lately met at Richmond, Virginia, where a report of much value was submitted upon the educational system of Virginia, drawn up by Dr. Junkin, as Chairman of a special committee. We extract from the report:

| | |
|--|---------------------|
| The amount of this tax, of course, varies with the population. | |
| The capitation tax amounts annually to..... | \$120,000 00 |
| The old fund..... | 122,744 01 |
| Total..... | <u>\$242,744 01</u> |

ITS DISTRIBUTION.

| | |
|--|------------------|
| To primary schools and free schools..... | \$120,000 |
| To do do for poor children | 88,000 |
| To the University of Virginia..... | 15,000 |
| To the Virginia Military Institute..... | 1,500 |
| Total..... | <u>\$216,500</u> |

Its disbursement takes place according to law, through the Second Auditor, at the order of the Board of the Literary Fund, drawing on the Treasurer of the State, in favor of the Superintendent of Schools for each county, for the University and the Military Institute. The application of this money in the county schools is exclusively to the poor children, except where the free school system, as described in the code of Virginia, is adopted, and except where there is a surplus beyond the necessities of the poor children; then the County Board may transfer said surplus to any incorporated college or academy in the county. The committee was not aware to what extent such transfers may have been made, but presume they do not frequently occur.

As to the results, or the amount of benefit, this the committee regarded as a broad subject and not a little delicate, so far as relates to the \$15,000 and the \$1,500 annuities.

The committee referred to the great difficulty of estimating the amount of benefit to the State and the nation from the impulse given to the general cause of education by the literary and scientific labors of the University. Who, said the committee, will undertake to estimate the benefit to mankind of a single thoroughly educated literary man? And how, then, could the committee weigh the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance? No educated man believes that the University of Virginia has committed no blunders, or that it is anything like what it ought to be and we trust will be. And yet no man of literary standing doubts its high utility and its vast influence for good upon the colleges and academies and schools. If ever the lower strata of our population shall be lighted and warmed into that higher civilization which alone can make universal suffrage safe and permanent, it must be by light and heat from above.

As to the benefit from the fifteen hundred dollars annuity to the Virginia Military Institute, we cannot say so much. The Institute is a

scientific, not a literary school; the *artes literati* it professes not to teach. It is what in Europe is known as a "Beale school." Such schools within their own spheres are highly beneficial, but as the instrumental agents of a large and universal mental and moral development, they have few if any advocates among the great educators of the world.

The benefits realized from the main disbursement of the literary fund are very problematical. It is clear that the fund is the property of the people of Virginia. We, therefore, meet at once a moral question. Is it right to take the property of many and to bestow it exclusively on the few? It should be kept in mind that but a few counties adopted the free school system—so few that we shall throw them out of the calculation altogether and look in the face the broad fact that \$80,000 out of \$242,744 are distributed for the benefit of the poor children. They are the privileged class—the aristocracy of poverty. Now, is it right to exclude from all the benefits of the literary fund all the children of this glorious old Commonwealth, except those who put in the plea of rags and dirt? The committee would leave the convention to answer that question.

The committee, in order to show the little benefits which accrued to the poor children of the Commonwealth from this partiality in the distribution of the literary fund, entered into a statistical account of the proportion of poor children educated under this system.

The census of 1840 is the first that gives the number of whites, over twenty years of age, that cannot read and write. The number was then fifty-eight thousand seven hundred and thirty-two. In 1850 it was seventy-three thousand five hundred and sixty-six. The whole white population in 1840 was seven hundred and forty thousand nine hundred and sixty-eight. In 1850 it was eight hundred and ninety-four thousand eight hundred. There have been, during the ten years, an absolute increase of fourteen thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, or fifteen hundred per annum of non-readers, and a relative diminution of almost nothing, it being but forty-seven hundredths of one per cent. But this relative diminution, when itself brought into comparison with the general and constant rising of the spirit of education, proves the utter failure of the pauper system to cure the evil.

SOUTHERN EPISCOPAL UNIVERSITY.

A pamphlet on this subject has been published by Rev. Henry C. Lay, Secretary of the Board of Trustees, and although it has not reached us, we are yet in possession of some of its particulars. The University is to be under the perpetual direction of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and shall be put into operation when \$500,000 are subscribed. This fund shall be considered entirely as capital to be placed at interest or otherwise invested. We present a part of the declaration of principles, which is signed by James H. Otey, Bishop of

Tennessee; Leonidas Polk, Bishop of Louisiana; Stephen Elliott, Bishop of Georgia; N. H. Cobbs, Bishop of Alabama; W. M. Green, Bishop of Mississippi; Francis H. Rutledge, Bishop of Florida; Thomas F. Davis, Bishop of South Carolina; David Pise, Francis B. Fogg, John Armfield, of Tennessee; W. Leacock, George S. Guion, of Louisiana; Henry C. Lay, Charles T. Pollard, L. H. Anderson, of Alabama; W. W. Lord, of Mississippi; Alexander Gregg, of South Carolina; M. A. Curtis, W. D. Warren, of North Carolina; J. Wood Dunn, of Texas.

2. The board of trustees shall be composed of the bishops of the dioceses above named, *ex officio*, and one clergyman and two laymen from each of said dioceses, to be elected by the convention of the same. The joint consent of the bishops as an order, and one of the clerical and lay trustees as another order, shall be necessary to the adoption of any measure proposed. The senior bishop, by consecration, shall always be President of the Board.

7. The amount subscribed in any diocese, as above, shall, in the event of the dissolution of the corporation, be returned to the donors or their legal representatives; and in case of there being no legal representatives, then it shall revert to the diocese.

8. The location of this University shall be as central to all the contracting dioceses, as shall be consistent with the necessary conditions of location.

Signed at the Lookout Mountain, near Chattanooga, Tennessee, the sixth day of July, A. D., 1857.

EDITORIAL—BOOK NOTICES.

Common Salt—Its Geology, History, Manufacture, and Use, from the time of Moses to the present, with practical applications and illustrations, engravings, statistical tables, showing its relations to agriculture and the arts, etc.

Such is the title of a work proposed to be published at an early day by Professor R. Thomassy, of which several chapters, by the courtesy of the author, have been furnished for publication in the Review. It was originally written in French, but at our instance is now undergoing transformation into intelligible English, and will be first published in the United States, at a very moderate price.

Mr. Thomassy has been for several years a resident among us, and exhibits some specimens of American salt, made by him from sea-brine, after three weeks only of solar evaporation. By a method of his own invention he succeeded regularly at his Italian works, on the Adriatic, in obtaining large quantities of salt two months after the completion of his evaporating fields. Such a method introduced largely into our country would produce a great industrial revolution, and free us from foreign dependence for an article scarcely less important than gunpowder. As author, founder, and engineer of salt-works, a large part of his life has been spent

among the swamp lands of the seaboard, near the mouths of rivers, or in the midst of lagoons, undergoing a process of removal or formation, like those of the Mississippi. Thus, in 1844 and '45, he spent several months in supervising the establishment of some of the largest salt works of Europe, created on a surface of 1,500 acres, in the lagoons of Venice, and he studied not far from there the gigantic works which the Senate of Venice had ordered to remedy the filling of the natural channels with sand, and prevent the unhealthiness of the swamps on the Adriatic. He then visited the maritime salt-works of Austria, and the owners and presidents of the salt-works of Pirana, in Iatria, desirous of employing him for the general reform of their establishments, proposed to him an arrangement written and signed by them to that effect. Subsequently he explored the mineral wealth of Tuscany, and published a report, addressed to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, on the portion of his exploration relative to the advantages to be derived from the employment of salt from the sea, instead of the ordinary salt consumed in the Grand Duchy. In 1847-'48-'49 and '50, the same gentleman explored the swamps of the Island of Corsica, then the lagoons at the mouth of the Po, the filling up with sand of the celebrated port of Ravennes, where rice is now cultivated on the very spot formerly occupied by the fleets of the ancient Romans. Not far from these historical swamps, he founded at Cervia a model salt-work of an entirely new and superior kind, as his method of evaporation enabled him to commence the gathering in of salt in less than seven weeks of preparation.

The city Council of Savannah lately united in a strong recommendation of the enterprise of Mr. Thomassy to the attention of the people and Legislature of Georgia as one deserving of wide encouragement, and calculated greatly to enlarge their resources. The Governor of that State also leased to him a portion of the public domain adapted to the purposes of his salt-works. With this good beginning we wish him ample success, and unite with a number of the leading journals of the South in a hearty recommendation of Mr. Thomassy to the consideration of our enterprising citizens, having every confidence in his

character and capacities, his experience and skill. We invoke for him not only private, but public encouragement.

Brazil and the Brazilians, portrayed in historical and descriptive sketches, by Rev. D. P. Kidder, D. D., and Rev. J. C. Fletcher; illustrated with one hundred and fifty engravings, wood cuts, maps, etc.; Philadelphia, Childs & Peterson. 1857. This is by far the most elaborate work which has appeared upon Brazil from the American press. The writers have consulted every important work in the French, German, English, or Portuguese language, and for other information have quoted directly from official papers. Their experience in the Brazilian empire embraces the term of a twenty years residence, and it is their purpose, faithfully to portray the history of the country, and by a narrative of incidents connected with travel and residence in this land of the Southern Cross, to make known the manners, customs, and advancement of the most progressive people south of the equator. The work will afford the material for a most interesting article which will appear hereafter in the Review.

Modern Reform Examined, or, the Union of the North and South on the subject of slavery, by the Rev. Joseph C. Stiles; Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1857. The spirit and temper of this work are truly admirable, and it is calculated as much, if not more than any other of the present day, to inculcate liberal and kindly sentiments between the several members of the Federal Union. The modern reformers, (Abolitionists, Free-soilers, etc.) are handled with much ability and truly christian spirit. There are things in the work which of course as a Southern man, and with the views we entertain are distasteful, but, upon the whole, its mission must be good, and it would be unjust to make an exception. At another time the work will be again referred to.

Preliminary Report on the Geology and Agriculture of Mississippi, by L. Harper, LL. D., State Geologist; Jackson E. Barksdale, State Printer. 1857.

Some time ago, we noticed and made extracts from a similar volume prepared by Mr. Wailes. Intending that course with the volume before us, which time and space do not now admit, nothing more than the above announcement is necessary. The work is handsomely printed and illustrated, and is in every respect a credit to the State from which it emanates.

The Princess of Viarna, or the Spanish Inquisition in the Reign of the Emperor Charles V.; New York, Putney & Russell. 1857. The object of the work, under the form of a romance, is to show the tyrannies and iniquities of Ecclesiastical supremacy as it exhibited itself in the middle ages. The moral which is drawn is intended for the present day, and in aid of the intolerant spirit it has in many quarters engendered. The work possesses much interest.

The Romance of the Revolution: being a history of the personal adventures, romantic incidents, and exploits, incidental to the war of Independence; illustrated; New York, Putney & Russell. 1857. This little volume is full of the most interesting reminiscences of the Revolution, narrated in spirited and pleasing style. All the worthies, male and female, of that epoch appear. The stories of Hayne, of Jasper, Marion, etc., are graphically related.

A Treatise on Health—Its Aids and Hindereuces—containing an exposition on the causes and cure of diseases, and the laws of life, by Samuel S. Fitch, M. D., author of *Lectures on Consumption*, and author of *A System of Practice for the cure of Phthisis*; New York, Putney & Russell. 1857.

This is a large and elaborate volume. It starts upon the principle that pulmonary consumption is curable by medical treatment, which, if true, Heaven knows would gladden the hearts of hundreds and thousands in every country. The author says, "it is from a sense of duty as well to those who are falling victims to this terrible scourge, as to the medical profession and the community at large, that he has prepared the volume in which are more fully unfolded his views of the causes and nature of phthisis, and the system of reme-

dial measures which may be made effectual in curing it.

Records of the Revolutionary War: New York, Putney & Russell. This work is now in press, and we are furnished with the prospectus by the publishers. It will be one of the most interesting and valuable works of the age, and will recommend itself to many thousand families throughout the Republic for its record of the names and services of their ancestors. It will contain the military and financial correspondence of some fifty Generals and other commanding officers, and also the names of officers and privates of a great number of regiments, Northern and Southern, including Marion's men; also, the general and brigade orders of Generals Washington, Lee, Greene, Weedon, and others, in 1776, '77, and '78, showing the last trials at Valley Forge, breaking up of the encampment, order of march through Philadelphia, and the plan of attack on the British, at Mounmouth. Also, an account of the capture of Fort Washington, and the horrors of the prisons and prison-ships of the British, in New York, with a list of American officers imprisoned, the time of their capture, release, &c. An account of the Society of the Cincinnati, in New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, a list of the members' names, &c.; the half-pay, commutation, and land acts of the Continental Congress. A complete list of all the officers that served to the end of the war, and acquired the right to half-pay for life, commutation, and land. Proceedings of 34th Congress, and the United States Court of Claims, relative to a restoration of the half-pay acts of the old Congress, for the benefit of the heirs of officers of the Revolution; Virginia half-pay and land laws; the reasons which led to the passage of the Act of July 5, 1832, by Congress; the names of the Virginia officers who received land, with an interesting account of the military land districts of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, the locations of warrants, surveys, etc. Revolutionary Pension Laws of the United States as they now exist, with commentaries thereon. Notes on the services of various classes of Revolutionary officers, with an extensive list, showing the time they died, &c., &c., &c. One large 12mo. volume, of 600 pages.—Price \$1 50.

DE BOW'S REVIEW.

DECEMBER, 1857.

NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN NEGRO LAWS.

A little volume, entitled "Modern Reform Examined," of which the Rev. Joseph C. Stiles, of New York, is author, discusses, in the most christian spirit, the relations sustained by the North and the South towards the institution of Slavery, and the propriety of mutual forbearance between the two sections. Its careful perusal would, without doubt, effect much of the purpose held in view by the able and christian author.

It is not our purpose to notice or review the argument, but simply to introduce some of the passages which are of more than ordinary interest.

Mr. Stiles adverts to the fact that, on one occasion, emancipation seemed very near in the border States of Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, as an evidence of the feeling ever cherished at the South towards the slave, which is also strengthened in reflecting that three hundred thousand slaves, valued at \$150,000,000, have, by individual act, in the several Southern States, been set free during the past, a number quite equal to those liberated by general laws at the North. (See Compendium of the Census.) He adds:

"I have been refused a contribution to send the Bible to *China* by a Southern gentleman who made no profession of religion, but who forthwith, at his own instance, paid me for five hundred Bibles, and the cost of their transportation from New York, to distribute amongst his own servants, and those of his neighbors. I have risen early on a Sabbath morning and gone down to the quarters with a gray-headed planter, and sat by for an hour or two, while he catechised his negro children, sometimes with tears in his eyes as he spoke to them of Jesus; and then accompanied him to the neighborhood colored church, where, preparatory to preaching, I have heard the missionary instructing a large number of colored boys and girls, before a mixed congregation, in Scripture doctrine and history, receiving from them public answers

to his interrogatories. I could readily conduct you to large sections of the South, divided into districts, each of which is supplied by such a missionary conveniently stationed and supported by the adjacent planters, the sole business of whose life is to furnish all manner of pastoral service to his colored charge. Put me down in any portion of the South where the negro population abounds, and I venture to imagine that it will not be long before I shall be enabled to point you to twenty churches built by unconverted men for the religious comfort of their slaves, and supplied with preaching; most of them plain, 'tis true, but all of them commodious, and some of them tasteful and even costly. These persons, in general, make this contribution cheerfully to the religion of their people; a few, because they are unwilling to bear that odium which the public sentiment of the neighborhood would assuredly bring down upon their neglect. There are Societies at the South organized to promote the religious culture of the slave, which have published their Thirtieth Annual Report; have never been without the services of a superintendent of high ministerial qualifications; and which have imparted a wholesome impulse to the work of religious colored instruction, by occasionally reading, publishing, and distributing valuable tracts on the degradation of the slave, the obligation of the master, scriptural expositions and catechetical manuals. There are ecclesiastical bodies at the South which require every minister subject to their jurisdiction, to preach the half of every Sabbath to the colored population. There is no religious denomination at the South which does not cheerfully devote a portion of its ministry to exclusive labors for the spiritual welfare of the servants of the land. Not to multiply details on this head, suffice it to say, that there stands on record this day in the Southern churches a slave membership of near Four Hundred Thousand souls—a number which greatly surpasses the heathen church-membership of the world. May nothing be anticipated for the *eternal salvation* of the slave, from a people whose history for long years supplies such facts as these?"

NORTHERN SLAVE LAW.—In 1641 Massachusetts held in her Statutes that "lawful captives, taken in just wars, were rightfully reduced to bond slavery." Thus she enslaved the Indians. So did the other New England States. In 1676 the Council at Hartford acknowledged this law in regard to the captives of the great war just closed. In Trumbull's Connecticut, it is said that "Massachusetts sent a number of the Pequod Indians, women and boys, to the West Indies, and sold them as slaves;" vol. 1, p. 85. Were ever slaves thus separated at the South? The same author also quotes a Connecticut statute, ordering the Indians "to serve or to be shipped out and exchanged for neagers as the case will justly bear." In 1764 certain Boston merchants complaining of commercial changes, remark, in a petition, that in return for their exports to Surinam they receive molasses—"this is distilled into rum," and devoted to three uses, "for the fishery, to export to the Southern Colonies, and to Africa to purchase slaves for our

own islands in the West Indies." Though in Massachusetts the crime of man-stealing was denounced in 1646, as late as 1708 the General Court ordered a duty of £4 per head for "every negro or negroes" hereafter imported. In 1641 a Massachusetts statute declares all slavery unlawful "unless it be lawful captives taken in just wars, or such strangers as sell themselves to us, or are sold to us," etc. (Ancient Charters, chap. xii.) By the laws of New York, 1691, a public whipper is authorized for each county, to receive so much for each slave whipped. All the Northern laws assume the color, black or mulatto, as *prima facie* evidence, that the party is a slave. The condition of the child always followed that of the mother. By the laws of Massachusetts, 1788, (twelve years after the declaration of American Independence,) no negro (other than certain exempted ones) shall tarry longer in the Commonwealth than two months, on pain of being whipped with ten stripes, which may be repeated every ten days. Being found out of his town is evidence of running away, or without a pass, and punished by whipping; also, if found abroad after nine at night. (See laws of Connecticut, under the Confederation.) The last law, also, obtained in Massachusetts. In New Jersey, 1704, any one finding a slave five miles from home without a pass may whip him on the bare back. By statute 1730, in New York, the master's power to punish at discretion is acknowledged; also, by statute 1691, impudence of negro towards the whites is punishable with forty stripes. Striking a white, punishable by the Justices corporally, but not extending to life or limb. The same feature in the laws of New Jersey 1704, and in Massachusetts 1705. "*Conspiring to kill or murder,*" on the part of a slave, punishable with death, as the Justice may think best in form, (1704.) Trafficking with a slave, without the owner's consent, punished with heavy fine; New York, 1691; also, Connecticut. Where the white man is fined £5 for an offence, the negro is fined £10; New York, 1788. By the same law, slaves not admitted as witnesses, except in criminal cases against each other. They might not meet together for any purpose, except servile labor, under pain of forty lashes on the naked back; 1691. In Massachusetts, 1705, marriage of a christian with a negro or mulatto prohibited. In Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York, harboring an escaped slave, punishable with heavy fines. (Laws 1704, 1788, 1822.) The same of Rhode Island, as late as 1822. The right to emancipate is restricted to cases where the owners give security afterwards to maintain; in Massachusetts Charter, chap. xviii; in Connecticut, 1718; and, in Rhode Island, 1822. In the last instance, the statute fixes a fine of \$300 for each slave

brought into the State with the intent that they may, therefore, become free.

But we now pass to the slave laws of the several Southern States.

VIRGINIA SLAVE LAWS.—Mr. Stiles presents us with the following summary, prepared for his work by an eminent Virginia lawyer. Having published the able and elaborate digest of the slave laws of South Carolina, made by Judge O'Neal, (see Review, vol. X. Industrial Resources, vol. III.) We are glad to add similar ones for the other States :

The laws of Virginia, in respect to slaves, are of two classes : the one recognizing them as *persons*, the other as *property*.

I. As persons, they are recognized as morally responsible beings, as religiously responsible beings ; in either case, their rights—secured by law and penal sanctions. They are subjects of legal punishment, and are protected against crimes upon their persons by legal penalty against the offender. Their claim to freedom may be asserted, without cost or charge, and a trial by jury, before a judge, secures their rights to freedom (if any) by a remedy which in practice has been found complete and favorable to their claim.

1. *As moral beings, subject to law.* Of all offences of which a white man is capable, the slave is. In some cases, with a lighter ; in others, with a heavier penalty.

2. *As religious beings.* A master is liable to fine, if he employ his apprentices, servants, or slaves in labor or other business on Sunday, except in household or other work of necessity or charity. A Jew or other "Seventh day" believer is not subject to this penalty, provided he does not compel a slave, apprentice, or servant, *not of his belief*, to do secular work or business on Sunday. Here is a recognition of religious belief in the slave, as well as in the master ; the *property* right of the latter is infringed to protect the *personal* belief of the former, and the whole is secured by penal sanction.

While the law forbids *unlawful* assemblies of negroes for religious worship, or for reading or writing, yet there is no inhibition upon the master to teach his slave to read and write, none to teach him religiously, or to permit his attending public worship, where it is conducted by a white person. Indeed, practically, there is no difficulty, where it is conducted by a negro, under circumstances which assure the police it is not perverted to other and illegal purposes.

3. Murder, rape, stabbing, shooting, and even assault, may be criminally committed upon a slave, and the offender is criminally responsible. Subject to the proper and necessary qualifications resulting from the relation of master and slave, the master is criminally responsible for such offenses against his slave, except in the case of assault, where from necessity, correction must be inflicted by the master ; and the limitations can not easily be prescribed by the Legislature, but must be left to general principles, as in cases of immoderate correction by a parent or teacher. If the injury done is more than an assault, and be-

comes mayhem, stabbing, shooting, or homicide, the master is responsible.

4. A claim to freedom may be asserted before our county or circuit court, (our courts of original jurisdiction in all cases.) The claimant has *counsel* assigned to him *without charge*, and has allowed him the service of *every officer of court without cost*. The holder of the claimant is dispossessed, unless he gives bond, that he will have the claimant forthcoming to abide the court's judgment, and to allow him reasonable opportunity to prepare for trial. The case is ordered to be tried as a privileged case, without regard to its place on the docket. If the verdict be for the claimant, the jury is further directed to assess damages for his detension, and he receives by the judgment of the court his freedom, his damages, and his costs. If it be alleged, that the officers of court will be against the claimant, it may be answered, that the only chance for their costs, (usually heavy in such cases,) is the success of the claimant.

5. The mode of their trial for crimes is peculiar, and eminently merciful.

Five justices (such men, any three of whom in our county courts may try any civil cause in the commonwealth, whatever the amount involved) sit upon the trial of a negro slave for felony.

The death penalty can not be inflicted unless the *five justices concur*.

In a case where the punishment *must* be *capital*, a *dissenting voice will acquit*: in which the law is more merciful to the slave than to the white man.

In all cases of the death penalty or transportation, the record of evidence on the trial is sent to the Governor. He may commute the former to transportation, or pardon entirely.

The court in all cases assigns counsel, and awards to him a fee which must be paid by the master. Thus the slave is better provided for than the poor white man, or free negro. He has a master, whom the law compels to protect him!

6. The duty of masters to maintain their slaves is fully provided for by our law, in those cases where the interest of the master will not make him do so.

Any person permitting an insane, aged, or infirm slave to go at large without adequate provision for his support shall be fined, and the overseers of the poor shall provide for such slave, and charge the owner for the amount thereof, and recover the same by motion in the court of the county; and to prevent evasion, if such person by gift, sale, or *emancipation*, attempt to avoid this legal duty of support to his slave, the same remedy is provided.

Can as much be said for the hireling of the free States?

7. Our laws do not forbid the negro to be taught to read or write. The restraints upon it were enacted when the Abolition war began by its incendiary appeals to the slave to rise against his master. If the slave is prevented from reading the Bible, it is because Abolition opposed its peaceful lessons of obedience by incitement to revengeful passions and brutal rebellion.

8. The great defence to the personal rights of the negro slave is in the jurisdiction, under the unwritten common law of our social existence, of the master. Interest, association from childhood to age, the memories in common between the old slaves and the young masters, or the young slaves and old masters, links of sympathy which none can comprehend but Southern people and those who have lived in the South; these are the defences of the slave from external wrong and internal oppression. The same motive in kind, the same legal defence from outward wrong, which protects the child and the wife, defends the slave. A trespass to the wife, or child, or slave, must be redressed by a suit by the husband, parent, and master. The master can gain nothing, but loses his money, by the death, discomfort, and inability of his slave. This is the lowest, and is an unworthy aspect, which can only restrain the more brutal of Southern men, and yet it shows what powerful motives of interest guard the slave even against the brutality of such masters.

Among men who have human sympathy, affection, long association, family bonds shield the slave from tyranny. Not one master in one hundred, is a cruel one; not one in fifty a harsh one; more than one half are too lenient for the good of masters or slaves.

II. In the respect in which slaves are regarded as *chattels*.

It is true that slaves are now *personal estate*. At one time they were, in Virginia, *real estate*. Every lawyer knows that these are necessary divisions of all property, to be regarded, in looking to its transmission after death, or its liability for the debts of the owner during life. Slaves are property; now chattels, or personal property.

I have shown that slaves are persons; and *slave persons are property*. They are *persons* and *property*; neither alone.

They are property in the sense that children are the property of the father; the apprentice of the master. The property in each consists in the right of the master or father to the direction and avails of the labor of the slave, child, apprentice. The slave is in *perpetual minority*. His is a permanent subjection; that of the child or apprentice, temporary.

Slaves and apprentices are personal property; that is, they both go to the personal representative at the master's death. In respect to them as property, a few things are to be observed.

1. Slaves shall not be taken under execution, when there are other sufficient goods to satisfy it, without the debtor's consent—a consent which a debtor is loth to give, where he can otherwise save his slave.

2. An administrator or executor is forbidden to sell slaves to pay debts or legacies, until all the other personal property has been sold.

3. Slaves shall be divided as real property is; that is, the widow shall have one-third of them for her life, and the others to be distributed among the legal distributees.

In these provisions there is a tender regard to the personal comfort of the slave, even when he is treated merely as property.

Thus when the slave is treated as *property*, there is a regard to his interest as a *person*. When treated as a person, he has safeguards of

law, of family, of courts; for his protection, as a man, morally and religiously responsible; against his own master, for his support; for his defence against criminal prosecution; and for the prosecution of his own right in law to be free.

The *Negro Law* of Kentucky will be found in the language of the State.

I. CONSTITUTION.

ART. 10, Sec. 1. The General Assembly * * * shall pass laws to permit owners of slaves to emancipate them. * * * They shall have full power to prevent slaves being brought into this State as *merchandise*. They shall have full power to prevent slaves being brought into this State, who have been, since the 1st day of January, 1789, or may hereafter be imported into any of the United States, from a foreign country. And they shall have full power to pass such laws as may be necessary to oblige owners of slaves to treat them with humanity, to provide for them necessary clothing and provisions, to abstain from all injuries to them, extending to life and limb, and in case of refusal to comply with the direction of such laws, to have such slave or slaves sold for the benefit of their owner or owners.

Sec. 3. The Assembly shall have no power (in case of prosecution for felony) to deprive them (slaves) of the privilege of an impartial trial by a petit jury.

II. LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENTS.—(*Revised Statutes.*)

Chap. 93, Art. 1, Sec. 3. Slaves, after this chapter takes effect, shall be, and held to be, personal estate * * * to be distributed, *in kind*, WITHOUT SALE, when practicable.

Sec. 4. Slaves shall not be *sold* by the personal representative, unless, for the want of other assets, it be necessary to pay the debts of the decedent. * * * Suits may be maintained by the personal representative, for INJURIES to slaves devised.

Art. 2, Sec. 2. No slave shall be imported into this State as *merchandise*, or for the purpose of sale or barter, *in or out of this State*, under the penalty of \$600 for each slave so imported.

Sec. 4. Immigrants bringing with them slaves * * * shall, within sixty days after their arrival, take the following oath; * * * "I do swear, that my removal to the State of Kentucky was with the intention of becoming a citizen thereof, and that I have brought with me no slave with the intention of *selling* him."

Sec. 6. Requires the *importer of slaves* to take a similar oath; Sec. 7 imposes a fine of \$600 for any effort to *evade* the preceding law; Sec. 8 imposes a fine of \$200 on any one buying a slave so imported contrary to law; Sec. 9 provides that slaves, so imported, shall not be subject to sale, or sold under execution or other legal procedure, for the payment of debts, unless "all *other* estate of the debtor, subject to the payment of debts, shall be *FIRST exhausted*."

Art. 4, Sec. 1. If the owner of an infirm, insane, or aged slave, or any person having such slave under his control, suffers him to go at large, or fails to make adequate provisions for his *support*, he shall be

punished by fine, not exceeding fifty dollars; and the county court, or other public authorities, charged with the supervision and care of the poor, or any city, town, or county, in which such slave may be found, shall provide for his maintenance, may charge such person quarterly or annually, with a sum sufficient therefor, and recover it, from time to time, by a motion in the name of the commonwealth, in the county court.

Sec. 2. If the owner of any slave shall treat him cruelly and inhumanly, so as, in the opinion of a jury, to endanger the life or limb of said slave, or materially to affect his health; or shall not supply his slave with sufficient wholesome food and raiment, such slave shall be taken and sold for the benefit of the owner.

Art. 7, Sec. 20. It shall be the duty of the master or owner, personal representative or guardian of such owner, (in case of charge for felony,) to employ counsel to defend a slave, when tried in circuit court. If no counsel be employed, the court shall assign counsel to defend him. The master, or owner, or his personal representative, or the guardian, shall pay said counsel the sum accorded him by order of the court, for such defence, not exceeding fifty nor less than twenty dollars, and may be attached and compelled to pay the same.

There is no law in Kentucky, and never has been, prohibiting the instruction of slaves in spelling and *reading*.

It is also to be observed that while there is no statute prohibiting the separation of husbands and wives, and especially children and parents, it is within our chancery jurisdiction, and usually acted on by our chancellors, in the sales of slaves made by their decrees, to provide against the separation of these connections, particularly that of mothers from young children.

It may be also observed, as showing the *animus* of our people, that cases of *cruelty* in the treatment of slaves, never fail to carry with them, when once distinctly defined, the *loss of caste*, with respectable society.

The *Negro Law* of Georgia in the language of its legislators and judges.

Extracts from the Constitution and Laws in reference to Slaves.

I. The CONSTITUTION protects the life and members of the slave.

Art. 4, Sec. 12. The Constitution declares: "Any person who shall maliciously dismember or deprive a slave of life, shall suffer such punishment as would be inflicted in case the like offence had been committed on a free white person, and on the like proof, except in the case of insurrection by such slave, and unless such death should happen by accident in giving such slave moderate correction." To the same effect is the act of 1799.

II. The PENAL CODE protects the slave from cruel treatment.

1. By strangers. "Any person, except the owner, overseer, or employer of a slave, who shall beat, whip, or wound such slave; or any person who shall beat, whip, or wound a free person of color, without sufficient cause or provocation being first given by such slave or free person of color; such person so offending may be indicted for a mis-

demeanor, and on conviction shall be punished by fine or imprisonment in the common jail of the county, or both, at the discretion of the court; and the owner of such slave, or guardian of such free person of color, may, notwithstanding such conviction, recover, in a civil suit, damages for the injury done to such slave or free person of color."

2. By owners, employers, etc. "Any owner or employer of a slave or slaves, who shall cruelly treat such slave or slaves, by unnecessary and excessive whipping; by withholding proper food and sustenance; by requiring greater labor from such slave or slaves than he, she, or they are able to perform; or by not affording proper clothing, whereby the health of such slave or slaves may be injured and impaired—or cause or permit the same to be done; any such owner or employer shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction shall be punished by fine or imprisonment in the common jail of the county, or both, at the discretion of the court."

3. Against Sabbath labor. The Act of 1770 declares: "If any person shall, on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, employ any slave in any work or labor, (work of absolute necessity, and the necessary occupations of the family only excepted,) every person so offending shall forfeit and pay the sum of ten shillings for every slave he, she, or they shall so cause to work or labor."

4. Their impartial trial under charge of capital offences provided for. "Slaves and free persons of color are, in cases of charge for committing capital offences, to be tried before the superior court *as white persons are*, and the trial shall proceed to rendition of verdict in conformity with the provisions of the Penal Code of the State," etc.

5. Protection against temptations to drunkenness, etc. By the Penal Code of the State it is made an offence, punishable by fine of not less than ten nor more than fifty dollars, (for the first offence,) and, on a second conviction, by fine and imprisonment in the common jail at the discretion of the court, to furnish a slave or free person of color with intoxicating liquor, except as medicine furnished by the owner, overseer, or employer of a slave, etc. (Cobb's Digest, 827.)

6. Legal sympathy with him *as a man*. "The laws of Georgia at this moment recognize the negro as a man, whilst they hold him as property. They enforce obedience in the slave, but they require justice and moderation in the master. They protect his life from homicide, his limbs from mutilation, and his body from cruel and unnecessary scourging. They yield him the right to food and raiment, to kind attention when sick, and to maintenance in old age; and public sentiment, in conformity with indispensable legal restraints, extends to the slave the benefits and blessings of religion."

The Chief Justice of the Court of Errors, whose sentiments are expressed above, seems to entertain the conviction that this benign consideration of the claims of the slave, especially the establishment of the doctrine that *the killing of a slave is murder*, is rather the result of *Southern statute* than of common law. He considers the fact of statutory legislation declaring that such killing shall be murder, in connection with the fact that the judicial history of the State furnishes no evidence of a man's being tried for the murder of a slave prior to the

passage of the statute; and especially the tenor of the preamble of the statute, as contributing to furnish conclusive evidence of such an opinion.

"Whereas, from the increasing number of slaves in this province, it is necessary as well to make proper regulations for the future ordering and governing of such slaves, and to ascertain and prescribe the punishment of crimes by them committed, *as to settle and limit by positive laws, the extent of the power of the owners of such slaves over them, so that they may be kept in due subjection and obedience, and owners and persons having the care and management of such slaves, may be restrained from exercising unnecessary rigor or wanton cruelty over them, be it enacted,*" etc.

The preamble to the section which creates the offence, recites as follows:

"Whereas, cruelty is not only highly unbecoming those who profess themselves Christians, but is odious in the eyes of all men who have any sense of virtue or humanity, therefore to restrain and prevent barbarity being exercised towards slaves, be it enacted, etc.

"Now we say that it is clear from these recitals, that before the act of 1770, cruelties and barbarities were exercised, and that there was no restraint upon the power of the master by law, over his slaves. No other inference is possible." (Georg. Reports, vol. 9, p. 582-4.)

ANOTHER CHAPTER ON TEXAS.

A neat little volume has recently been issued by Lippincott & Co., of Philadelphia, entitled "Information about Texas," by D. E. Braman, of that State, which contains so much of interest that we have determined to add an analysis of it to our other papers upon Texas. The truth is, Texas embraces such an empire in itself, and bids fair in the future to perform so important a part in the destinies of the South, that it never occurs to us too much can be said in regard to it.

Mr. Braman divides Texas into five great sections, to wit:

1. Northern Texas, above the 32 parallel of latitude.
2. Middle Texas, above the 31° and below the 32°.
3. Seaboard Texas, bordering on the Gulf and Bays.
4. Interior Texas, east of the Colorado, above the seaboard and below 31°.
5. Western Texas, west of the Colorado, and south of 31°.

Large planters are advised to select the alluvial soils of the seaboard counties east of the Colorado, whilst those with less than ten slaves would be better served in the interior division, where the lands are more diversified, prairies better for cultivation, and timber more abundant. Here cotton and all of the grains flourish, and stock can be raised to much advantage for farming use. The condition of the people is good

without being wealthy, and slavery is generally distributed. The cities, towns, public improvements, substantial private residences, snug farms and plantations, sleek cattle and horses, long trains of ox-wagons going to and from the towns, bespeak an easy independence among the people of interior Texas. Good lands are afforded at moderate prices. Middle Texas, though not in general so desirable, contains much good soil. The climate is generally healthy, the winters short, but rather cold, the spring mild, and the summers long, dry, and sultry. Northern Texas is now increasing rapidly its population and wealth, and although without large rivers, is yet well watered with brooks, rills, and streamlets that flow in all seasons. The climate is very healthy. A thrifty farmer living in this region, who has grown rich, says that he has lived in the best wheat regions of New York, Ohio, and Illinois, and has never seen such excellent lands for that crop or such large crops as in Cook county. To the industrious but poor farmer this region offers the greatest advantages, where may be made the flour, butter, cheese, and salted meats for the seaport towns with handsome returns.

But we have already described, very minutely, the agricultural and other advantages of the several sections of Texas, (see Review for August, 1857, p. 114,) and think it more important now to introduce some general directions for the benefit of emigrants. We extract:

“Firstly, after arriving, if not before done, they should select a good tract of land; for, in a country like this, where there is so much for sale, a man should not be contented with any but of the first quality. It is best to have it fronting on a stream, if possible, where plenty of wood, for fencing and fuel, is handy; and, if meandered by creeks, brooks, or spring rills, it is all the more desirable. Let him select high ground for his dwelling, protected, at the North, by timber or irregularities in the land; let the house, in the improvements, be first built—an humble edifice will answer best: it should have a good floor and tight roof, *above* all. The house should stand on blocks of wood or stone, at least two feet above the ground, so that the fresh air may circulate freely: there should be no chance for water to accumulate under the dwelling, for an instant: all stagnant pools anywhere should be dispelled. After the human dwelling comes the cow-pen, made, in the most convenient mode, with strong rails and posts: then should be purchased a few good cows, according to means and advantages of prairie pasturage: then the animals for a team; oxen are preferred, for small farmers, as being less expensive, easier kept, and more readily obtained; and the farmer can, after three years, renew his team from his own stock, and turn out the old oxen to make beef, when they are no longer fit for work—they soon fatten on the prairies. Emigrants can always purchase lands in Texas on better terms than in any of the other States, for the reason that it was acquired from the sovereignty of the soil, by the original possessors, by free gift.

"An emigrant should never purchase less, at first, than 320 acres of land: this can be acquired for a small advance in money, and the balance on long time—the purchaser giving his promissory note, with mortgage on the land."

Those who emigrate from the Eastern, Southern, Atlantic, or Middle States are advised to do so by the way of Galveston or Matagorda bay. Mr. Braman well describes the perplexities which at first environ the emigrant, but which soon give way in the course of things.

"The contemplation of these (the beauties of nature) fills up the dreary void left in the mind by far distant objects, and the affections of the family gradually become concentrated on the new home. A few years of quiet industry pass by, the neighborhood fills up apace, small villages start up and grow with unprecedented rapidity, roads and cross roads and parallel roads mark the country, stores and churches and schools are not distant in any direction, markets and speculators come in competition for the coveted productions of the soil, people of wealth and extended enterprise begin to settle about, and lands and property rise higher and higher, until the emigrant finds himself wealthy, his family are able to have the comforts and luxuries of refined society, and to educate and bring up their children in the ways of respectability and usefulness."

A minute description of the several counties of Texas is given by Mr. Braman, but space will not permit us to look into it on this occasion, nor into the equally useful chapters on stock raising and sheep raising.

The wheat crop of twenty-five counties of Texas, in 1856, reached 2,133,000 bushels, and the crop is also grown in smaller quantities in forty-five other counties. During the last winter it was sold at fifty cents per bushel, and at Fort Washita at \$5 50 per barrel. It is waggoned two hundred miles to Austin and three hundred to Houston, but in the progress of railroads this will soon be changed.

Education is provided for in Texas on a munificent scale. Whilst an independent Republic 17,000 acres of land were appropriated to each county—which extends to all the new counties, for school purposes, and the State constitution has added one-tenth of the annual State tax for the same purpose. In 1854 \$2,000,000 of the United States bonds, paying five per cent., were set aside as a special school fund. The lands, with the increasing funds, it is thought, will bring the means of education within the reach of every child in the State. Schools, churches, and newspapers, (the latter 65 in number,) the concomitants of well organized society, are convenient and accessible in most parts of Texas, and a high degree of general intelligence distinguishes the people above those of the other new States of the Union.

The rate of taxation is fifteen cents on each \$100 valuation of real or personal estate, with the exemption of \$250 of property to each family. County taxes shall not exceed that levied by the State. Taxes are due on the first October, and may be paid at any time before the 1st of March. Property of non-residents, which has neglected to pay taxes, can be redeemed from the State by paying all arrears and fifty per cent. increase per annum, but where in the hands of private purchasers at tax sales may be redeemed *in two years* by paying such purchasers the costs and double the amount of taxes.

Mr. Richardson, who has prepared a most excellent almanac of Texas, is authority for the following table, showing the location and increase of the slave population, horses, and cattle, of Texas:

| COUNTIES. | NEGROES | | | HORSES | | | CATTLE | | |
|----------------|---------|-------|-----------|--------|-------|-----------|--------|--------|-----------|
| | 1850. | 1855. | Increase. | 1850. | 1855. | Increase. | 1850. | 1855. | Increase. |
| Anderson..... | 600 | 1,917 | 1,317 | 943 | 1,721 | 778 | 7,621 | 13,350 | 5,729 |
| Angelina..... | 196 | 291 | 95 | 558 | 569 | 11 | 6,371 | 9,196 | 2,825 |
| Austin..... | 1,549 | 2,353 | 804 | 2,715 | 3,447 | 732 | 22,550 | 33,019 | 10,469 |
| Bastrop..... | 919 | 1,748 | 829 | 1,912 | 3,031 | 1,119 | 18,610 | 25,592 | 6,982 |
| Bell..... | ..... | 466 | ..... | ..... | 2,119 | ..... | ..... | 16,607 | ..... |
| Bosque..... | ..... | 34 | ..... | ..... | 361 | ..... | ..... | 1,402 | ..... |
| Bexar..... | 389 | 980 | 591 | 704 | 3,791 | 3,087 | 9,289 | 40,272 | 30,983 |
| Bowie..... | 1,641 | 1,866 | 225 | 1,349 | 1,089 | 260 | 8,184 | 5,153 | 3,031 |
| Brazoria..... | 3,507 | 4,294 | 787 | 2,454 | 4,576 | 2,122 | 50,192 | 53,671 | 3,479 |
| Brazos..... | 148 | 427 | 279 | 448 | 754 | 306 | 6,309 | 13,762 | 7,453 |
| Burleson..... | 500 | 1,054 | 554 | 973 | 1,860 | 887 | 12,766 | 26,009 | 13,243 |
| Burnet..... | ..... | 150 | ..... | ..... | 703 | ..... | ..... | 9,021 | ..... |
| Caldwell..... | 274 | 1,171 | 879 | 218 | 4,113 | 3,895 | 4,042 | 19,238 | 15,196 |
| Calhoun..... | 234 | 352 | 118 | 410 | 1,131 | 721 | 8,278 | 21,089 | 12,811 |
| Cameron..... | 53 | 15 | 38 | 942 | 3,884 | 2,942 | 4,319 | 13,424 | 9,105 |
| Cass..... | 1,902 | 3,518 | 1,616 | 1,340 | 2,010 | 670 | 8,157 | 7,297 | 890 |
| Cherokee..... | 1,283 | 2,286 | 1,003 | 1,618 | 1,265 | 353 | 9,583 | 4,128 | 5,455 |
| Collin..... | 134 | 438 | 304 | 977 | 2,316 | 1,339 | 4,813 | 11,098 | 6,285 |
| Colorado..... | 723 | 1,580 | 857 | 3,107 | 1,869 | 1,238 | 22,261 | 13,458 | 8,803 |
| Comal..... | 61 | 126 | 65 | 119 | 948 | 829 | 1,283 | 10,590 | 9,307 |
| Cooke..... | 1 | 123 | 122 | 68 | 400 | 332 | 503 | 4,328 | 3,825 |
| Coryell..... | ..... | 139 | ..... | ..... | 789 | ..... | ..... | 4,242 | ..... |
| Dallas..... | 207 | 481 | 274 | 756 | 2,642 | 1,868 | 3,643 | 13,192 | 9,549 |
| Denton..... | 10 | 79 | 69 | 249 | 926 | 677 | 1,754 | 8,389 | 6,635 |
| Dewitt..... | 568 | 963 | 395 | 2,635 | 5,928 | 3,293 | 17,954 | 31,518 | 13,564 |
| Ellis..... | 77 | 517 | 440 | 327 | 1,593 | 1,266 | 2,858 | 13,852 | 10,994 |
| El Paso..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 429 | ..... | ..... | 2,216 | ..... |
| Falls..... | ..... | 851 | ..... | ..... | 1,664 | ..... | ..... | 14,197 | ..... |
| Fannin..... | 528 | 1,019 | 491 | 1,877 | 2,085 | 208 | 10,192 | 12,688 | 2,496 |
| Fayette..... | 1,016 | 2,072 | 1,056 | 1,722 | 4,397 | 2,675 | 14,085 | 26,952 | 12,867 |
| Fort Bend..... | 1,554 | 1,746 | 192 | 1,835 | 2,898 | 1,063 | 29,223 | 30,380 | 1,157 |
| Freestone..... | ..... | 2,167 | ..... | ..... | 1,672 | ..... | ..... | 13,279 | ..... |
| Galveston..... | 714 | 963 | 249 | 391 | 831 | 440 | 13,328 | 15,600 | 2,272 |
| Gillespie..... | 5 | 63 | 58 | 86 | 512 | 426 | 788 | 10,190 | 9,402 |
| Goliad..... | 213 | 416 | 203 | 432 | 1,962 | 1,530 | 7,731 | 18,733 | 11,002 |
| Gonzales..... | 601 | 2,140 | 1,539 | 2,319 | 5,422 | 3,103 | 29,726 | 38,231 | 8,505 |
| Grayson..... | 186 | 602 | 416 | 873 | 2,283 | 1,410 | 5,111 | 13,566 | 8,455 |
| Grimes..... | 1,680 | 3,177 | 1,497 | 1,570 | 2,538 | 968 | 22,324 | 18,915 | 3,409 |
| Gundalup..... | 335 | 1,637 | 1,302 | 1,389 | 3,646 | 3,257 | 11,563 | 26,280 | 14,717 |
| Harris..... | 905 | 1,195 | 290 | 1,718 | 2,264 | 546 | 29,123 | 45,106 | 15,983 |
| Harrison..... | 6,213 | 7,014 | 801 | 2,940 | 2,783 | 157 | 12,530 | 7,493 | 5,037 |

| COUNTIES. | NEGROES | | | HORSES | | | CATTLE | | |
|---------------|---------|-------|-----------|--------|-------|-----------|--------|--------|-----------|
| | 1850. | 1855. | Increase. | 1850. | 1855. | Increase. | 1850. | 1855. | Increase. |
| Hays | 128 | 517 | 389 | 216 | 1,029 | 813 | 1,733 | 4,526 | 2,793 |
| Henderson... | 81 | 411 | 330 | 264 | 415 | 151 | 3,392 | 3,817 | 425 |
| Hill ..... | ..... | 254 | ..... | ..... | 887 | ..... | ..... | 9,156 | ..... |
| Hidalgo ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 109 | ..... | ..... | 670 | ..... |
| Hopkins.... | 154 | 352 | 198 | 850 | 1,870 | 1,020 | 8,963 | 18,248 | 9,285 |
| Houston.... | 673 | 1,595 | 922 | 1,028 | 1,501 | 473 | 13,016 | 12,949 | 67 |
| Hunt | 41 | 198 | 157 | 361 | 1,838 | 1,477 | 8,480 | 17,871 | 14,391 |
| Jackson.... | 339 | 717 | 378 | 1,074 | 1,451 | 377 | 20,792 | 40,437 | 19,715 |
| Jasper | 541 | 991 | 450 | 437 | 613 | 176 | 5,800 | 6,127 | 327 |
| Jefferson... | 269 | 216 | 35 | 1,927 | 2,785 | 858 | 29,159 | 39,657 | 10,498 |
| Johnson.... | ..... | 120 | ..... | ..... | 591 | ..... | ..... | 5,047 | ..... |
| Karnes..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Kauffman... | 65 | 329 | 264 | 303 | 1,122 | 819 | 2,865 | 11,308 | 8,443 |
| Kinney..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Lamar | 1,085 | 1,296 | 211 | 1,988 | 2,487 | 499 | 14,483 | 12,692 | 1,891 |
| Lavaca..... | 432 | 1,004 | 572 | 1,456 | 2,107 | 652 | 12,590 | 16,228 | 3,638 |
| Leon | 621 | 1,455 | 834 | 1,202 | 1,901 | 699 | 14,089 | 14,533 | 444 |
| Liberty..... | 892 | 922 | 30 | 2,451 | 3,203 | 752 | 46,670 | 58,031 | 12,361 |
| Limestone... | 618 | 680 | 62 | 1,248 | 1,799 | 551 | 13,294 | 21,360 | 8,066 |
| McLennan... | ..... | 1,048 | ..... | ..... | 1,887 | ..... | ..... | 15,003 | ..... |
| Madison..... | ..... | 429 | ..... | ..... | 1,190 | ..... | ..... | 10,436 | ..... |
| Matagorda... | 1,208 | 1,578 | 371 | 1,078 | 1,638 | 560 | 35,003 | 33,334 | 1,675 |
| Medina..... | 28 | 25 | 3 | 90 | 300 | 210 | 797 | 5,778 | 4,981 |
| Milam..... | 436 | 749 | 313 | 1,151 | 2,565 | 1,414 | 10,630 | 18,185 | 7,555 |
| Montgomery. | 945 | 1,448 | 503 | 1,006 | 1,037 | 21 | 11,777 | 6,325 | 5,452 |
| Nacogdoches. | 1,404 | 1,714 | 310 | 1,486 | 2,378 | 892 | 9,879 | 14,572 | 4,693 |
| Navarro..... | 246 | 1,135 | 889 | 896 | 2,812 | 1,916 | 9,265 | 29,505 | 20,240 |
| Newton..... | 426 | 602 | 176 | 331 | 496 | 165 | 4,940 | 4,481 | 459 |
| Neuces..... | 47 | 89 | 42 | 677 | 1,315 | 638 | 10,075 | 14,364 | 4,289 |
| Orange..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Panola..... | 1,193 | 1,990 | 797 | 1,116 | 1,531 | 415 | 6,719 | 8,633 | 1,914 |
| Polk..... | 1,805 | 1,450 | 645 | 1,058 | 1,037 | 21 | 15,436 | 5,408 | 10,028 |
| Presidio..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Red River... | 1,406 | 1,807 | 401 | 1,343 | 1,731 | 388 | 9,182 | 12,811 | 3,629 |
| Refugio..... | 19 | 148 | 129 | 407 | 1,550 | 1,143 | 10,124 | 14,833 | 4,709 |
| Robertson... | 264 | 1,239 | 975 | 710 | 1,584 | 874 | 11,634 | 19,959 | 8,325 |
| Rusk | 2,136 | 3,620 | 1,484 | 2,480 | 2,712 | 232 | 12,423 | 9,670 | 2,753 |
| Sabine..... | 942 | 800 | 142 | 784 | 247 | 537 | 7,293 | 2,144 | 5,149 |
| San Augustine | 1,561 | 1,448 | 113 | 1,048 | 946 | 102 | 9,063 | 6,003 | 3,060 |
| San Patricio. | 3 | 21 | 18 | 47 | 252 | 205 | 1,692 | 10,510 | 8,818 |
| Shelby..... | 961 | 775 | 186 | 1,353 | 941 | 412 | 10,985 | 7,172 | 3,713 |
| Smith..... | 717 | 2,439 | 1,722 | 980 | 1,684 | 704 | 6,133 | 5,557 | 576 |
| Starr..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Tarrant..... | 65 | 280 | 215 | 159 | 1,696 | 1,537 | 1,549 | 13,570 | 12,021 |
| Titus..... | 467 | 1,216 | 749 | 953 | 1,053 | 100 | 6,838 | 7,160 | 322 |
| Travis..... | 791 | 2,068 | 1,277 | 1,511 | 3,746 | 2,235 | 11,953 | 18,396 | 6,443 |
| Trinity..... | ..... | 260 | ..... | ..... | 516 | ..... | ..... | 7,017 | ..... |
| Tyler..... | 418 | 752 | 334 | 547 | 713 | 166 | 4,938 | 5,484 | 546 |
| Upshur..... | 682 | 1,784 | 1,102 | 996 | 1,025 | 29 | 5,473 | 3,026 | 2,447 |
| Uvalde..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Van Zandt... | 40 | 125 | 85 | 623 | 643 | 20 | 4,097 | 7,520 | 3,423 |
| Victoria..... | 571 | 861 | 290 | 1,838 | 2,988 | 1,150 | 13,288 | 28,243 | 14,955 |
| Walker | 1,301 | 2,765 | 1,464 | 1,818 | 1,930 | 112 | 23,923 | 11,917 | 11,976 |
| Washington.. | 2,817 | 4,399 | 1,582 | 2,552 | 4,408 | 1,856 | 21,873 | 22,090 | 217 |
| Webb..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 274 | ..... | ..... | 3,539 | ..... |
| Wharton..... | 1,212 | 1,798 | 586 | 1,173 | 2,179 | 1,006 | 15,668 | 14,977 | 691 |
| Williamson.. | 155 | 757 | 602 | 2,223 | 4,015 | 1,822 | 21,060 | 21,832 | 772 |
| Wood..... | ..... | 354 | ..... | ..... | 537 | ..... | ..... | 4,069 | ..... |

He remarks upon it as follows, as well as upon other tables furnished by him, showing the growing consequence of Texas :

"The whole number of horses and cattle assessed, in 1850, was 750,352 valued at \$5,222,270; whilst, in 1855, the number had risen to 1,603,146, valued at \$16,916,833, or an increase of about 110 per cent. in number, and of more than 300 per cent in value.

"The above statement shows a most astonishing result, considering that only twenty years have passed since Texas was, literally, an uncultivated waste. Ten years have now elapsed since the annexation of Texas to the United States, during which time her wealth has increased nearly five fold. It will be seen that the land assessed has increased from 31,967,480 acres to 45,419,836, and in value from \$17,776,101 to \$58,334,624, or more than 300 per cent., during the ten years. The average value per acre has risen from about 55 cents, in 1846, to \$1.28, in 1855, or more than 230 per cent.

"Negroes have increased in number from 31,099, valued at \$10,142,198, or an average value of \$324 per head, to 105,704, valued at \$53,422,663, or an average value per head of \$505. This gives an increase in number of a little more than 300 per cent., and in value of more than 500 per cent.

"The whole number of horses and cattle, in 1846, was but 411,100; since which time they have increased to 1,603,146, or 400 per cent. The increase in value has been still greater, having risen from \$2,929,372, in 1846, to \$16,916,833, in 1855, or nearly 600 per cent. Under the head of money at interest, goods in store, etc., is included also miscellaneous property, and the value of town lots. It will be seen that the increase in the value of the whole has been from \$3,543,501 to \$20,849,024, or nearly 600 per cent. The average increase of all kinds of property, during the ten years, as exhibited in the column of aggregate taxable property, will be found to be about 430 per cent., having risen, in the aggregate value, from \$34,391,174 to about \$150,000,000."

CENTRAL SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY.

(CONCLUDED.)

I pass to the second branch of the subject. Two questions here arise. 1. What amount will be needed for establishing the University, and for endowing it in perpetuity? 2. How can the money be raised? To these questions replies will be given in their proper order, and as succinctly and intelligibly as possible. A positive and *precisely* definite answer cannot be given to the first question, but an amount supposed to be sufficiently large will be indicated; and when the method for raising it is suggested, it will be seen that it can be easily increased, and as easily raised. For erecting the necessary buildings, purchasing the apparatus, library, &c., a gross sum of about two millions will probably be required. For endowing the University, three millions more. A total then, of five millions is supposed to be sufficient, both to establish the University, and to endow it in perpetuity. This is not a very large sum. It has often been raised by States and Corporations, and is only \$357,142 apiece for the fourteen Southern States. The Georgia State Road has probably cost more than that sum; and even should it be advisable or necessary to double the amount, and make it \$10,000,000, that would be a very small

sum to be paid by fourteen sovereign States for the innumerable blessings and advantages which are sure to result from it. In fact when the wealth, the resources, and the greatness of the South are considered, that amount dwindles into a mere baubee, and I hope that no one will be frightened, or have his breath taken away, when the figures are presented to his sight. Some one may here exclaim, "Give us something more than your dictum to show that such an amount will be necessary for the purpose specified." That I will do, when I come to consider the organization of the University; but here, I am chiefly concerned about the ways and means for raising the sum supposed to be necessary; and, therefore, I proceed to consider the second question. As already stated, it is supposed that \$5,000,000 will be sufficient to organize the University and to endow it. How can that sum be raised? In the Southern States there are 6,113,308 white inhabitants, 210,055 free negroes, 543,569,920 square acres of land, and \$2,917,234,875 of real and personal property. For a verification of these figures see tables xviii, xlii, viii, ccxiv of Compendium United States Census. The amount given for the value of real and personal estate appears to be much too small. It is taken from column headed "Total" of table ccxiv. On page 169 of Compendium, it is stated that the average value per acre of land in the Union, improved and unimproved, is \$11.14. If the territories be excepted, there is less improved land in the Southern States, proportionably to area, than in any other section perhaps. But an average of \$5 per acre for land in the South, improved and unimproved, is surely not too high. That will give for lands alone \$2,717,849,600. If to this be added the value of houses, farming implements, slaves, and all other articles of property, real and personal, the aggregate cannot fall far short of \$4,000,000,000. Let that be as it may, however, I will adhere to the figures given by the Census Report. The method which I suggest for raising the \$5,000,000, is to levy a tax on population, a tax on area, and a tax on property. It may be objected to the tax on land, that the value of the land is included in the estimated amount of real and personal estate, and that therefore, it will be taxed twice. This is true. But the total tax on land cannot in any case, including the double taxation, amount to more than *eight-tenths of a cent per acre*. But it will not be so much, for that supposes the average value of land to be \$5 per acre, whereas, as has been shown above that estimate is too high in order to get the amount of real and personal estate given in the Report. A land tax is suggested also for a reason to be given hereafter. If a tax of ten cents be imposed on every white inhabitant, male and female,

man, woman and child, \$611,330 will be raised. One dollar on every free negro will produce \$210,055. The total population tax will then be \$821,385. A tax of three-quarters of a cent per acre will produce \$4,076,774. One-twentieth of a mill on every dollar of property will give \$145,861. Adding up these amounts, there results a total of \$5,044,020; or an average of only 82½ cents to each white inhabitant. If the amount proposed to be raised from the free negroes be deducted, the average for every white inhabitant—supposing that the free negroes own no property—is reduced to seventy-nine cents. A difference of only 3½ cents. If the free negroes then, are not taxed at all, the increase on the taxation of each white inhabitant will not be appreciable. But let us see what will be the average taxation on every family which of course will be paid by the head. Allowing five persons for every family, there are in the Southern States 1,222,662 families. Supposing that the land and value of real and personal estate are equally distributed among them, each family will possess 444 acres of land, and be worth \$2,386. Whilst the tax will only be \$4 12½. Of course, it is not meant that on an average, every family in the South is worth 444 acres of land, and in addition to that \$2,386; for the price of the land is included in the amount expressive of the estimated value of real and personal estate; but that every family will have to pay—if the plan suggested is carried out—taxes on that much land and money. The Southerners are probably the richest people on the face of the earth, and at the time of the last Census, each family was worth on an average at least \$3,000. From the above statements, facts, and calculations—and I hope that every one will go over the calculations for himself—it is seen that not only can \$5,000,000 be raised, but that double that sum would be no burden.

The slaves being property, and not directly interested in the establishment of the University, they are not regarded as a part of the population. And as it may be urged, that as free negroes will not be participants of the results expected to follow from the organization of the University, they should not be taxed for its establishment, the reply is, that the free negroes being protected by the law, the State has a perfect right—perfect in morals and in law—to make them pay for that protection, any amount which is not burdensome and oppressive. It is well known, that, as a general rule, they are a graceless, vagabondish set, and contribute very little to the support of the State by which they are protected. They are not citizens, never can become citizens, and wherever found in large numbers they are an expense and a source of trouble. They are only permitted to remain in the Southern States upon

principles of humanity. If expelled, they would go to the hireling States, and there perish of hunger and cold. If sent to Africa they would relapse into barbarism.

It will not be necessary for the whole amount to be raised in one year, or two years. It will require some time for the erection of the necessary buildings, the purchase of the apparatus and library, and to secure the services of competent professors. It would be best, if the whole amount could be raised at once; for then, it might be placed out at interest, and the amount thence accruing would be so much added to the endowment fund. But it will be more politic to raise the required sum gradually; and if two, or three, or four, or five years elapse before each State pays in its proportion, the whole amount will be so silently and insensibly accumulated that no citizen will be able to tell how, or when he paid his assessment.

It is very probable, that the gross amount necessary to be raised will be much diminished by private contributions and bequests. Cities, corporations, associated companies, and individuals may endow professorships. Railroad companies, for instance, may endow professorships of Civil and Mechanical Engineering—Chambers of Commerce and Shipowners generally—Chairs of Practical Astronomy—Agricultural Associations, a Chair of Agricultural Chemistry—Historical Societies, a professorship of History, &c. In fact, such an institution will appeal to the patriotism of all classes of the people, and they will doubtless be seen crowding to offer their gifts, and no one will murmur at the insignificant amount of taxation which he has to pay.

This enterprise appeals particularly to the young men of the present and the rising generation; and if they will only take hold of it with energy and perseverance, it will most certainly be crowned with success.

Again, this is 1857, whilst the statistics refer to 1850. Since 1850, the territory of the Southern States has not increased, but wealth and population have advanced with rapid strides. The value of real and personal estate in the South may safely be estimated at \$3,500,000,000, and the white population at 8,500,000. This increase in population and in value of real and personal property will reduce the average assessment of each individual to about sixty cents. Who would hesitate to pay that amount for such a purpose?

When any people are about to take an important step, the results of which will probably extend through all time, and exert a commanding influence upon future generations, the interests and claims of posterity should be taken into consideration. Hence, when it is proposed to determine the site of an

object, national in its character, as a university, or a capitol, three elements should enter into the calculation, viz: the geographical element as the representative of posterity, and the population and money elements representing the interests of the present generation. Should attention be paid to the claims of posterity alone, the university, or capitol, or other national object, would be located at the center of area of the State. Should the interests of the present generation be considered without any reference to those of posterity, it would be located neither at the center of population, nor at that of wealth; but at some point equally distant from each, or nearer to one than the other, according to the method by which population is represented in the calculation. It is evident that the geographical center would, in many cases, be absolutely inadmissible as the site of any such national object. The centers of population and wealth are also liable to several objections, although cases may arise in which it would be advisable to omit all consideration of the geographical center, and locate the national object with reference to those centers alone, or even with reference to one of them alone, to the exclusion of the other two. As a general rule, however, the three elements should enter for consideration; and having found the centers of area, population, and wealth, that point which is equally distant from the three, would be the *political center* of the country. Other circumstances, it is true, may come in and modify the result, but in the outset no attention whatever should be paid to them. They should not be regarded until after the location, determined by the elements mentioned, has been found; for they can hardly be said to exist as modifying circumstances until it has been ascertained where the object would be located did they not exist. It may be said generally, however, that the location should be healthy, comparatively easy of access, and in a country of abundance; or rather, that these conditions should be fulfilled by the location. But of course no objections can be urged against the location until it has been found, for they would equally apply to every location.

Instead of adopting the point equally distant from the three centers of area, population, and wealth, as the political center, another point may be ascertained depending upon the manner in which area and population are represented in the calculation; and the character of the object to be located.

[Mr. Richardson here enters into an elaborate and able exposition of the manner of finding the several centers, illustrated with maps, which we are compelled to omit.—EDITOR.]

In the organization of the University, this maxim should be borne in mind: "Nothing is improper to be taught which is proper for a gentleman to learn." Any thing, then, which is

honest, useful, improving, refining, or humanizing, may, without any impropriety, be taught. The prime object of education is to make man better and to prepare him for usefulness. He must be regarded as a moral, an intellectual, and a physical being; and any system of education which does not provide for the proper development of each one of these departments (if the term be permitted) falls short of the requirements of his nature. However perverted man may be, he naturally desires to be as good as the best, as useful as the most useful, as refined as those who are most thoroughly so, and equal in all respects to the most perfect of his race. No one has ever witnessed a sublime moral example without being desirous to emulate it, or a mighty intellectual effort without wishing he were equal to it, or any feat of activity, daring, or strength, without involuntarily sighing after the ability to do the same. No man has ever wished to be the reverse of Christ as the most perfect type of a moral being in human form, or the opposite of Washington as a patriot and statesman; the reverse of Cæsar as a successful general, or the opposite of Sampson as an instance of superior development of physical force.

The function of education is to cultivate these aspirations and desires, but at the same time to modify and restrain them. Every effort should be made to inculcate noble and expanded views, to impart to the minds of the young enlarged and liberal ideas, and the strictest watch should be kept against the formation of narrow and contracted habits of thought. Attention must also be paid to the practical and useful.

To carry out these ideas thus generally expressed, the following list of professorships is suggested:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion. | 22. Practical and Analytical Chemistry |
| 2. Moral and Intellectual Philosophy. | 23. Theory and Practice of Agriculture |
| 3. History and Geography. | 24. Geology. |
| 4. National and Constitutional Law. | 25. Natural History and Ethnology. |
| 5. Rhetoric and Logic. | 26. Botany. |
| 6. Political Economy. | 27. Comparative Anatomy. |
| 7. Oratory and Belles Lettres. | 28. Physiology and Human Anatomy. |
| 8. Patriotism. | 29. Drawing. |
| 9. English Language and Literature. | 30. Painting. |
| 10. Latin " " | 31. Music. |
| 11. Greek " " | 32. Law. |
| 12. Hebrew " " | 33. Law. |
| 13. French " " | 34. Medicine. |
| 14. Spanish " " | 35. Medicine. |
| 15. German " " | 36. Medicine. |
| 16. Italian " " | 37. Medicine. |
| 17. Mathematics, Pure. | 38. Civil Engineering. |
| 18. Mathematics, Applied. | 39. Mining, Engineering, & Metallurgy. |
| 19. Natural Philosophy and Astronomy | 40. Mechanical Engineering. |
| 20. Practical Astronomy. | 41. Military Engineering. |
| 21. Chemistry and Mineralogy. | 42. Tactics and Military Art & Science. |
| | 43. Gymnastics. |

A few remarks, by way of explanation and suggestion, may be necessary with regard to some of the professorships mentioned. They will be referred to by their numbers.

1. Should be filled by a man whose irreproachable life, whose daily walk and conversation, will be the most unanswerable argument in behalf of the truth of the doctrines which he teaches.

3. Geography has occupied so humble and degraded a position in the usual educational system of this country, that some may wonder why it is introduced in the university course. Of the importance, however, of a thorough knowledge of geography to the statesman and philosopher, as well as to the commercial speculator, allusion needs only to be made here. And it is sufficient, perhaps, merely to call attention to the subject in this manner, without attempting to show its importance by any line of argument.

7. Stump-speaking, which consists for the most part of a retail of political cant and often obscene anecdotes, has so vitiated the taste of the people, that, unless some reformatory movement is set on foot, American orators bid fair to degenerate into mere *tellers* of spicy things and *bandiers* of personalities. This chair, then, should be filled by one who is a true orator, and who will be a model to those who listen to his instructions—a model, not to be imitated or rather copied, but to be studied.

8. The duty of the incumbent of this professorship should be, to instill into the minds and hearts of his pupils a pure and undivided love of country—to vindicate the domestic institutions of the South, and to hold them up as worthy of their hearty support, their love and admiration. He should be a man of commanding presence, of fervid eloquence, of undoubted integrity, of extensive erudition, great in historic lore, a thorough Southerner. The great and good, the wise and virtuous, the pure in heart, of all ages, must be continually held up as examples to the young. The lecture room should be adorned by the busts and statues and portraits of the mighty dead, of both ancient and modern times. Upon the speaking canvas should be delineated the gallantry of Cocless, the sacrifices of Curtius and Winkelreid, and the firmness of Scaevola. The memorable events of our own glorious struggle for independence should occupy no insignificant place. The names, the deeds, the sentiments of our patriots and heroes, should be remembered, and their record cherished as among the priceless treasures of the memory. Each citizen should be taught that the fate of the republic rests upon his shoulders; and he should be made to believe, *to feel*, this sentiment. In a word, this professor must be regarded as the

great high priest, ministering at the altar of his country, and should be so gifted as to impart a double portion of his spirit to all who wait upon his ministrations.

9. So shameful has been the neglect of the study of the English language, both in this country and in England, that among educated men there are many who, although familiar with the etymology and syntax of the learned languages, would be put to the blush if asked to construe an English sentence. And whilst they boast of the elegance and euphony of Latin and Greek, know comparatively little of the simplicity and strength of their native tongue. There seems to be but one difficulty under which the English language labors, *i. e.* its barbarous orthography. It appears to be both reasonable and natural, that words should be spelled as they are pronounced. The English language sets this simple rule at defiance, and the powers of the letters are frequently so confounded and lost, that the articulate sounds which they represent, do not enter at all into the pronunciation of the words which they spell. Other languages are of course obnoxious to the same charge in some measure. The Spaniards are the only people who have had the moral courage to attempt and carry out a reform in the orthography of their language. Other nations have generally left such changes to time and chance to effect, and usually, they have been simple changes and not reforms. Of course, the English language has improved wonderfully, in the last two or three centuries, and it is probable that the time will come when words will be spelled as they are pronounced. I am not prepared, however, to say that so sweeping a change would be desirable at the present time, or ever.

10, 11, 12. The Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages derive their principal importance from the fact that upon a correct knowledge of them depends the true interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. Independent of the mental training which arises from the study of those languages there are several other advantages; but the one mentioned above is the principal one. And that is the strongest argument which can be presented in behalf of the study of the first two languages. The other reasons usually advanced are fallacious. They are, that a knowledge of Latin and Greek is essential to a correct understanding of the English language; and that Latin and Greek are the keys by which the literary treasures of the past are unlocked. To answer these arguments in inverted order—there was a time when the last one held, but that time has past. The value of an idea consists not so much in the *words* in which it is conveyed, but in the *idea itself*. To judge of the beauty or symmetry of a composition in an other language we must first be able to render it into our own. The various

literary remains of the ancient world have been translated time and again, and it is no longer necessary for students to wade for years through Latin and Greek in order to moralize with Seneca, and philosophize with Plato. Again, if a knowledge of Latin and Greek be necessary to a correct understanding of English, where are we to go to get a thorough comprehension of Latin and Greek? The Latin and Greek are in many respects derivative languages, and the Latin more so than the Greek. Hence, this search would never end. But it need not be commenced, for it must be remembered that the root of a word does not always fix the sense of the derivative. But even should the root fix the sense of the derivative, it does not follow that a knowledge of the meaning of the root will render the meaning of the derivative very much clearer. For, if we are told that such a word means so and so, *because* its root means so and so, we might very well ask, why does its root mean so and so? If, as etymologists tell us, agriculture means, "the art of cultivating a field," because it comes from *ager*, a field, and *cultura*, cultivation, why does *ager* mean a field, and *cultura*, cultivation? And if those words be traced to other roots, in another language, we are still permitted to inquire, why have these roots of roots such and such meanings? Custom, arbitrary custom, fixes the sense and meaning of words in all languages; and agriculture no more means "the art of cultivating a field," because it comes from *ager* and *cultura*, than because it does not come from *piscis* and *navigo*. It must mean, the art of cultivating a field because the people who use it in that sense agree that it shall signify that; and they have a perfect right to change its meaning if they see proper to do so. It is true, however, that in form it does come from the words mentioned.

Let it not be supposed that this is an argument against the study of the dead languages. It is intended to be no such thing, but simply an attempt to expose the fallaciousness of the reasons usually advanced in behalf of their study, and to give the true and only unanswerable reason.

Another argument in favor of the study of the dead languages, and to which allusion has been made in the foregoing remarks, is, that the mental training which results from their close and systematic study is of incalculable value, although the *knowledge of the language after it has been acquired may be comparatively valueless*. This is very true, but if it is a good argument in favor of studying Latin and Greek, is equally good in favor of studying the various modern languages. And the study of the modern languages has this advantage, viz: *the knowledge when acquired is not valueless*.

13, 16. The French and Spanish languages possess for South-

erners a commercial, a scientific, and a literary importance; the German a scientific and literary importance principally, whilst to the Italian there is merely attached a literary and historical interest. A knowledge of French is indispensable to the diplomatist and savan, and it is to be regretted that not more attention is paid to it in this country. One-third of the time usually devoted to Latin and Greek would enable a student not only to translate French readily, but to speak it fluently and to write it. It is generally conceded that it is infinitely more easy to acquire a knowledge of a living than a dead language. Cannot the interests of antiquity and modern times be harmonized, or are the languages of the present day too boyish and youthful to enter into the presence of the hoary-headed tongues of the past? The Southern States border upon Mexico, are within hailing distance of Cuba, and are nearer to Central America and the other Spanish American Republics than any other power. In all the countries enumerated Spanish is the vernacular. Should we not know something of the language of our neighbors? Should we not cultivate their regard, their friendship? To do so we must converse with them. If our friendship and intercourse are important to them, theirs are not the less so to us.

17, 18. Mathematical studies have not as yet taken their true position in the educational system of this country. The course in the literary schools is generally a mere sham. It is too slight, and hurried over too rapidly. Cannot some improvement be made? The subject lies at the foundation of all true reasoning, and is superior to any other for mental training. No man reasons correctly unless he reasons mathematically. It is the very basis of logic, the "perfection of reason."

20. An Astronomical Observatory should of course be established in connection with the University.

25. The Professor of Ethnology should pay particular attention to the influence exerted by the climate and general physical characteristics of a country, upon the moral and mental habitudes of the inhabitants, as well as upon their physical constitution. This question has never perhaps been satisfactorily answered or sufficiently studied—"What influence has the topography of a country upon the national character of the people?"

31, 32. It is supposed, that in addition to the professorship of national and constitutional law, two others will be needed to complete the organization of the legal department.

34, 37. In addition to the medical chairs already mentioned, four more will probably be needed. The numbers have been left blank intentionally in order that they may be filled at leisure.

43. Of the importance of physical training nothing surely needs be said here. It is certainly better for a man to be hardy, athletic, and strong, than to be puny, weak, and effeminate. A strong body is necessary to the custody of an aspiring mind. Every attention then should be devoted to the proper and systematic development of the physical man.

Nothing has been said so far about theological schools. The States cannot with propriety establish them. The reason is obvious. It would not do to organize divinity schools in favor of certain denominations of Christians to the exclusion of others, and it is impossible to establish one for every sect. The method suggested by Mr. Jefferson for the adoption of the University of Virginia is perhaps the true plan. Invite the different denominations of Christians to establish schools of divinity in connection with the University, and let the students be admitted to all the rights and privileges of the University students. As an encouragement, a certain part of the interest of the endowment fund may be set aside each year to be divided among the divinity schools established, in proportion to the number of professorships organized.

To return to the estimated cost of establishing the University, it is seen that the amount, \$2,000,000, is not too large, if the organization be carried out on the plan suggested. The grounds, the various halls for lectures and recitations, and the professors' houses will require about \$1,500,000; and not less than \$500,000 should be expended for libraries, apparatus, cabinets, &c., &c. In erecting the buildings, some attention should be paid to architectural effect and taste, and the grounds should be laid out with care. The mind is susceptible of education in various ways, and the function of every object, building, landscape, painting, statue, and tree, should be to improve, to refine, to elevate. Interspersed throughout the groves, and in the niches of the various buildings, should be statues and busts of the great and the good. The daily contemplation of these will lead the young to reflect upon their lives and action, and superinduce a spirit of emulation, and a desire to equal the greatness of departed worth.

It may be said now that the sum mentioned above is too small. Very well, double it, and the total amount will then be only \$8,000,000. It has been shown that \$10,000,000 can be raised with comparative ease; and, in an enterprise of this kind, every thing ought to be conducted on a scale of magnificence commensurate with its importance. The endowment fund has been put at \$3,000,000. At six per cent. that amount will yield an annual revenue of \$180,000. Supposing that the number of professorships be increased to fifty, by the addition of other departments, and that each professor be guaran-

ted \$3,000 per annum, \$150,000 will be expended in salaries. There will then remain \$30,000 to be devoted to repairs, keeping up supply of apparatus, the increase of library and the support of servants; \$3,000 per annum for a man of ability is certainly small enough, and each professor should be allowed to increase his salary to \$5,000 by fees from his students, provided that no student pays more than a certain fixed amount, whether he attends one professor or several. Fixing tuition at \$50 per annum, and supposing that 3,000 pupils attend, the annual revenue arising from students' fees alone will be \$150,000. From this, deducting \$2,000 for each professor, there will remain \$50,000, which added to the \$30,000 above will give a total surplus of \$80,000, to be expended for the objects specified, and for the support of Divinity Schools. Should this surplus, for any year, exceed the demands for other expenses, the excess can be added to the endowment fund. And as that fund increases, the rate of tuition should diminish, until, at last, the fees collected from the students may be just enough to keep the buildings and improvements generally in repair; the expense of increasing library and apparatus, and supporting servants, &c., being defrayed from the interest of endowment fund. If it should be necessary at any time to erect new buildings, the rates of tuition can be increased, so as not to exceed \$50 per annum, however, and the amount so raised devoted to that purpose.

In conclusion, a few pertinent questions may be addressed to the reader.

1. Is the project practicable, or is it dreamy and chimerical?
2. Independently of the arguments which have been presented in its behalf, does not the measure commend itself to you as fraught with good to the South?
3. Would you murmur at being called upon to contribute the small pittance necessary for each one in order to secure so great an end?
4. Will you not encourage this undertaking, steady its tottering steps, write for it, speak for it, open your purse in its support?

The writer is aware that this article goes forth in a very crude and imperfect state, that he has not presented the best arguments in behalf of the measure which he advocates, nor dressed those which he has offered in the best form. Such a subject requires much attention and discussion, and he merely indulges the hope that his suggestions will excite interest and elicit inquiry with regard to it. Who will become champions of this movement in behalf of Southern learning and Southern harmony? As has been already stated, it is an enterprise

which appeals to the patriotism and interest of every Southerner. Will not each one respond to the call? Suppose some of the States will not unite in it, will the others hesitate? What are \$5,000,000 or \$10,000,000 compared to the great results which are sure to follow the establishment of the University? Suppose *none* of the States will engage in it, will the *people* in their private capacity not carry it out? Will not cities, wealthy corporations, and individuals establish professorships, fellowships, scholarships? Why cannot Savannah, or Columbus, or Charleston, or Mobile, or New Orleans, or Nashville, or any other Southern city endow a professorship? The amount necessary for so doing will never be missed from the treasury. Let the subject be discussed and more light be brought to bear upon it. Who will become its champion?

WEALTH OF THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

INDIVIDUAL AND NATIONAL WEALTH—THE SLAVE-TRADE AND THE UNION.

WHILST travelling through New England, viewing her poverty-stricken fields, her fine towns and cities, her mighty factories, her great commerce, her palatial private residences, and her stores and warehouses filled with rich merchandise from every region, the reflection forced itself on us that a change in the course of trade might make all this, except the worthless lands and untenanted houses, take wings and fly to countries where capital could be more profitably employed in commerce and manufactures. Changes in the course of trade are things of ordinary and continual occurrence, as the crumbling ruins of Asia and Africa, and hundreds of dilapidated cities in Europe abundantly prove. Thinking of all this, and applying it to New England, we exclaimed—"YOUR WEALTH IS COSMOPOLITAN, YOUR POVERTY INDIGENOUS!"

A few days since we stumbled on a passage of Adam Smith fully corroborative of our views, and we have determined to make it the text of a short essay.

The want of self-appreciation is the besetting sin of the South. For fifty years she has been more usefully, more industriously, more energetically, and more profitably employed than any people under the sun. Yet all the while she has been envying and wishing to imitate the little "*truck patches*," the filthy, crowded, licentious factories, the mercenary shop-keeping, and the slavish commerce of the North. She has admitted and deplored as an evil that enterprising spirit of her sons which, regardless of danger, of exposure and privation, has impelled them to quit the exhausted sandy shores of the Atlantic and emigrate to more fertile regions in the

South and West. Never did people acquire wealth and power so fast as we have done by this process of emigration and diffusion. The posterity of an inconsiderable number of whites, scattered at the time of the Revolution along a narrow string between the Atlantic and the Alleghany, have passed those mountains, passed the Mississippi, and now own the most valuable and productive agricultural region in the world. Besides, they wield great influence over the destinies of civilized mankind; for their agricultural products are indispensable to Christendom. They are the wealthiest, the happiest, the most prosperous, and the most virtuous of people, and have become so entirely by the much absurd and little understood "skinning system"—by exhausting lands rapidly, and resorting to new and fresh soils. When Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia are asked what they have done? where is their wealth? let them point to Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, and say this is our handiwork, these are our children, those are the farms which we have provided for them. Or let them say, "almost every man in Christendom wears our cotton, whilst it employs in its manufacture and its transportation a large portion of the labor and the commerce of Europe and America. And this is but one of our various and indispensable products. We have acquired and put into successful cultivation more lands than any other people, and have consequently amassed more of real, permanent, substantial wealth."

But to our text from Adam Smith.

It will be found in the chapter on the "Commerce of Towns," Book III—

"The capital, however that is acquired to any country by commerce and manufactures, is all a very precarious and uncertain possession, till some part of it has been secured and realised in the cultivation and improvement of its lands. A merchant, it has been said very properly is not necessarily the citizen of any particular country. It is in a great measure indifferent to him from what place he carries on his trade; and a very trifling disgust will make him remove his capital, and, together with it, all the industry which it supports, from one country to another. No part of it can be said to belong to any particular country, till it has been spread, as it were, over the face of that country, either in buildings, or in the lasting improvement of lands. No vestige now remains of the great wealth said to have been possessed by the greater part of the Hans towns, except in the obscure histories of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is even uncertain where some of them were situated, or to what towns in Europe the Latin names given to some of them belong. But though the misfortunes of Italy, in the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, greatly diminished the commerce and manufactures of the cities of Lombardy and Tuscany, those countries still continue to be among the most populous and best cultivated in Europe. The civil wars of Flanders, and the Spanish government which succeeded them, chased away the great commerce of Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges. But Flanders still continues to be one of the richest, best cultivated, and most populous provinces of Europe. The ordinary revolutions of war and government easily dry up the sources of that

wealth which arises from commerce only. That which arises from the more solid improvements of agriculture is much more durable, and cannot be destroyed but by those more violent convulsions occasioned by the depredations of hostile and barbarous nations continued for a century or two together: such as those that happened for some time before and after the fall of the Roman Empire in the western provinces of Europe."

Capital employed in manufacturing is equally fugitive and cosmopolitan with that employed in commerce and mercantile pursuits. The policy of the North is obviously to cultivate the most friendly and intimate relations with the South, because her trade with the South sustains and keeps at home this otherwise cosmopolitan capital, which constitutes her chief wealth.

Another extract from Adam Smith from the chapter immediately preceding will illustrate this matter. "The inhabitants of a city, it is true, must always ultimately derive their subsistence from the country. But those of a city situated near either the sea-coast, or the banks of a navigable river, are not necessarily confined to derive them from the country in their neighborhood." The Northeast is one great city, for its agriculture is too contemptible for calculation. It lives and can only live by foreign trade. The trade with the South is its most profitable and indispensable pursuit. A mere revenue tariff, added to its vicinity to us, give it almost a monopoly of that trade. Disunion or abolition would equally destroy it. In the one event non-intercourse would result from positive legal enactment, in the other from the fact that we should have no agricultural surplus to sell, and nothing wherewith to purchase Northern merchandise and manufactures, for abolition of slavery would annihilate our agricultural surplus.

Non-intercourse will precede disunion. It has already begun, and is rapidly progressing. Abolition is forcing the South (at great pecuniary sacrifice) to become independent of the North. So soon as that independence is established there will be for us no more occasion for the Union, and it will easily and naturally dissolve. Then capital will quit the Northeast, and nothing will remain to her but poor lands, tenantless houses, harbors without shipping, valueless stocks, exploded humbugs, and repentant isms.

But let us approach our subject more closely—let us dissect, analyze, and expose this glittering cosmopolitan wealth of the North, and see how much of it is a reality, how much an "airy nothing." Is the merchandise that fills and adorns her ten thousand stores paid for? Does it belong to her or to Liverpool, London, and Paris? Are her merchants all solvent, or are half of them insolvent? If we subtract from the census half of her (estimated) mercantile and manufacturing wealth,

have we not subtracted too little? For instance, a man whose wealth is estimated by the census at two millions fails, and his creditors lose a million. In this case, three millions must be subtracted from the estimated national wealth of the North. Insolvents do not, on the average, pay thirty-three per cent. Under this view of the subject the whole mercantile and manufacturing wealth of the North is little but a fiction. In truth, it is but the power of credit to tax productive industry. The debts of her manufacturers and merchants almost equal their means. They are living by their credit and their wits. It seems to us this is demonstrated by the admitted fact that nineteen out of twenty of them fail. If so, we may safely assume, that at all times half of them are actually insolvent, and that their deficit is nearly equal to the capital of the solvent half.

In event of disunion, the solvent, with their capital would emigrate, and leave the insolvent and their debts at home. *Plus*, would seek better quarters, and *minus* remain behind.

The North boasts of her wealth in railroads and railroad stock. Both of these items must be stricken out in estimating her national wealth, for both are included in the additional value which these roads impress upon her lands, her factories, and her houses, and other improvements in town and country. Stocks are the mere privilege to lay a tax, and constitute no part of national wealth, unless they be foreign stock. So with all debts, (if not due by foreigners,) they are no part of national wealth.

But domestic stocks and debts are minus quantities, and represent national poverty, because they enable their owners not only to live without labor themselves, but to divert an immense deal of industry from the production of the necessities and comforts of life, to the procurement of those luxuries in which the wealthy indulge; thus throwing the support of society on a smaller number of agricultural laborers, and of coarse manufacturing laborers, who produce the necessities of life.

Banking houses, the specie in their vaults, and debts due to banks by foreigners, are a part of national wealth. But domestic debts due them are no part of such wealth; and bank stock is a minus quantity in estimating this wealth.

That railroads and railroad stock, though constituting private wealth, are no part of national wealth, is thus easily proved. Common roads are not estimated as a part of national wealth, yet being far more numerous, and more necessary, they are more useful agents in increasing national wealth than railroads; therefore, the latter are no more than the former to be estimated, because both have already been esti-

mated in the additional value, with which they impress lands, houses, &c.

Were Government to give private companies a right to charge toll on all common roads, this right would constitute road stock; but the nation would not be richer, but poorer, in consequence of such stock, for it would make idlers and non-producers of men who now work. It would constitute private wealth, but public poverty. Stocks, by means of the idleness and luxury which they beget, are the most alarming evil of modern times.

Several hundred millions of our stocks are owned in Europe. This is the worst minus quantity, for, to the extent of the dividends, we are worse situated than slaves, since we work for Europeans for nothing. The capital of the stock so owned is a *power* of taxation, and nothing else. This evil is chiefly felt at the North.

National wealth is not, as the political economists contend, the mere sum or aggregate of individual wealth. On the contrary, in free society, individual wealth is amassed by pauperizing the people at large, and tends to lessen national wealth by diverting industry from the production of necessities, and throwing the support of all society on a few. Land and negroes, the wealth of the South, are *national wealth*, because they produce the necessities of life. So are ships, factories, &c., at the North, but not the costly luxuries of their cities. Negro cabins and granaries, and comfortable dwelling-houses, are a part of national wealth, because they are essential agencies of production. But fine houses, and costly furniture and equipage, to produce and keep them up, divert a great deal of industry from more necessary pursuits, and render the mass of the population poorer, by increasing their labor.

A nobleman's palace, parks, forests, fish ponds, aviaries, game preservers, equipage, costly furniture, &c., constitute many millions of private wealth, and as many millions of national deficit, or poverty, for many noblemen consume in luxury, in these and other ways, the annual labor of ten thousand men—thus diminishing the agricultural and other common labor of the country, and lessening the supply of food and raiment, for the people at large.

On the first page of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* we find our theory, that "the production of luxuries, to be *consumed at home*, lessens national wealth," because it diminishes the number of laborers employed in producing the necessities and conveniences of life. Luxuries, made for exchange in foreign markets, for necessities and convenience of life, stand on a different footing. They do constitute a part of national wealth, but diminish the wealth or well-being of

mankind at large, just as luxuries made and consumed at home diminish domestic national wealth.

"The annual labor of every nation is the fund which originally supplies it with all the necessities and conveniences of life which it annually consumes, and which consist always either in the immediate produce of that labor, or in what is purchased with that produce from other nations.

"According, therefore, as this produce, or what is purchased with it, bears a greater or smaller proportion to the number of those who are to consume it, the nation will be better or worse supplied with all the necessities and conveniences for which it has occasion.

"But this proportion must, in every nation, be regulated by two different circumstances; first, by the skill, dexterity, and judgment with which its labor is generally applied; and, secondly, by the proportion between the number of those who are employed in useful labor, and that of those who are not so employed."

"Whatever be the actual state of the skill, dexterity, and judgment with which labor is applied in any nation, the abundance or scantiness of its annual supply must depend, during the continuance of that state, upon the proportion between the number of those who are annually employed in useful labor, and that of those who are not so employed."

The wealth of the South is permanent and real, that of the North fugitive and fictitious. Events now transpiring are exposing the fiction as humbug after humbug explodes; and if abolition succeeds, the fugitive and cosmopolitan character of Northern capital will be more fully exposed, for the little wealth that she has will then take wing and fly away.

Her industrious and enterprising population, her commercial, manufacturing, and mechanical skill, her fine harbors, her fisheries, and her Union with and vicinity to the South, are the true sources of her prosperity. A revival of the African slave trade at the South would furnish her with cheaper raw materials, cheaper provisions, and extend and improve the market for her commerce, merchandise, and manufactures. This is probably the only measure that can save the Union. It will meet with some opposition from a few inconsiderate Southern slaveholders, because it will lessen the price of slaves and of slave products. But it will greatly increase the price of Southern lands, half of which are now lying waste and useless for want of labor, whilst Christendom is almost starving from the deficiency of Southern products. Such a step would give political security to the South, because it would indentify still more closely the interest of all sections in upholding and increasing slavery. Texas would speedily be settled, and Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, Missouri, and Maryland, with slaves at two hundred dollars around, would bring all their now vacant lands into successful cultivation. It is most probable that New York, Pennsylvania, and the whole Northwest would also become slaveholding with slaves at two hundred dollars. Events are tending this way, for France and England have already actively engaged in new forms of

the slave trade. Slaves, or coolies, or apprentices carried to their Southern colonies depress the price of our negroes and their products just as much as the introduction of fresh slaves amongst us would do. It is our true interest to secure and preserve the monopoly of cotton production, and we can effect this only by the renewal of the slave trade.

It is highly creditable to the much abused "extremists of the South" that they, with a few exceptions and their press, are the most prominent advocates of the revival of the slave trade, which in a pecuniary way most of them think injurious to themselves. But they are patriots, and ready to make great sacrifices to preserve peace and Union. Not so the North when it was proposed to abolish this trade. Hear the Rev. Nehemiah Addams, one of the three thousand protesting abolition clergymen who was converted to the advocacy of Southern negro slavery by a trip South.:

"Can any one inform us where Northern moral sense was, or whether it was in the Convention when the North protracted the slave trade eight years longer than the South wished to endure it! If in the Convention it must have had leave of absense when the vote on that measure was taken. It is now very clamorous in every debate on slavery, and it ought to be called to order, being reminded that its silence or consent in 1787 makes a forfeiture of all right of remonstrance now."

Is it possible to conceive that this same North, after seeing and suffering the evils inflicted on the laboring whites by the abolition of slavery, and the attempt to abolish the slave trade, after seeing these measures give rise to worse forms of this trade, and witnessing its ill effects on the liberated negroes, we ask, under these circumstances, is it possible to conceive that the North will not, when it surveys the whole ground in controversy, advocate the renewal of the old slave trade as a measure of humanity as well to the idle, savage, pagan negroes, as to the starving, laboring whites of Europe and the North.?

The process of disunion has begun. The churches of the North and the South have quarreled, and are dividing: intercourse between the sections is rapidly diminishing, and mutual hate is daily exasperating. All sections have confidence in the present administration, but let it go out of power—and "then the deluge." Mr. Buchanan will be the "last of the Presidents," unless abolition is arrested in its course, and some measure, some line of policy adopted, which shall plainly and obviously make the extension of slavery the interest of the North. The struggle for slavery extension must continue, to accommodate the natural increase of our present slaves; and an exasperated South will blow the Union to shivers, if hordes of Northern immigrants continue to seize upon and monopolize the whole of that territory, which she (the South) chiefly

acquired, despite of much Northern opposition. You Free-soilers of the North, like Regan and Goneril, not satisfied with territories, ten times as large as England, which we have generously given you, say to us why "five and twenty, ten or five? Why one?"

Yes, you would strip us of the last acre, despite of our appeal to you, in the language old King Lear, "We gave you all?"

What matters it to us, whether squatter sovereignty, Wil-mot provisos, Missouri compromises, or State constitutions, exclude us from the fair and fertile fields, which we have won by our diplomacy and our arms?

Shades of Jefferson and Monroe, of Polk, of Taylor, of Rusk, of Upshur, of Gilmer, and of all ye Southrons who fell on the fields of Texas, of California and of Mexico, seeing your posterity ignominiously shut out from those vast territories which your wisdom and your valor acquired for them, methinks we hear you exclaim in grand and gloomy chorus—

*"Sic vos non vobis nidificatis aves;
Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis oves;
Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes;
Sic vos non vobis fertis aratra boves."*

We subjoin as appropriate to our purpose the following passage from De Bow's Review for November. Let the reader recollect that the Northwestern territory was donated to the Union by Virginia, and our case is made out:

"In an address lately delivered somewhere at the North, the Hon. Caleb Cushing thus characterizes his fellow New Englanders, and does it with exceeding good grace:

"You clearly perceived, and frankly, earnestly, powerfully contributed with Virginia to develop the great territorial capacities of the Northwest. But were you equally clear-sighted in regard to the not less important Southwest? Did you in will support Virginia there? Did you not struggle to prevent the acquisition of Louisiana, the acquisition of Florida, the acquisition of Texas, the acquisition of California? Was not the Union, as our fathers conceived it, thus completed in spite of you? And yet, who profited first, who profited next, who profited constantly, by each of these great stages of the great event?"

Place the North in our situation, and would she bear such exclusion as is practised on us, whether it were effected by squatter sovereignty or State constitutions? We think not. We believe she is too sagacious, with a vast empire at stake, to take, as her share, the difference "twixt tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee."

A practical, not a theoretical measure, is needed to settle the difficulties between the sections. Kansas-Nebraska bills, and Dred Scott decisions, will avail naught. We want our lands—not beautiful theories and abstractions.

The revival of the African slave trade, the reduction in the price of negroes, and the increase of their numbers, will enable us successfully to contend in the settlement of new terri-

tories with the vast emigration from the North. Nothing else can. It is the only measure that can preserve the Union.

The wealth of the North, which is now fictitious, fugitive, and cosmopolitan, will become solid, real, and permanent so soon as the increase and extension of slavery, lowers the prices of the comforts and necessities of life, and gives to her a large and more permanent market for her manufactures and commerce. With the advantages of vicinity to the South, a revenue tariff in her favor, and the industrious habits and commercial and maritime skill of her people, she could monopolize our market through all time. We should be her slave colonies, and she would make larger profits from slavery than we. Let her examine the subject calmly, historically, religiously, morally, statistically, and philosophically, and she will find the proposed procedure quite as humane as profitable. If this does not satisfy her, calculate the costs and consequences of disunion, for it has come to this—either a renewal of the slave trade or disunion. There can be no drawn battle between abolition and slavery or the slave trade. Truth will prevail. One or the other must conquer. God defend the right!

Six thousand men at the North have signed a petition for a dissolution of the Union. They say they might easily have obtained sixty thousand signers. Twenty times as many, we regret to say, might be obtained for a similar purpose at the South. Ultimately abolition will be put down. The tide of public opinion from Western Europe sets in that direction. The London Times, the great organ of that opinion, is almost the avowed advocate of a revival of the old slave trade.

"THE LONDON TIMES ON SLAVERY.—On the first of the month of August—the anniversary of the West India emancipation—when our freedom shriekers and free negroes were celebrating the event, and singing hosannas to Queen Victoria, the 'London Times' used the following language:

"The worthy men who extinguished slavery and ruined our West India possessions are very touchy, very obstinate, very inconvertible on that tender point. It is not our business to deny them much justice and truth on either side, or to stand up for the planters, who took a line which repelled all reasonable advocacy. But confessedly taking that grand summary view of the question which we cannot help taking, after quarter of a century, the process was a failure—it destroyed an immense property, ruined thousands of good families, degraded the negroes still lower than they were, after all, increased the mass of slavery in less scrupulous hands. After many attempts at indirect discouragement, we have been obliged, at last, to recognise and admit persistent slave-owners to an equal rank in our commerce."

Despite these favorable signs, events are hurrying to a crisis in America, and, to save the Union, we must revive the slave trade very speedily. Temperising palliatives will not meet or satisfy the occasion. Some strong measure in which the sections are equally interested and can agree must be adopted, and we know of none other than this we have suggested.

Disunion might not injure us so much as the North. But it would probably involve us in continual wars, and would certainly so far divest us from agricultural pursuits as to enervate our national character, and to deprive us of that great lever of power with which our mighty agricultural surplus has invested us. We should cease to be great and powerful, although we might be more peaceful and happy.

Whilst we deprecate disunion as a great evil, yet to the South the evil would not be unattended with good. It would beget non-intercourse, and Adam Smith shall show for us the advantages likely to result from such a measure. Let the reader recollect that non-intercourse, brought about by legislation, produces the same effects as if it resulted from locality.

We quote from the conclusion of the chapter 12, Book III:

"At other times manufactures for distant sale grow up naturally, and, as it were, of their own accord, by the gradual refinement of those household and coarser manufactures which must at all times be carried on even in the poorest and rudest countries. Such manufactures are generally employed upon the materials which the country produces, and they seem frequently to have been first refined and improved in such inland countries as were not, indeed, at a very great, but at a considerable distance from the sea-coast, and sometimes even from all water carriage. An inland country, naturally fertile and easily cultivated, produces a great surplus of provisions beyond what is necessary for maintaining the cultivators; and on account of the expense of land carriage, and inconvenience of river navigation, it may frequently be difficult to send this surplus abroad. Abundance, therefore, renders provisions cheap, and encourages a great number of workmen to settle in the neighborhood, who find that their industry can there procure them more of the necessities and conveniences of life than in other places. They work up the materials of manufacture which the land produces and exchange their finished work, or, what is the same thing, the price of it, for more materials and provisions. They give a new value to the surplus part of the rude produce, by saving the expense of carrying it to the water-side, or to some distant market; and they furnish the cultivators with something in exchange for it, that is either useful or agreeable to them, upon easier terms than they could have obtained it before. The cultivators get a better price for their surplus produce, and can purchase cheaper other conveniences which they have occasion for. They are thus both encouraged and enabled to increase this surplus produce by a further improvement and better cultivation of the land; and as the fertility of the land had given birth to the manufacture, so the progress of the manufacture re-acts upon the land, and increases still further its fertility."

CONSEQUENCES OF ABOLITION AGITATION.

BY EDMUND RUFFIN, OF VIRGINIA.

NO. V.—(CONCLUDED.)

In the foregoing pages it has been maintained that war would not be either a necessary or a probable result of separation; and also, in the improbable or remote event of war, for any cause, that the injury to be thereby produced to the South, in regard to its slave interests, would be less than will be suffered under the present union. But there is still another question to consider. This is, if war, from any cause, should occur hereafter between the severed North and South, what will

be the comparative abilities of these parties to carry on the war—it being supposed (as is anticipated by all who predict its certain occurrence,) that the North would be the aggressive and offensive, and the South the defensive party.

Our Northern fellow-citizens are so accustomed to scoff at the alleged weakness of the Southern States, in military matters, and to ascribe the supposed weakness to the institution of slavery, that the belief is well established among themselves. Should an occasion require, this opinion will be found to be as much mistaken, as any other of the false positions of abolition fanaticism. With the Greeks and Romans, and all other of the most military of ancient nations, and all of them slaveholding nations, slavery did not impair, but on the contrary, increased their military force. Yet their slaves were of the same white race with their owners; and as men, in mind and education, often equal, or, in many individual cases, superior, to their masters. Yet history has nowhere shown that the holding of slaves was deemed a cause of national weakness in war. Among hundreds of slaveholding nations, and in the course of thousands of years, there have been some insurrections of slaves, and some few servile wars, of sufficient importance to be recorded in history. Of all these, the only one which was not quelled by the masters, was the servile war of St. Domingo; and that was both instigated and reinforced by the abolition fanaticism of the Jacobin government of revolutionary France, and the then political madness of the ruling class of that country. Such instigation and encouragement, and, indirectly, the promise of the future aid of armed support, are offered to our slaves by our "Northern brethren." But they have a very different people to deal with; and they will equal the emancipators of St. Domingo only in intention and effort.

Where, in all past time, there has been one mutiny, riot, outbreak, or rebellion of domestic slaves, there have been a hundred of as great importance, of the so-called free subjects of the governments of the world. If without the deluding precepts and stimulation from our "Northern brethren," there would be less of discontent among our slaves, and less of disposition as well as less inducement to rebel, than there is among the laboring class of England, almost the only free and certainly the best government of all Europe—or than there soon will be among the most needy and vicious population of the free Northern States of this Union. And there will be much less probability, after a separation, of any important insurrection of our slaves, with even temporary and short-lived success, than there will be of the great cities of Boston, New York and Philadelphia, and others, being sacked and burnt, and their wealthiest inhabitants massacred, by their own destitute, vicious, and desperate population. And such horrible atrocities in the northern cities will not be very improbable events, after the severance of the present union, and the cessation of the protection of the present General Government, and of the conservative influence (exerted through the Federal Union) of the slaveholding States—conservative in feeling and action because of the existence of slavery.*

* * Suppose that there existed in the Southern States organized, numerous and rich associations, supported and encouraged by public opinion in every Southern State, whose avowed object and whose continual action and effort through se-

The scoffs and contemptuous opinion of the North, in reference to our military weakness, should come in aid of other and stronger considerations to admonish us to be well prepared for war. The only possible danger of the occurrence of any warlike aggression, or invasion, from the North, will be the effect of belief in the weakness or timidity of the Southern States. Offer to the abolition States a sure and easy victory, or allow them confidently to expect it, and they will in that case, and that only, attempt armed coercion and conquest. Therefore, to preserve peace most effectually and certainly, we should be well prepared to meet any contingency of war.

In comparing and balancing the respective advantages (and especially in new countries) of slave and hiring labor, while claiming superiority for the former in most things, it is readily conceded that there are some superior advantages, as usually understood, in the latter. Under the system of hiring or free labor, there will be a denser population, more labor on the average of each individual hiring or laborer, and more individuals, as capitalists or employers of labor, closely engaged in and confined to their daily business, than in slaveholding countries. Consequently, in the absence of domestic slavery, there will be more production from each individual, both poor and rich, more of general wealth will be produced and accumulated, and more population kept together in a certain space of territory. The system of slave labor requires more space for population—more of comfort and ease for the laborers—than want and suffering permit to the destitute laborers of free society, and it obtains less labor from the slave than the free laborer of countries densely populated must perform to obtain bread. If there are disadvantages to the whole political community, as giving less labor, production and accumulation of wealth, and less population to a slaveholding country, there are some compensating benefits also in each individual member of the community, bond and free, enjoying more space, more comfort and repose, and security against extreme privation; and the proprietary class have more leisure, and use it more for social and intellectual improvement or enjoyment,

cret emissaries, were to persuade the destitute and suffering people of the North that they had equal rights to the riches and luxuries of their cities and of the world—that they were defrauded of their just rights and starved and made wretched by the actual possessors of wealth, and that they ought, and easily and safely and honestly could, take their full shares of the wealth of others, and quietly and peaceably, if the possessors did not resist this new and just distribution; and that in case of resistance to this act of justice, by the possessors of property, all the probable consequences of massacre, conflagration and irregular appropriation of the property in dispute, would be the fault of the previous property-holders, and not of their former destitute victims, who could in no other way obtain their rights. In the case supposed, of such infernal teachings, and of measures so sustained and so propagated and urged, what would the people of the North think, and how long would they submit to such action of their Southern "brethren?" Yet, if this atrocious conduct was that of every Southern State, and even in advance of all the actual enmity, or of the actual injuries inflicted by the North, it would not be worse in intention or consummation than the abolition action of the North, and of the stronger portion of every Northern State, towards the South, in relation to our institution of slavery, and the vital interests founded thereupon.

than can be approached in the class of property-holders where slavery does not exist. But these very defects (as they are estimated by others) of our system of slavery, besides other much greater benefits, provide a numerous class of the best possible material for military service, without drawing much from the productive labor and resources of the country. In every Southern county in which slaves make one-third or more of the population, one hundred men on an average could be raised on any sudden and urgent occasion, ready to march at a day's notice, and able to continue in military service a month, if needed, without any important loss to the persons so engaged, or to the productive values of the country at large. And if the danger of the country required, or the want of government supplies, at first, half of all such hasty levies would be volunteers, mounted on their own horses, carrying their own private arms, and with enough of their own provision, or money to buy it, to serve for a week, without any aid of the government. In the busy, frugal, and hard-working North, there is no such class of worthy (and trust-worthy) citizens, able to leave their daily labors and employments, or who could do so without great loss, and suffering to families. If, in case of need, a sudden call was made by the North for 50,000 men only, they could not be supplied, for the shortest time, without stopping the daily and necessary labor of nearly as many. It would be more destructive to the prosperity of any portion of the Northern States to furnish one-fourth of its men of military age, for a short service, than it would be for like portion of the South to furnish all for equal time. An army of volunteers from the North to invade the South, will be as like to be recruited from the rich merchants and capitalists of New York, as from the industrious and worthy of the class of artisans and laborers. The number of young soldiers, of the best material, who could be readily and quickly raised to defend Southern soil, or to inflict vengeance in reprisals, would be limited only by the demand of the country, and the means to arm and feed those who could not arm and feed themselves. And if the extremity of circumstances shall ever require offensive reprisals, and invasion of the enemy's country, the South will be able to obtain ten volunteers for such service, where one would leave the North for such distant warfare.

There is one superior military advantage, or nursery for soldiers, which the Northern States have in the many thousands of the vagrant, destitute, and vicious population, and worst nuisances of their great cities. For materials for a regular or standing army, and for a long, protracted war, requiring regular forces, these men, good for nothing else, and dangerous at home, would offer a valuable supply. But such soldiers would be destitute of every higher quality than mere physical force and obedience (if under the strictest discipline) to despotic military rule. For any moral or patriotic principle of conduct, or as volunteers, the free negroes of the South would be as respectable; and with the like necessary military rule and discipline, perhaps, would be equal in military array and conduct to the Northern "loafer" and convict soldiers.

But, it may be said that there would be no need of land forces for

invasion, or of military operations on land, because the North, possessing nearly all the mercantile marine, and, perhaps, retaining all the navy of the present Union, could blockade every Southern river and sea-port; and thus, safely and easily produce great privation and loss throughout the Southern States, and thus compel their submission.

The first part of this proposition we may safely (for the argument) admit to be probable, or even certain—and yet the conclusion will be none the less impossible. They who suppose that the people of the South would succumb to, or even be seriously affected by the mere privation of superfluities and luxuries, have no knowledge or experience in this respect, of our people, or of the nature of man.

After providing for the necessities and ordinary comforts of our households in food, clothing, fuel, and lodging, nearly all the remainder of the incomes of the community is used for expenditures for superfluous objects of luxury and display, to gratify the mind, and not required by the body, and designed for the eyes and admiration of other people, much more than for any comfort or benefit to the possessors or to their families. To such useless and ostentatious expenses the Southern people are as much addicted as any others. But there are very few individuals who would not cheerfully and readily yield and forego his share of this expenditure and indulgence for patriotic objects; and would even find therein more of pleasurable excitement. I remember well the operation and effects of this state of things, and of the feelings thereby excited during the war of 1812. No blockade of our coast by Northern ships, however close and long-continued, could now cause half the privation and loss then suffered from the British blockade. Previous to the declaration of war, the previous restrictive measures of embargo, non-importation and non-intercourse with Europe, had exhausted, without renewal, nearly all the supply of manufactured articles, and all foreign commodities. Without manufacturing, and without any facilities for transportation, during the British blockade, our Southern country became almost destitute of every thing but bread and meat, and a very scant supply of coarse home-spun fabrics. It was then accounted most honorable and patriotic to dispense with every luxury; and the wealthy then contended with each other as to who should be most frugal, plain, and most extreme in using only simple and cheap commodities and accommodations, as much as they would have contended at other times in the race of extravagant and ostentatious expenditure. As much real comfort was found, and more gratification of public spirit, and also of vanity and self-love, in wearing the coarsest and homeliest of home-spun garments, than there had been when the family used silks and the finest of cloths. There was positive and great enjoyment in pursuing this new course of hard living, in such a cause—as are the severe labors and great hardships of the hunter welcome to him, with the excitement and chances of the chase. And such will be again the state of things, in the event of its being required by a war with invasion or blockade by the enemy.

But there would be no more possibility of an effectual blockade by the North, than of a successful invasion by land forces. All the naval

force, and all the revenue of the Northern States, could not maintain a close and effectual blockade of all the Southern ports—and foreign powers would not respect, or submit to be shut out by any pretence of blockade. If foreign vessels entered Southern ports freely, and brought their commodities and bought ours, we, even though excluded for a time from the ocean, would, in a pecuniary point of view, be nearly as well off as now, when Northern vessels are our sole carriers. And if war should occur, the party owning few vessels, and carrying no ocean trade, could suffer nothing by depredations on the ocean; while the numerous ships and smaller vessels of the North, would furnish abundant and rich prey to privateers, which might be fitted out and commissioned by the Southern Confederacy, even if destitute of all other marine force or wealth. In a war of marine plunder and destruction of merchant vessels, the country owning the fewest ships, becomes the strongest for this purpose, and the one richest on the waters is exposed to loss more than in proportion to its amount of mercantile shipping.

When assuming an independent political existence, and afterwards, every consideration of self-interest will cause the Southern Confederacy to desire to have peace, amity, and also free trade with the Northern States, if true and real amity can subsist. And the best possible relation also for the North, would be amity, (and as a necessary condition, the refraining from all the now existing causes of exasperation,) and trade as nearly free as may be, with the South. But, whether with a moderate tariff of duties, for revenue only, or with no duties, Northern vessels and imports, in the Southern Confederacy, would at best stand only on equal footing with those of all other foreign countries. The Northern States and their commerce and manufactures, and shipping, would be deprived of all their former advantages, by which Northern interests gained monopoly prices and profits, and which were paid for by the South. No more protecting duties for Northern manufactures—no more fishing bounties, (in which \$10,000,000 have been already paid, mostly from Southern taxation, and received exclusively by the Northern navigation interests,)—no more bounties to Collins' or other lines of Northern steamers, also mainly paid by Southern taxes, and by which policy of the Federal Government, the last remnant of direct trade with Europe has been taken away from the Southern States. This new commercial condition of the North, though equal to that of all other nations, would be bad enough compared to the former and present system, by which so much of unjust and iniquitous gain has been made at the expense, and to the great detriment of the Southern States. But by resort to war, whether of arms or of tariffs, even the benefit of free, or of equally burdened trade would be lost to the North, if not also, all commercial intercourse with the South.

The separation of the Northern and Southern States, by secession of the latter, would, by the very act of dismemberment, put an end to the present Confederation and its Government. But, probably, the Northern remnant will claim to be still the "United States," and to have authority to administer the Government for all, as well as to hold to the national domain and all other public property. In this case, the South has the full means for redress, in commercial restrictions, as

has been already stated. But suppose that these measures were ineffectual, for redress for any cause whatever, and that the South had to suffer the spoliation, without compensation. There would still be, and mainly because of this act of spoliation, consequences for the old Northern States, (the leaders and main actors in the abolition movement,) much worse than yielding the unjustly held spoils, by agreeing to a just and fair division of the national property. The new Northwestern and Pacific States and territories, within which would lie all the public lands to be embraced in the great Northern section, would never agree to share the domain in proportion to population with the old Northern States. Each new State, and the squatters on each new territory, would claim, and would hold all the vacant land within their respective boundaries. Then the old Northeastern States will have robbed the South, only that the Northwestern and Pacific States and territories may secure all the most valuable spoil.

This will not be the only evil of vast importance to the old Northern States. When the separation of the present Union has been consummated, there will no longer remain to Northern men any political object or gain for which to agitate the slavery or abolition questions. The Swards, and Hales, and Wilsons, no longer kept down by Southern intellect and patriotism, would be the established leaders and rulers of the Northern Confederacy, and they could gain nothing more by denouncing slavery or contending against slaveholders. It would then be seen that the abolition question had been agitated only for political effect and benefit to the prime agitators; and when such agitation could no longer serve their interest, the alleged sin and horrors of slavery in the Southern Confederacy would be as little noticed by abolitionists, as has been always the case in regard to Cuba and Brazil. Certainly the condition of the slaves in those countries was far more wretched and more strongly calling for the sympathy of philanthropists than in these Southern States. Moreover, the illegal African slave-trade, of the most cruel and murderous character, (and with many of the slave vessels fitted out in Northern cities and by Northern capital,) continued to add to the number of slaves, and by such additions to increase the sufferings of all. These worst evils and sufferings incident to the worst condition of African slavery and the forbidden slave-trade, certainly were, and are, as much worthy of the attention of moral reformers and philanthropic abolitionists as the more humane treatment and comfortable condition of slaves in these Southern States. Yet scarcely have the Northern abolitionists noticed the horrors of Cuban or Brazilian slavery, while all their denunciations and hostility have been reserved for the milder slavery in the Southern States. This, if alone, ought to have shown, in advance, how false and hypocritical has been the pretence of this Abolition party being influenced by considerations of humanity or benevolence—by morality or religion. Separation of political connection will be the certain end of all actual and injurious abolition agitation. The newspapers of the North, after separation, and public speakers, both lay and clerical, may continue to denounce the iniquity of slavery and the atrocious acts of slaveholders. So are we denounced and abused in Canadian papers and speeches, and in British

newspapers and reviews. But as in these latter cases, there has never been sufficient inducement for attempting more active or practical interference with our rights and property, so neither will there be with the people of the Northern States, when no political gain can be made, or sought, by aid of such interference. Then the abolition agitation by politicians will die for want of object and aliment—and the deluded people of the North will then recover their lost sanity on this subject.

When this change shall have occurred, and the now prevailing delusion is at an end, the people of the new Northwestern States, who are especially connected with the South in bonds of trade by the Mississippi, and who have no such ties with New England, will see their error in following the fanatical course of the latter, to the end of separation from the Southern States, their natural allies and best customers. It will be found by them a source of great inconvenience and loss to have no trade with the Southern States, or a taxed trade in time of peace, though the passage of the Mississippi to the ocean or to foreign ports would be still open to their vessels and freights. And if the North should force war on the South, then, of course, the navigation of the lower Mississippi will be no longer open to the use of any portion of the hostile country. This would be ruinous to the Northwestern States. And on this ground, even without the anticipated difficulty growing out of the contest for the public lands, these Northwestern States, on the upper waters of the Mississippi, would soon secede from the Northeastern and Atlantic States and make a separate community, and also would make a separate peace—if not seek to be re-united to the Southern States. This abandonment by this vast and fertile region would leave the Northeastern States in a much more weak and hopeless condition than previously.

And as early, or perhaps earlier, there will be another secession from the first Northern confederacy, by California, Oregon, Utah, and all the other territory of the present United States lying on the Pacific slope. This separation will take place as soon as the residents of the Pacific States and territories shall deem the measure more beneficial to their interest, than to enjoy the bounties and have the protection of the present Federal Government, and the consummation will only be hastened and hurried by the previous separation of the slaveholding from the non-slaveholding States. And even under the present state of things, if such a separation were to take place, and if the parties would maintain perfect free-trade with each other, after their separation, (as while under one Government,) it would be no evil to the other portion of the present Union, and especially to the Southern States, if all the Pacific territory would at once declare its independence and secede from the United States. The Southern people, from the first possession, have been unjustly excluded from their equal rights to California. They will never receive either the value of an acre of land or an ounce of gold from this part of the public domain. And the only pecuniary interest that will accrue to the South (if not to the United States) from the possession of the territory on the Pacific slope, will be the Southern (and much larger) share of the cost of its government, maintenance,

and improvement in time of peace, and the incalculably greater cost of its military and naval defence in time of war. It would be far better for the South that the Pacific States and territories should secede at once, and even if without conditions or amicable arrangement, before we shall have to incur our legal share of the enormous cost of constructing one or more railroads to the Pacific, or of defending the Pacific coast from a foreign enemy and naval power. Already King Brigham Young is the despotic and secure ruler of the virtually independent Mormon people and country, to which the Government and people of the United States pay tribute, (in defraying the expenses of its territorial government, &c.,) and over which, or its ruler, the General Government dares not attempt to exercise any coercive control.

While such elements of division, if not of strife, would operate to separate the non-slaveholding States into at least three portions, the slaveholding States would have common interests, and unity of opinion and principles as to matters of general policy. United in a confederacy, they would possess enough of territory, population, and wealth for an independent community—strong enough for defence in arms against any single power whatever—and of more than double the absolute strength of all the thirteen united colonies when they revolted from and defied in arms their mother country, then one of the most powerful nations of the world. But a guaranty of safe defence, and almost of immunity from war, would be found in the important fact that this Southern confederacy would supply nearly all the cotton for the factories and the consumption of both Europe and America. The only nations of both hemispheres that could be dreaded as foes would incur far more injury from being shut out by war from the needed supply of our cotton, than would be compensated by any possible amount of military success.

The revenue and resources of the Southern States, heretofore contributed mainly to aid Northern interests, foster Northern industry and trade, and increase Northern wealth and power, would thenceforward be retained and used to sustain and build up our own commerce, and cities, and general prosperity. In twenty-five or thirty years our population and wealth will be doubled, and the value of our products and their demand by the commercial world will be increased in still greater proportion. There will probably be no community of more vigorous and healthy growth, or with better prospects of stable prosperity. With the aid of our own annual profits of industry and capital, and the encouragement that the new condition and demands of the Southern States will create manufactures, and navigation and commerce will increase rapidly, even if the growth was stimulated and maintained by Southern resources only. But in advance of this natural and slower growth, these branches of industry, and the men to carry them on, and the capital to sustain them, will be transplanted to any amount that may be desired and permitted, from the Northern to the Southern States, as soon as they shall have become separate political communities. Plenty of manufacturing capital, and also of capitalists and laborers, and plenty of ships and sailors, will come to obtain the benefits of an establishment in the South. There would

be nothing more wanting for this speedy and extensive transference of capital, industry, and also of (at least) professed allegiance, than the sure and simple operation of greatly reduced employment and profits in the Northern States, and the great increase of both in the independent and flourishing Southern Confederacy—then just beginning to use its own funds and resources to build up and sustain their own cities, manufactures, and navigation.

In the foregoing pages it was maintained, and I trust established in the minds of all who know the people of the South, and understand their condition, that there is no reason why a separation of the States should cause war between the portions, acting in their new positions as separate political communities. And further, it was maintained that if, contrary to all probability, war should thence arise, that the consequent and necessary evils of war would bear less heavily on the defensive South than on the aggressive North. That it would not promote the interest or welfare of either of the separated portions to make war on the other, is self-evident. And if that premise is admitted, the deduction is inevitable that aggressive war would not be made by either community because of their separation, and upon calculation and deliberate design.

But still there would be danger of war springing from other sources, though it might be as contrary to the wishes and intentions, as it would be detrimental to the interests of both the separated communities, and new political States. Immediately at the time of separation of States, previously embittered against each other by injuries inflicted and suffered, quarrels and collisions might take place between imprudent, violent, or turbulent individuals of both sides, which would involve other persons, as partisans, and spread hostile feeling and induce avenging action among many others, ready to be misled through their ignorance or prejudices. Or, otherwise, hostilities might be commenced and blood be shed by the indiscretion of a civil magistrate or military officer, or by the calculating self-interest and unscrupulous ambition of some one clothed with legal authority to command, and who might expect to elevate himself on the misfortunes of his country. Therefore, from one or more of these causes, there would be great danger of the commencement of at least partial hostilities, and private and unauthorized acts of violence and bloodshed along the new border lines. But all such dangers may be effectually guarded against, at the time and in the manner of beginning the separation, by adopting the policy which will be safest and best in every aspect, and which will be here indicated.

The opposers of further submission to wrongs, and consequent advocates for secession, in the more southern States, have been looking to the great State of Virginia to lead in the movement, in which case the large majority of the more southern States would follow immediately, and all others of the slaveholding States soon after. But, for reasons which ought to be manifest to every thinking man, a border State, as Virginia, or Maryland, or Kentucky would be after the general separation, never will, and scarcely can take the first step in the actual delib-

erate movement of secession. There will always be in States thus situated, at least a minority, timid, and also numerous enough to paralyze the will and strength of the majority. And such is the case now in Virginia, even though a large majority of the citizens are most earnestly opposed to longer submission to Northern wrongs. The proper and perfectly safe and peaceable course to bring about the secession, and subsequent confederation of all the slaveholding States, (excepting Delaware perhaps,) will be for Virginia, and all the other of the northern tier of the slaveholding States, with North Carolina and Tennessee, *not* to move at first, or as early as the more southern States. Whenever the evils inflicted under the present Union, and the usurpations and oppressions by the Northern States are deemed no longer tolerable, (if that time has not already arrived,) if five or six only of the more southern States adjoining each other, acting in concert, shall declare their independence of, and secession from the present Federal Government, the movement will be perfectly safe from the danger of producing individual conflicts and border feuds, as well as from attack or war from the Northern States, or the still remaining Federal Power. There could be no border feuds, because the people and their magistrates, or leaders on both sides of the new (and but temporary) line of separation would be alike in interests and sentiments. And if the government or people of the Northern States should be so insane as to make war, and attempt to march an army to coerce or conquer the seceding States, there would be to these an impregnable barrier of protection afforded in the common feeling and friendship, and the position of the slaveholding and (as yet) non-seceding States. And within a few months, or as early as the plan of government of the new Southern confederacy would be determined on and organized, and the power of the already separated States would be consolidated, the time would have arrived for the final and practical settlement of the great question—the question which would have been growing more and more intense in interest as to the subsequent course of the non-seceding and slaveholding States. This question is, would they follow the course and share the fortunes of their friends, or remain in the power, now more than doubled for their injury, of their opponents and worst enemies? Whether the first seceding States were ten or but five in number, they would be equally and perfectly safe from Northern hostility or attack. And whether five or ten in number, their secession would equally leave the non-seceding and slaveholding States in a helpless and hopeless minority in their then political connection, and at the mercy of a hostile, malignant, and remorseless majority of their enemies. If now, when the Southern States in the present confederacy number fifteen, to sixteen non-slaveholding States, their rights are trodden down, and their dearest interests are in the course of being gradually but certainly destroyed by their barely more numerous co-States, what will be their prospect for defence or safety when they shall number but five or ten to sixteen hostile Northern States? Scarcely would a year elapse, or the requisite legal formalities be complied with, before the present provisions of the Federal Constitution, which authorize slave representation, and protect slave property, would be annulled,

and when other enactments would make the complete destruction of the institution of slavery but a question of time. Would Virginia and North Carolina, or Kentucky and Missouri, wait for this certain consummation? Certainly they will not, unless they are already prepared to submit to this extreme measure of outrage and spoliation. As soon as these middle-ground States could act through their legislatures, they would undoubtedly and necessarily determine to unite with their more southern sister States in their common cause and political connection. Not only would all these named States so act, both from preference and necessity, but Maryland also. For, if this State were separated from political connection and friendship with Virginia and the other more southern States, the commerce of Baltimore would be ruined, and with it the great commercial interests, as well as the property in slaves of that State. Unless the people of Maryland are prepared to make these sacrifices, immediate or remote, for the benefit of remaining united with the Northern States, ready indeed to submit to certain ruin, they will as certainly concur in and follow the seceding movement, as will the more southern people.

In this manner, without risk of war or bloodshed, the separation of our present union with our worst enemies may be effected, and the consequent construction of a Southern and slaveholding confederacy. Then, freed from the hostile and incendiary action of our now fellow-citizens and "brethren" of the North, the people of the South will be well able to guard against them either as foreigners, or (if they prefer that character) as enemies. Slave property, by being then duly guarded and protected, will become even more secure in the northern border counties of Virginia and Maryland, than now in their southern frontiers. Freed from longer paying millions every year of legal tribute to the North, through the machinery of tariffs, banks, and other commercial privileges, (as in the fishery bounties, exclusive coast navigation, and bounties to lines of ocean steamers,) the Southern States would soon rise to the high position of economical, commercial, and political prosperity, which would be the certain result of retaining the products of their industry and wealth for their own use and benefit. On the other hand, if things continue as they are, the outside pressure of fanaticism, and its secret incendiary action, operating more and more to render property in slaves unsafe, will continue to cause (as has long been the case) and to increase the removal of the slave population from the border slaveholding States until these will lose all, and ceasing to be slaveholding, must consequently become more and more assimilated to the North in sentiment and policy. On this account, every year that shall pass before the secession movement is made, will serve to depress still lower the property and slavery interests, and the power for resistance and self-protection of the border slaveholding States. If these States are to be successfully defended in the possession of their property, their political rights, and everything dear to freemen, or if they are to be preserved as a future integral portion, and the border bulwark of a Southern confederacy, it must be secured by the more southern States seceding first, and speedily.

THE PROBLEM OF MISGOVERNMENT IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

THE TWO REPRESENTATIVE MEN, CARREBA AND MORAZAN.

Many late events have concurred in attaching to Central American affairs an interest which they have never before had in the regards of the people of the United States, and on that account we readily give publication to the annexed article, which will be found to embrace most interesting material. The readers of the Review, by recurring back to our volumes for the last few years, will find much additional information upon the same subject. The Central American States are as follows:

| | Square miles. | Population. |
|-------------------|---------------|-------------|
| Guatemala..... | 28,000 | 972,000 |
| San Salvador..... | 13,000 | 363,000 |
| Honduras..... | 72,000 | 308,000 |
| Nicaragua..... | 48,000 | 247,000 |
| Costa Rica..... | 16,000 | 137,000 |
| Moquita..... | 23,000 | 6,000 |

Of the Nicaraguans, 80,000 are estimated to be Indians, 15,000 negroes, 20,000 whites, and more than 100,000 mixed races. The following table will show the commercial movement of the country with the United States. (See Commercial Relations U. S., v. 1, p. 603.)—EDITOR.

Comparative statement of the commerce of the United States with Central America, exhibiting the value of exports to and imports from each country, and the tonnage of American and foreign vessels arriving from and departing to each country, during the years designated.

| Years. | Domestic prod't exported. | Foreign produce exported. | Total. | Imports. | Entered the United States. American, tons. | Cleared from United States. American, tons. | Entered the United States. Foreign, tons. | Cleared from United States. Foreign, tons. |
|--------|------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|--|---|---|--|
| 1845.. | \$41,548 | \$36,101 | \$67,649 | \$65,369 | 1,690 | 1,049 | 523 | 187 |
| 1846.. | 75,136 | 45,117 | 120,253 | 116,733 | 2,423 | 957 | 107 | 214 |
| 1847.. | 73,333 | 28,346 | 96,568 | 90,581 | 1,333 | 1,345 | ..... | ..... |
| 1848.. | 84,940 | 15,438 | 50,373 | 13,373 | 3,331 | 308 | 154 | 760 |
| 1849.. | 112,490 | 28,739 | 136,319 | 56,017 | 1,226 | 5,308 | 333 | 75 |
| 1850.. | 57,325 | 12,967 | 70,192 | 261,459 | 8,549 | 290 | 653 | 1,732 |
| 1851.. | 224,302 | 89,069 | 263,391 | 149,856 | 8,550 | 27,565 | 209 | 4,406 |
| 1852.. | 336,136 | 87,383 | 473,518 | 368,855 | 51,139 | 54,596 | 1,357 | 5,323 |
| 1853.. | 225,856 | 120,474 | 346,330 | 590,937 | 68,303 | 90,737 | 2,543 | 3,173 |
| 1854.. | 250,589 | 59,345 | 306,834 | 2,300,423 | 84,197 | 85,514 | 1,467 | 3,499 |
| 1855.. | 1,210,594 | 51,566 | 1,262,170 | 296,469 | 90,953 | 90,943 | 269 | 1,111 |

THE relations of a nation to its own government, and to the political destinies of the rest of the world, constitute its political history. This class or division of general history engaging, as it does, the highest aspirations of thought and scholarship, and appealing to emotions of the most intense transcendentalism, has yet an interest in its revelations peculiarly practical and popular. Its actual analogies, its relations to the future as a philosophy of fact, and its implication of the destinies of the political world that surrounds it, give to such accounts of each nation an interest that irresistibly engages the popular mind, careless and forgetful as it is of more events that have passed away.

In this general sense the history of Central America is pe-

cularly and permanently interesting to the political scholar and enlightened citizen of our own United States. The following pages, however, are more particularly devoted to the phenomena, in the history of Central America, of a political and civil liberty peculiarly American, and to the analogies and direct similarity of the forms of the two governments, as well as of popular theories of civil equality, and of particular institutions. We have designed thus to indicate an American interest in the politics of the country, superior to the popular temper excited by current events, and as comprehensive as our own entire future, and as enduring as our own political existence.

We hope indeed to have accomplished something in these pages beyond their mere slight record of events. We hope, in treating the curious problem of misgovernment, in Central America, to have indicated the lesson that the unrestrained love of liberty is subversive of public virtue and order; that it leads to political prostitution; and that it terminates in utter ruin, unless suffering, or the constant repetition of a lesson of experience, at last provoke reflection and lead to the long repentance of true sincerity.

And indeed we may hope to lay claim to some positive originality in sustaining the proposition that the confederation of the five Republics, instead of being a desideratum to which the best statesmen and purest politicians of Central America have devoted themselves, is the object of a false policy, which, by hostilizing the different republics, engendering strife, and multiplying the sources of disorder, is chiefly responsible—whatever the excuse of a sincere, though mistaken patriotism—for the unhappy state of political affairs prevailing since the declaration of independence in 1821. Here, too, we involve a principle of wide application and interest. It is, that that unique and excessively complex form invented in Government, the Federal Republic, is of very limited application, and unsuited to States occupying even indifferent relations, while productive of the greatest benefits where there is a certain unity of national character, and such common and mutual interests as grow out of the necessities of commerce and foreign policy.

The political and national history proper of Central America, dates from the comparatively modern era of the independence of that country, declared and effected in the year 1821. From that time until the present date the country has been the theatre of violent struggles and strifes, and all the fearful consequences of political differences, aggravated by sectional jealousies.

The space of very nearly three centuries preceding the in-

dependence may be embraced in a few general remarks. The policy of Spain towards her American dependencies was uniformly mild, and in no case more so than towards the ancient kingdom or Viceroyalty of Guatemala. The country remained for nearly three centuries in a state of political torpor, without any event of great national interest to refer to, until it was awakened by the proclamation of independence. This event seems to have been the result of one of those sudden enthusiasms for which political nature is so remarkable, rather than to have been called forth by acts of tyranny, and the stern demands of outraged justice. The Spanish rule, under which the country had quietly reposed for so long a time, had been mild and tolerant. In fact, the connection between Spain and the Viceroyalty of Guatemala held so slightly at last, that the separation was entirely peaceable, and the independence of the Central American provinces, dating from 1821, was achieved by its simple declaration.

Although the date of the rebellion is generally placed as that of the pronunciamiento of Guatemala, in 1821, it appears that there was an earlier revolutionary movement in which an appeal was made to arms. There is a curious evidence of such earlier revolt of the people in a decree of the Cortes, dated 16th October, 1813. It recites that there is conceded to the city of Cartago, in Costa Rica, the title of *muy noble*, and to the towns of Heredia and San José the title of *ciudades*, as a reward for their fidelity during the insurrectionary movements which had taken place in San Salvador and Granada, at the time their independence of Spain was proclaimed. The country was not then ripe for independence. The mass of the people, indeed, devoted as they were to their traditions of the mother country, maintained their loyalty, as well as the nobles of the Viceroyalty, to the last moment of the existence of the Spanish rule. The vanity of self-government, with its delusions and enthusiasm, had not yet been conceived in the popular mind. It is not to be disguised that the country had prospered under the Viceroyalty; and the proposition may be laid down with emphasis, that at no time has Central America been more really prosperous than at the time of throwing off the easy yoke of Spain.

In contemplating, indeed, the splendid expectations of national happiness and glory which were indulged by the entire people of Central America, at the time of their taking their position before the world as a free and independent nation, and on comparing their enthusiasm for the future with the many actual events of civil war, tyranny, usurpation, revolution, and popular infidelity, the heart, in fact, is touched with sadness at so deplorable a contrast, and the imperfect fulfil-

ment which it betokens of human purposes and aspirations towards political regeneration. The repetition of such a moral lesson, although taught so plainly by history all the world over, may not be gratuitous, while an intellectual problem of the highest political significance is contained in those lamentable events to which we have referred.

At the time of the celebration of its independence everything promised fair and glorious for the political future of Central America. The popular sentiment was apparently unanimous for free institutions. There was undoubtedly sincere and elevated patriotism among a large portion of the people. Men of intelligence and education to assist in the re-organization of the government were not wanting. There was no public debt to impede the progress of the country. Blessed with a variety and abundance of resources, and with a large population, many of them used to labor, the rapid growth of the wealth and material interests of the country seemed certain. What then was wanting to secure civil liberty and popular happiness? It was the entire destitution of the people of anything like a national character to sustain them in the trials and temptations of their new position. We do not give this as the only answer of which the historical problem alluded to will admit. But we do rely on it as the chief cause of the failure and reactionary results of the attempt at self-government in Central America. Experience is the foundation of natural as well as individual character. The nation must go through the vicissitudes of political life, foreign and domestic; it must derive wisdom from reverses, and courage from misfortunes overcome; it must learn its own strength and its own weakness, and be impressed with a true sense of political destiny, before it can be considered to have attained to a growth of character that may give it security and stability in the political world. This is what we understand by national character, and the want of which we have to deplore, at every step, in the political history of Central America.

The country under the Spanish rule had, as we have already remarked, lain dormant, or in a state of blank existence. At the time of asserting their independence of this rule, the people were wholly inexperienced in self-government, unacquainted with the dangers and trials of an independent political existence, ignorant, practically, of the machinery of government, unused to liberty, and incapable of control. In such a state of the popular mind, it was to be expected that antagonistic parties should arise, differing widely as to the best interests of the country, and animated in time by a fierce, bigoted, and oppressive spirit. In consequence, too, of the political inexpe-

rience of the people, and their want of an established national character to rely on, it might well be presumed, that the utmost confusion of political plan and action would ensue, and the popular fickleness and irresolution would contribute to a constant uncertainty of the existing order of things. With prospects such as these, open the pages of the history of republican government in Central America.

The separation of the country from the Spanish government was accomplished without bloodshed. On the 15th of September, 1821, the independence of the country was proclaimed by a popular assembly in Guatemala, and a national Congress, or constituent assembly, convoked for the purpose of organizing an independent and republican form of government. The national assembly met in the City of Guatemala, and was in session but a few days before the harmony of its counsels was destroyed amidst the wildest scenes of partisan fury and violence. A party in the assembly, headed by men suspected for their aristocratic sentiment, and their attachment to the old monarchic institutions, advocated the annexation of the country to the Mexican Empire, then under the rule of Iturbide. This plan, which seems to have been in no way canvassed before the people met with a zealous opposition. The motives of the aristocratic faction, or as they were called by their opponents, the servile party, were criticised with great severity, and characterized as treasonable. On the other hand, the plan of the liberals, as the party in favor of independence and a republican constitution of a radical model was called, was deprecated as too violent a transition in the modes of government, and as a ruthless desecration of the political traditions of the country. The charge and recrimination of treason kindled fury in the breasts of the two factions. The contest in some cases led to bloodshed and assassination. The serviles, however, eventually succeeded in breaking up the assembly by repeated acts of violence; and they proclaimed to the different municipalities their proposition of the incorporation of the country with the Mexican Empire. A decree to that effect was subsequently issued, in conformity with the vote of the army, and the alleged decision of the municipalities.

The voice of the people was scarcely heard in this change of government. It is, perhaps, capable of proof that the popular will, although confused and undefined, if it had been fairly questioned, would not have consented to have sacrificed the independence of the country, and the anticipations of the success of republican institutions, and of the happiness of self-government, for the security of foreign protection and the tinsel brilliancy of an imperial court.

It may be well to pause for a moment at this crisis in the affairs of the country, to make a precise and brief review of the differences and relative composition of the two parties referred to, and of the agencies in a political contest which has been waged almost incessantly until the present day.

The imperialists, or, as they were characterized by their opponents, the serviles, had repudiated the pronunciamiento of Guatemala for absolute independence; but their design was not to form any union with Mexico, other than on terms of strict political equality. One of the plans indeed, which had been originally pronounced for, was to form out of the territory of Mexico and Central America together, a new constitutional empire to take the name of Anahuac. No sacrifice of political equality was ever contemplated by the imperialists in the public advocacy of their project, or in the negotiations which they conducted secretly with Iturbide. The interests, the manners, and the traditions of the party were all opposed to republican institutions, and the union with the Mexican Empire was recommended by the political intrigues of many of the representatives of the old nobility to further their own selfish ends at the court of Iturbide. Such is probably a fair estimate of the principles and motives of the imperialists. The party has survived the political crisis in which it first arrayed itself in opposition to the popular majority; and has continued with some slight modifications of its identity to the present period of the history of Central America.

At the time the union with Mexico was debated, the imperialists and republicans were to some extent local parties, and sectional differences doubtless contributed to their political opposition.* Different municipalities pronounced for the one or the other party; and in some instances the feuds and jealousies subsisting between some of the towns and Guatemala, where the absolute independence of the country had first been proclaimed, were the moving causes in the division of parties. The political and moral distinctions in the composition of the two were, however, well marked. The imperialists were perfectly distinct as a political class. They were composed of the larger portion of the aristocracy under the monarchy, with almost the entire clergy and the extremes of society, whose political conscience was in the keeping of the church. The party could not have been more powerfully organized; and it has frequently, in the history of the country, while in a numerical minority, enforced its measures, and compelled submission by a superior policy. Its darling measure has been the separation of the States and their absolute sovereignty.

We may anticipate slightly our historical sketch in point of time, to notice one remarkable feature of the policy of the

serviles in all parts of Central America. It has been their devotion to British interests, which have always been opposed to the confederation of the States, as an element of strength against their own encroachments and rapacity. It has been in fact chiefly through British influence, exerted in low intrigue and the stimulations of corruption, that the servile or legitimist party has been maintained in power, and, in turn, has favored the English schemes of private and public speculation in the politics of the country, and has united in an opposition to a confederation, or family pact, of the different republics. It is true that we shall have frequent occasion to admit in these pages the superior policy of a separation of the States; but we should feel heartily ashamed to have this admission construed into an apology for British interference in Central American politics, which we hope to have sufficiently characterized by its dishonorable motives and infamous means.

The republicans, or as they were commonly styled the liberals, were arrayed against the serviles as an opposition from the beginning. They repudiated, from the first, the government of Iturbide, and professed their devotion to the absolute independence of the country, and to a democratic form of government. But during the early crisis in the political history of the country, to which we have referred, a most dangerous sentiment seems to have taken possession, to a large extent, of the popular mind, which clearly originated in false ideas of political independence and civil liberty, and an impatience of subordination. To many of the people the idea of their independence was a return to primitive political relations, and each community was free to secede from its neighbors and to establish its own government, on the basis, however, of natural rights. The ideas of the masses were false and indefinite as to how far these natural rights of freedom were to be restricted and controlled by civil and political relations; and in the ardor which the pronunciamiento of Guatemala for independence had kindled in the hearts of the people and their adorations of ideal or theoretical liberty, they unwillingly submitted to rigid forms of government. Such sentiments did actually exist among the people to a considerable extent. The enlightenment and discretion however, contributed to the popular mind by party organizations modified such sentiments, and chastened the passions which prompted them, and although the liberals might be styled radical in the political applications of the term, they were, nevertheless, attached to practical models of republican government, and commanded respect as well for intelligence as for patriotism and disinterested love of liberty. Their weakness in point of policy was a devotion to a federal form of government; and we may even imagine

that if the Guatemala States had been left politically separate, many wars and disorders would have been avoided, and that the aggregate results of self-government in the five republics might have been satisfactory.

We return from this rather prospective definition of parties in Central America to the course of events immediately following upon the decree of incorporation with Mexico.

Although the Imperial Government, and the party in its interest, persisted in regarding the annexation of the whole territory of the ancient kingdom of Guatemala to Mexico as an act already consummated, the political union of the two countries was never brought into practical operation. It was from the beginning a failure. It is true that the Imperial Government was proclaimed in Guatemala on the 5th of January, 1822, that in the same year it decreed a political division of the new territory into three Captain Generalcies, viz: Chiapas, Sacatepequez, and Costa Rica, with Ciudad Real, Guatemala, and Leon, named as their respective capitals, and that it dictated laws for the civil government of the people. These measures were never practically carried out; the civil administration was not popularly recognized; and the political divisions of the country failed wholly of a re-organization of the government and the establishment of order. The popular discontentment and inquietude, natural to the uncertain political state of the country, increased. The restless sentiment of the people was aggravated, too, by the zeal of a powerful party, bitterly opposing the Imperial Government, and professing a republican creed of the most liberal description. In different parts of the country, particularly in the province of San Salvador, which was so early renowned as the stronghold of the Republican party, the people appealed to arms, and harassed the servile army by insurrections and a skirmishing warfare. The campaign, however, terminated with the submission of the republican forces on the 7th February, 1823. Gen. Vicente Filisola, at the head of a division of imperial troops, took possession of the city of San Salvador, and, marching his troops into the plaza, proclaimed the authority of Iturbide. The servile, or aristocratic party, that had called to its assistance the hired soldiery of Mexico, enjoyed, however, over their foes but a brief triumph; and, indeed, the victory of Filisola entailed upon all the classes of citizens the most horrible disorders consequent upon the maintaining in the country a standing army of mercenaries. In the midst, however, of this reign of terror, came the unexpected intelligence of the dethronement of Iturbide. A republic had been proclaimed in Mexico, and the Guatemalan provinces were to be left free to reassert their independence, and,

establish such constitutions as might suit them. In consequence of this political reversion, Gen. Filisola immediately disbanded his army, and with the authority of the Jefe Superior Político, he proclaimed on the 29th March, 1823, the decree of convocation for a National Constituent Assembly to meet in the city of Guatemala.

In pursuance of this decree, the Constituent Assembly, or Congress of the Provinces, met in Guatemala. The authority of the body extended by representation over all the territory of the ancient kingdom of Guatemala, with the exception of that of Chiapas, which province separated itself from this new political association, and was afterwards annexed to the Mexican Republic.

The first act of the Constituent Assembly was to reassert the independence of the Guatemalan provinces, giving them the name of the United Provinces of Central America, declaring them free and independent of Spain, of Mexico, and of every other power, and that they could not be the inheritance of any family whatever.

A republican constitution was next framed, which adopted the system of popular government and federal representation, and established certain general laws for the organization of each province as a State of the proposed union. A strong minority of the Convention opposed the plan of federation, the remnants of the aristocratic party insisting on the issue of centralization in the General Government; and not a few of the Liberals themselves, embarrassed by the excessively complex form of government in a federation of States, were in favor of simpler and stricter models of republican government. The constitution was, however, adopted, with the plan of federation or qualified sovereignty of the several States, and was decreed on the 22d November, 1824; and the Republic of Central America, as it was called, composed of the States of Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras, San Salvador, and Costa Rica, was fairly inaugurated.

Amongst the measures of public reform so happily consummated by this Assembly, are enumerated decrees for the immediate abolition of slavery, and the suppression of the slave trade. By a decree of the 17th April, 1824, it was declared that all slaves, in any part of Central America, should be free from that date; and, on the 23d of the same month, it was also declared that every person, within the limits of the Republic, was free, and that no one living in the territory could be held as a slave; and the traffic in slaves was prohibited under severe penalties. It was also provided to allow a certain indemnification to the proprietors. The interests, however, actually involved in this moral reform, were of but little import-

ance, as the whole number of slaves in the Republic at the time did not exceed one thousand, being composed principally of domestic servants.

There were many more striking reforms, however, of immediate and practical benefit established by the Assembly, under the sanction of constitutional law, and by virtue of the special decrees. Such especially worthy of mention, were the the freedom of the press and the encouragement of foreign immigration, thus strengthening the foundations of national liberty and enlarging the area of progress.

But a fatal constitutional error, which could not be atoned for by any of the compensations of special legislation, and which rendered all peace and prosperity impossible, had been perpetrated by the Assembly. It was the adoption of a federal form of government.

The Federal Republic, unless the plan of federation is excessively complicated by ingenious divisions of power, or unless circumstances conspire to produce an extraordinary community of interests, is a most imperfect and impracticable form of government. This proposition, alone, will account in a great measure, for the different success of this form of government in North and in Central America. While the Federal form of government has been to us, by its wise complications of political power, and by its furtherance of mutual and common interests, an incalculable blessing, it has proved to our republican neighbors of Central America one of the severest curses which political tyroism could have inflicted on that country. The plan of federation adopted in the constitution of 1824, was, in the first place, very indefinite in its division of power between the General Government and the States. It was the product of a jejune political spirit, delighting in nice theoretical constructions of government. It could not withstand the shocks of popular excitement, and in an emergency it had no other resource than the dictatorial usurpations of power. But even if the plan of federation had been perfected by the wisest and most approved political synthesis, it would still have lacked indispensable requisites for success. The country was not adapted to that form of government. There were no common and mutual interests, proceeding either from the relations of trade or from a foreign policy, to bind the people of different sovereignties in a political union, to hold them to concessions of power, and to provoke compromises at critical times. There was never any such extraordinary community of commercial and foreign interests to serve as a foundation for a confederacy. The mistaken policy of the most prominent statemen and republicans of Central America, in their constant attempts to sustain or

reconstruct a confederacy of States, has undoubtedly done much to add to the disorders of that country; and if experience may eventually conclude on the subject, it will teach that any plan of federation under the social and political conditions presented in Central America, must merely serve to provoke controversies, to aggravate dissensions, and to multiply disorders.

A striking reflection of these general remarks will be found in the rapid current of events which followed the inauguration of the federal republic at the city of Guatemala.

Gen. Manuel José Arce, who had been elected President, and installed in office on the 29th April, 1825, soon found himself entirely unable to sustain his authority against popular outbreaks in Guatemala, which State was charged with treason to the Union. Convinced that the federal authority having failed to inspire moral respect, had no other means of being sustained, he turned, with characteristic rashness or deeper design to the resource of a dictatorial exercise of power. On the 10th October, 1826, he convoked, on his own responsibility, a National Congress Extraordinary, at the town of Cojutepeque, with the view of reforming the plan of federation, and establishing a centralized (*unitaro*) system of government. This measure was rejected and repudiated by the governments of Nicaragua, Honduras, and San Salvador; and civil war was immediately declared by a detachment of troops from the latter State marching upon Guatemala, in which State alone, the federal authority was sustained, Costa Rica remaining neutral throughout the struggle which ensued.

Such were the first fruits of the confederacy. The political dissensions of the country had been aggravated to the highest pitch by the acts and assertions of power of the Federal Government; and the descent was easy into the horrors of civil and internecine war.

The war lasted with various success till March 1829, when it was happily terminated by the capture and occupation of the city of Guatemala by Gen. Morazan at the head of 2,000 allied troops. The Federal Congress, which had been dissolved in 1826, assembled on the 22d June, 1829, elected to the presidency José Francisco Barrundia, who was formerly Governor of Guatemala, and had been deposed on a charge of treason; and enacted a formal decree of exile against Gen. Arce, who had fled to Mexico, with other political refugees.

The Federal Congress of 1829, also distinguished itself by a decree dated the 7th September of that year, completely prostrating the power of the church. It abolished all the religious establishments and orders throughout the country; appropriated to each State, respectively, the temporalities of the extinct

convents; and prohibited the professions of perpetual vows. This extraordinary decree, so opposed to the strong religious sentiment of the people, was, however, in all respects, a political measure, and intended as a retaliation on the suspected partizan sympathies of the church.

With the re-establishment of civil order by the success of the allied arms, there was preparing, however, another crisis. Gen. Francisco Morazan, formerly Governor of Honduras, and who, in the progress of the war, had risen to the chief command of the allied troops, and had eventually led them by victorious marches into the plaza of Guatemala, had acquired, not only the accustomed popularity of success, but, in an extraordinary measure, the gratitude and confidence of large portions of the people. He belonged to the so-called liberal party in politics, and was entirely devoted to the idea of a confederation of the States, by which darling political measure he imagined to build up a powerful Southern republic. On the other hand, the servile, or aristocratic party, which dated back to the Mexican incorporation policy, was re-organized with great unanimity on this issue, and opposed the constitution of 1824 to the favor of the re-construction of the State governments as of independent sovereignties and nationalities. Such was the state of parties at the time of the re-organization of the federal government.

In addition to the arguments already referred to, of the indefiniteness of the existing and proposed plans of federation, the incoherency of prevailing ideas of political union, and the lack of mutual commercial interests, or even of a well defined foreign policy to keep the States united, additional obstacles had arisen at the time in the way of confederation from the mutual suspicions and jealousies of the States bordering on hostility, and from the well-ascertained fact that the aristocratic party held a large majority in the State of Guatemala. Gen. Morazan, however, having been elected as President, entered upon the civil administration of the Government with the evident determination of holding the States to confederation, and in the pursuit of a false policy, he soon lost all that the country had contended and bled for under his victorious command in battle.

In the vague notion of State Rights prevalent, secession was considered by the party as a matter of discretion, as well as an expression of dissatisfaction with the Administration, and a measure of coercion. It might have been very evident to Gen. Morazan, if he had regarded the motives and popular theory of these secessionary movements, commenced in San Salvador, that there was not the slightest hope of maintaining the confederacy in the face of this utter perversion of the po-

litical theory of the Government, and the violent dissatisfaction of the other States with their federal association with Guatemala. But his devotion to the Federal Republic impaired his judgment, and impelled him to a most extraordinary usurpation of power, which was to assume the independent Executive authority in San Salvador, and subject that State to an Administration of his own appointment. This excessively high-handed measure decided the fate of the Union. The popular sentiment, after the usual amount of vacillating, settled down strongly in opposition to the Federal policy. Even but a small minority of his own party, the Liberals, supported General Morazan in his violent policy to preserve, as he supposed, the integrity of the Republic. The Federal Government was popularly repudiated, the States again disunited and antagonistic, and the fell passions of internecine war nourished at the breasts of political fanaticism.

In this deplorable reversion of affairs there was issued, on the 30th April, 1833, a decree convoking a new constituent Congress. This concession of the Federal Administration was of no avail, on account of the dissatisfaction of some of the States with the popular basis of representation, which gave Guatemala a very large majority in Congress.

Again, in 1835, the Federal Congress, sitting at San Salvador, where the Capital had been removed, decreed a new constitution, being a reform of that of 1824, on the basis of new concessions to the States. None of the States, however, but Costa Rica, voted to accept it. Notwithstanding such unmistakable evidences of the preference of the States for secession, and the pronunciamientos of Morazan's own party, he still kept up the Federal organization, and struggled along for several years with an almost nominal government in his hands, through political anarchy and the horrors of the Indian insurrections in Guatemala, in the midst of which the Republic was dissolved.

On the 30th May, 1838, the Federal Congress pronounced the dissolution of the Union, in passing a decree declaring the constitution of 1824 to have no binding power on the States, except to affirm and secure the popular representative form of government. This last Congress closed its sessions on the 20th July following, and never again assembled.

The Union was not, however, to be peaceably terminated by an act of legislation. Its disruption took place in the midst of a popular anarchy, terrible, but peculiar, in its demonstrations.

We may refer for explanation to the two general principles by which we have attempted to solve the problem of misgovernment in Central America. They are:

1. The inapplicability of a Federal form of government to States occupying indifferent or jealous relations.

2. A false and ignorant enthusiasm for the greatest possible freedom in government, leading to endless revolution, until corrected by political education, or exhausted by its own discontents.

We have already seen how, in the first principle of politics noted above, there originated the civil wars which so early obstructed and turned back the republican progress of the country. The second branch of political causation indicated above leads us to the contemplation of those frightful popular insurrections, commencing in Guatemala during the last days of the Republic, and outvieing all the horrors and cruelties of the preceding civil wars between the different States.

In their theoretical constructions of government the people seemed to have wholly forgotten the necessity of their being taxed, and contributing in other ways to the support of the government. Their ideas of liberty were selfish, and their patriotism was at once restricted and visionary. Every policy and act of the government was liable to misconstruction, while some of its most liberal reforms were ignorantly and selfishly denounced.

The Indians of Guatemala, actuated by the vague enthusiasms of political ignorance, were the first to rise against the government. Their first outbreak took place in the year 1837. At the commencement of the insurrection, there appeared a man well calculated to conduct it—Rafael Carrera, a leader crossed with Indian blood, and notorious for ignorance and a brutal manner, which he brought with him from a low and menial occupation; but still possessing a character for great energy, comprehensive purpose and personal influence, and thus combining the elements of a certain degree of greatness.

The insurrectionary movements in Guatemala met with but little opposition from the Federal authorities, while they steadily increased. The priests were busy in inflaming the minds of the people against the colonization scheme of the Federal Government, which policy was denounced to the aborigines as intended to displace them by foreigners, and eventually to extinguish them. Carrera, assisted by the art of priesthood, collected an immense army, and ravaged the country. Emboldened by his successes, he conceived the design of completely extinguishing the Federal authority; while his own ambition to conquer and rule gave a frightful importance to the contest.

Gen. Morazan was still clinging with unworthy devotion to the discarded idea of a confederacy of the States, and had absolutely refused to resign the Presidency, notwithstanding

the decree of 1838. With a zeal still more irrational, however generous the passions from which it sprung, he subsequently made active and daring attempts to re-organize the Republic, but in vain. The Federal Government, in his person, never continued to be recognized, except in San Salvador, the other States having, shortly after the close of the last session of Congress, celebrated treaties of alliance and amity as sovereign powers.

We shall not occupy the space to detail the events of the terrible war, headed by these two representative men of Central America, Carrera and Morazan; while we are content that the political results of the struggle shall not escape attention. After sustaining a number of reverses, Gen. Morazan determined to make one last effort against Carrera's authority, and, marching at the head of thirteen hundred men upon the city of Guatemala, he rashly risked the political fate of the country on a single battle. His little army was surrounded in the plaza, and, after twenty-four hours hard fighting, was nearly cut to pieces. Morazan escaped to San Salvador; and contemplating that all was lost, he fled the country, embarking with a few followers for South America.

The single devotion of Morazan to his political ideas still occupied his heart in exile, and he soon determined to return to the land of his nativity and hopes. He landed at the port of Calderas, in Costa Rica, on the 11th April, 1842. He was received with great enthusiasm; and his return was likened to that of Napoleon from Elba. The servile troops, who had been marched to oppose his progress, went over to him with cheers. Branillo Carrillo, the head of the servile government, which had been established in Costa Rica, found, to his consternation, that political enmity in the popular mind could not withstand the example of patriotic and fearless devotion displayed by the exile in his return through danger to the country he loved. He saw that it was useless to oppose the sympathies of the popular heart with sincerity and patriotism. The result of the general reversion of popular sentiment was that Carrillo was banished from the State for two years; the decree of secession from the Federal Union repealed; and Morazan placed at the head of affairs, with the title of Provisional Chief, and ample authority to make use of the resources of the country in the re-establishment of a confederation.

Morazan's enemies were not idle in the meantime. The spies and agents of the English government assisted the priests in Guatemala in plotting his destruction, and it is well ascertained that Mr. Chatfield, the English Minister, abetted and indirectly aided a Guatemala conspiracy for his defeat and capture.

However, a very romantic incident is generally attributed to have been the immediate occasion of his downfall, and may be related in this connection. Colonel Molina, a Guatemalan officer of liberal politics in the service of Costa Rica, had become enamored of a young lady of rank, and engaged to marry her; but at the last moment, when the marriage writings were being prepared, the lady changed her mind, and married her intended spouse's rival, Eduviges. The preferred suitor was a favorite officer of Gen. Rivas, who at that time had the command of the expeditionary army, which was preparing for the conquest of the other States with the view of re-establishing the confederacy. Molina, maddened by his disappointment in love, and what he supposed to be the favoritism of Gen. Rivas, revolted, and collecting a party of soldiers at Bogaces, marched upon his commander. Gen. Rivas and the officer Eduviges were both slain in the action. Molina made no effort to escape, and was taken without resistance by a detachment of troops sent to capture him by Morazan. He was sentenced to be shot, after having been convicted of treason and insurrection; and it is said that he died with singular firmness, professing that his heart was devoted to Morazan's cause, but had been divided by a passion which, although, unworthy, conquers the honor and chivalry of the greatest souls.

The execution of Molina was generally deplored and disapproved by some, and the conflicting popular feeling, which hardly ever proceeded from thoughts of duty and justice, or conviction of any kind was arrayed against the administration.

The opportunity was seized by the priesthood, who bitterly remembered the banishment of the friars from Guatemala, at the time freedom of conscience was proclaimed under the republic, to inflame the popular mind with accounts of Morazan's cruelty. He was attacked by a mob in the city of San José, which, although, the Seat of Government, was protected by only a few troops. In an attempted flight, he was taken prisoner at Cartago, and conducted back to San José, and on the 15th September, 1842, Francisco Morazan, the greatest patriot of Central America, was publicly shot in the presence of an insulting rabble.

There can be no doubt of the patriotism of Morazan, or of his pure and elevated character. Although wedded to a mistaken and unfortunate policy—that of uniting the States on terms of federation—he had educated and correct ideas of political reform. Nor did a false enthusiasm for a particular measure overcome the generosity of his nature, and the noble passion of truth and chivalry, which made his enemies so respect him. On the other hand, Carrera, his political antipode,

and the most powerful opponent of the Federal Union, was remarkable for his ignorance, his insincerity, and low intrigue. The one acted with perfect boldness and sincerity, and at last sacrificed his life on the execution ground in his devotion to his country; while the other made his means subservient to his ends, and was rewarded by the result of an energy of character united with the successes of deceit and selfishness.

Well may it be said, here, in conclusion of this brief sketch of misgovernment in Central America, that the popular mind is but slowly instructed by political experience. The passions of party, and the partialities of its judgments, often delude and render us insensible to the exposition of a political fallacy; and so the lesson is lost, and may only be enforced by the most forcible suggestions, or by such frequency of repetition as to provoke reflection.

The failure of Morazan to maintain the union of the States of Central America has not proved to the people the fallacy of such a policy. The painful experiences of civil war had neither taught nor frightened the people out of their political vagaries; and, whether so desirable a result will ever be produced by the repetition of the lesson, is to this day a mere matter of anticipation.

THE GROWTH OF COTTON IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

A circular having been issued from the Patent Office, directed to all our diplomatic and consular agents, asking information upon the production, commerce, and manufacture of cotton in the several countries to which they are accredited, we find in the Annual Report for 1856 a digest of their replies, which embodies information of the greatest interest and value. It is by services such as this that the agricultural branch of the Patent Office can confer the greatest benefits to the country, and in this field of legitimate labor it will receive the hearty encouragement of every good citizen. What is done in this instance for cotton, can be carried out also for all the considerable crops. Three years ago we urged upon Mr. Mason, then Commissioner, the importance of a full report upon cotton, foreign and domestic, and drew out for him the outlines of such a report. Though the means at his control were very large, it would seem that he had better use to be made of them. Congress, however, soon afterwards took the subject in hand at the instance of Mr. Bayler, and Mr. Claiborne, of Louisiana, is now in Europe charged with a special commission in the matter. We await with interest the result of the mission.

Our purpose at present is with the responses to the circular of the Patent Office, which will be condensed for our pages.

EGYPT.—Edwin De Leon, Consul. The *native* cotton, of very inferior quality, is still cultivated near Thebes, and used in domestic manufactures, though everywhere else it has been superseded by the Indian and American cotton. The *Jumel* constitutes the great bulk of Egyptian cotton, and is of long staple. The *American Sea Island*, cultivated for the last fifteen years, has had great success. All these cottons are perennial, but are sowed annually, as more profitable. They are rooted up after each crop. The desire is general to increase the Sea Island growth. The native cotton runs back to great antiquity, the *Mako* (indigenous) was generally introduced about 1820, and thrives better than the Sea Island, which latter requires fresh seed after every second year. Annual production of cotton 40 to 50,000,000 pounds. Exports, 1821, 60 bags of 100 pounds each; 1824, 140,000 bags.

The following are the exports for 1855:

| | Pounds. |
|--------------------|-------------|
| Great Britain..... | 33,980,100 |
| France..... | 9,451,200 |
| Austria..... | 12,774,900 |
| Elsewhere..... | 668,100 |
| Total..... | 144,306,000 |

To this add about 6,000,000 pounds, which are worked up in the country, and the total production will be 150,000,000 pounds, or about 350,000 of our bales. The home consumption is for army goods and for beds and cushions. Under Mehemed Ali there were twenty-nine factories, employing 20,000 men, but now there are but four mills, one by steam and the others by ox power, with 2,000 operatives. The usual price of Egyptian cotton, placed on ship, is from 6 to 8½ cents per pound.

"Of the cotton grown here, nearly all is roller-ginned. Saw-gins from the United States have been tried, but they were found to cut the cotton. The roller-gins, which are manufactured in the country, consist of two rollers placed obliquely, one of iron and the other of wood. They are turned by the foot, a fly-wheel being used. The yield of fibre is estimated at 66 per cent. The cost of the production of each pound of fibre, I am unable to ascertain. In the country, the cotton is packed in round bags both by hand and by roughly-made screw presses. In Alexandria it is formed into square bales by hydraulic presses, of which there are several at Mint-el-Bassal, the great market near the city. The bales average about 300 pounds each. I have obtained permission from the Viceroy for the erection of a steam cotton-press by an American citizen."

The production of cotton in Egypt depends upon the course of the Nile, which fertilizes the soil.

"The seeds of cotton are sown from the 21st of March to the end of April; the plant begins to flower early in July, and continues flowering until December, or even until February or March; and the crop is chiefly harvested from the beginning of September to the middle of October. The yield varies very much. That sown in winter, called 'baaly,' and which is watered only by the inundation of the Nile, produces on an average 200 pounds to the acre. That watered by means of the *sakias*, (water-wheels,) and called 'miskawi,' gives 300 pounds. The maximum of 500, and even 700 pounds, has been obtained, but very rarely."

Nearly all the soil is adapted in some degree to cotton, and the price per acre varies from twenty-five to one hundred and twenty-five dollars. With superior irrigation, and improved modes of transport, the culture of cotton will be generally augmented. It is very little injured by insects, and the only discouragement is the superior advantages of grain growing, and the unskilled labor of the "fellah's," (peasantry.) The culture is, therefore, scarcely increasing. The Mako compares with our uplands, but our gins are unsuited to it.

"The fellah is not permitted to leave his bailiwick, and gets of the proceeds of his labor just as much as pleases the proprietor, which is generally the minimum of subsistence. He lives in a mud-hovel, and tastes animal food but once a year, and when he does so, as a religious duty on the feast of Bairam. Like the Emperor of Russia, the present Viceroy has made some experiments in making the fellahs nominal proprietors of small pieces of land; but the exactions of the Turkish officials never leave them much margin of profit. The labor is, therefore, performed in a slovenly manner; and, as the fellah is very ignorant, improvements cannot be well introduced. Dr. Davis' experiments in Turkey have been repeated in Egypt by foreigners without success. The system of irrigation is admirable, and our planters might take lessons from it; but, in every other respect, the culture is defective to the last degree. Intercommunication is good—through the Nile, the canals leading into it, and the railroad; and the cost of transport is comparatively moderate."

Mr. De Leon argues ably to show a very large increase of our exports to Egypt might result from proper efforts of our merchants, particularly in cotton goods, staves, boots, shoes, wooden and ironware, &c.

ALGERIA.—John I. Mahony, Consul. Sea Island, Long Staples and Nankin cottons are cultivated, and are all annuals. The Long Staple is cultivated to best advantage. In the nurseries the plant has been cultivated since 1847, but the Government has lately been stimulating the culture, by offering to purchase the crops. Seed imported from Charleston, S. C.,

but must be renewed almost every year from deterioration. Crop of 1854, 180,000 lbs. No factories, but the cotton is exported to Havre generally with the seed. A few saw and McCarthy gins have been introduced. The cotton is screwed into bales of 198 lbs., the long bale being used for Sea Island. The culture seems to be unprofitable despite of the high prices paid by Government. Though the soil is good, the climate is found unfavorable. The wild beasts are a great draw back. Most of the farms are worked by poor families who receive half the proceeds.

"The cotton is planted in rows about 2 feet apart, hoed four times, and irrigated every four days, or as often as the water can be spared from other plants. Stable manure is sometimes applied; but few farmers pay any attention to dressing their fields. The seeds are planted from the 15th of April to the 10th of May; the pods begin to form in July; the plants are in flower from September to February; and the harvesting commences in September and lasts until the following spring.

"In the fall of 1854 and spring of 1855, I watched with care the progress of the cotton plant in some twenty different localities. On the 1st of October, about 15 per cent. of the crop had been picked in a damaged state, being tender and wet, when housed. From that time to the 1st of February, about 12 per cent. more was gathered in a worthless condition, the pods being but partially opened, having been continually saturated with water, so that half the contents of every bud was decayed and quite black. Of the remainder, or nearly three-fourths of the whole crop planted, with the exception of a few which cracked, the pods looked as fresh and as green in the spring as they had in the preceding August, although the plants were dead at the roots."

NAVIGATORS ISLAND.—R. L. Swanson, Consul. No culture of cotton but two indigenous species exist, one with the seed, all attached to each other in a mass about two inches long, the other with single seeds interspersed through the pod. Both of moderate quality and susceptible of improvement. Grows wild to the height of twelve feet with a diameter in the stem of three inches. Is used for the wick of lamps.

GREECE.—Jonas King, Consul. Short staple cotton about a foot in height is cultivated in the Peloponnesus. That of Livadia reaches two feet, that of the island of Thera more than five feet; is sown annually, though perennial. Very little exported. In 1845, 71,000 lbs. were sent to the Ionian Isles. About 40,000 lbs. of the Livadia cotton is spun into yarn, the rest is made into lamp wick and coverlets, or spun by the country women and woven. In the Peloponnesus the price is fifteen cents per lb., but in Livadia only eight and two-thirds. Saw-gin unknown. A wooden cylinder is used, by which in twenty-four hours fifteen to twenty lbs. are ginned, for which the laborer receives his food and one-tenth of the product.

Yield about one-third of ginned cotton. The ginner carries their machines from village to village. The factory at Patras buys the cotton of Livadia and cleans it. The cotton is packed by hand, and tied up in balls of two pounds weight to be hung up to the roof. Formerly, the lands were sold by the Government at \$21 an acre untilled; the cultivator can now use the public lands by paying the tax of 10 per cent. of the produce, and 15 per cent. more for the use of the land. The worm, bad labor, no transportation, moisture, want of capital, insufficient machinery, small demand, and the social and political condition of the country are the great drawbacks to production. In the time of the Turks all the cotton necessary for home consumption was produced, but it is now otherwise.

"The climate appears to be well adapted to the profitable growth of cotton, but the soil is not sufficiently rich. Of the newly imported varieties, that which is called 'Nankin' succeeds wonderfully, and its fibre, which is abundant, is gathered in September. The American cotton of Georgia does not succeed so well. When sown in April, according to the manner of the country, it comes up healthfully, yielding many pods, which, however, do not mature, when it becomes necessary to gather them in October and November, during the rain, and when the leaves are falling. If the mode of cultivating this variety were known, it is thought that it might succeed well in all the warmer parts of Greece.

"The ground is ploughed for cotton in January, and the clods are subsequently well broken. If the field has any *agriada*, (dog grass,) the women follow after the plough and gather it. Before cotton seeds are sown, they are rubbed with damp earth, in order that they may be more easily scattered. They are then covered by a superficial ploughing. When the plants attain a certain growth, the earth is dug with a hoe by men or women, and, at the same time, they are thinned. If necessary, the land is hoed a second time. As soon as the plants begin to blossom, the tops are broken off. The cotton is usually gathered with the pods, out of which it is taken at the house. That the dry leaves may be broken as little as possible, they are generally gathered in the morning, when the dew is on them. In places where much cotton is raised, the fibre only is gathered. Manure is seldom applied, except as it is deposited on the fields by the cattle and sheep.

"The seeds are sown early in April; the plant is in flower in June and July; and the cotton is harvested in August and September. These dates, have reference to the old style computation of time, and are, in fact, twelve days later than our computation.

"The short-stapled yields about 60 pounds of fibre to the acre; that of Livadia, from 240 to 300 pounds."

INDIA.—Edward Ely, Consul. Three varieties cultivated, two of which are indigenous, and the other is the New Orleans or Sea Island. The latter is cultivated in western India. The open-podded, indigenous, is the most largely cultivated, though

inferior to the others. The plant is an annual. The American cotton requires more moisture than the native, and has only been introduced since 1840. The whole product of western India is estimated at between 5 and 600,000 of our bales. About two-thirds is exported to Great Britain. To China, less than one-third. About 62,500,000 pounds are manufactured at home. Clean cotton, at the villages, commands on the average 5 or 6 cents.

"Cotton is ginned in India both by the saw-gin and an instrument called the "churka," which is very simple in construction, resembling a roller and breaker, and turning out about 40 pounds of clean cotton a day, by the labor of two men. The gin is used by large speculators, and is propelled by bullocks, turning out 500 pounds of clean cotton a day. The quantity of fibre obtained from 100 pounds of seed cotton is usually about 31 pounds. Some of the gins in use were made in England, but they are generally of Bombay manufacture. The ginning is done by speculators, who buy the cotton of the native growers at the market villages. It is then immediately packed, by means of screws, into bags or loose bales, containing 392 pounds each. When these arrive at Bombay, they are put into the steam screw and hydraulic presses, and condensed to the uniform size of 4 feet 3 inches length, 2 feet in width and 18 inches in thickness.

"Cotton is cultivated by the natives exclusively, and in the most primitive manner. The ground is prepared during the dry season by digging up and burning the old roots; and, as soon as the rains set in, it is ploughed, and the seeds sown by means of a drill plough, in rows 18 inches apart, and covered by a board or log, dragged behind. The young plants appear in about six days, and nothing more is required than an occasional weeding and thinning. A strict rotation with other crops is observed, except when cotton is in demand. The ashes of decaying stems and roots, which are burned on the ground during the dry season, are the only manure used.

"The seeds are planted immediately after the first fall of rain, which almost uniformly occurs on about the 10th of June. The plants are in flower from the middle of July to the 10th of August. The cotton is picked from the pods in March; but sometimes, in consequence of the ripening of other crops at the same time, the cotton is left as late as the 10th of April. It is then often found damaged from lying on the ground, or by the over-ripened pods.

"About 105 pounds of cleaned and ginned cotton is the average product of an acre. The cotton-lands all belong to the East Indian government, or to the different independent Rajahs, and have no fixed value. The average annual rent per acre of cotton-lands is about \$2; but the land varies so much in quality that this rate can only be taken as the medium of a wide range."

INDIA.—Charles Hufnagle, Consul:

"The cotton is at first packed by hand in large bales of coarse cotton or hempen cloth, and thus transported either in boats or in "hackeries" (native carts) across the country; but, when it reaches a port

for exportation, it is packed by screws in bales, measuring, at Calcutta, 10 cubic feet, and containing 300 pounds each; at Madras, in bales of 300 pounds; and at Bombay, in bales of 392 pounds.

"The cost of cotton grown in the northwest provinces, and delivered at Calcutta, has been estimated at 3 cents a pound.

"With respect to the annual product of British India, it is almost impossible to obtain very correct data; but, as cotton forms, exclusively, the clothing of from 130,000,000 to 150,000,000 of men, women, and children, and their beds and pillows, ropes, carpets, curtains, &c., some idea may be acquired of the enormous quantity needed for consumption. In 1840, Major General John Briggs, of the Honorable Company's Army, published a monograph, in which he assumes, from data apparently correct, that the quantity of cotton required for clothing, alone, is equal to 375,000,000 pounds, and adds as much more for the other purposes to which it is applied, making a total, exclusive for domestic uses, of 750,000,000 pounds.

"It should here be noted that a very large proportion of the cotton exported from India to China is used by the Chinese as padding, and is valued simply as a material for quilting their silk dresses, worn in the cold weather.

"The soil and climate may be pronounced well adapted to the profitable culture of cotton. Soil, fertile in a moderate degree, only, is preferred. In richer lands, the plants become very luxuriant, but produce more woody fibre and leaves, and fewer pods in proportion. A dry soil and a dry atmosphere, at the time when the pods are ripening, seem to be necessary for successful production. The plant rises during the heavy periodical rains, and when these cease, the pods ripen, and the cotton comes to maturity during the dry season.

"As has been stated, we find cotton in cultivation in every part of India—on the borders of rivers—far in the interior of the land—on the sea coast—on mountain elevations of from 4,000 to 5,000 feet—and on level plains. The seeds are often sown broad cast; sometimes with other crops; and the plants are generally crowded together. *But in some districts, where comparative attention is paid to the culture, the seeds are sown in drills, and the plantation is protected from weeds. Manure is never applied to the cotton lands.

"The time of planting varies considerably; but, as a general rule, it is performed in Upper India at the commencement of the rainy season, and in Lower India, at the close of that season. The plants are in flower, in Upper India, at the commencement of the cool season, (November,) in Lower India, at the close of it; that is, at the approach of the hot season. After the periodical rains, the plants begin to flower, and these rains begin, in Upper India, about the 15th of June, and, in Lower India, in October. In Bengal, a small crop is gathered as early as December; but the more ample yield is during the hot weather of April and May following. The gathering season depends upon the geographical position and climate. In Upper India, the harvest commences with the hot season; in Lower India, about June. In the Madras Presidency, under careful cultivation and superintendence, 108 pounds of clean cotton to the acre are considered a fair yield."

FRANCE.—A. J. Bonnet, Consul. All attempts to cultivate cotton have proved entire failures.

ARGENTINE CONFEDERATION, South America.—James A. Peden, Minister. The whole production of cotton does not exceed 100,000 pounds.

"I believe that the varieties are both annual and perennial, the former prevailing in excess; though I have been told by a person, who had cultivated cotton to a very small extent, that the crop of stalks was generally left for two years, and that the ratoon was more productive in yield, and the fibre better. The variety was Sea Island, mostly deteriorated, though I saw some equal to first-class Florida cotton. Of the quantity produced, about one-half is exported, and the other half consumed in the remote sections of the Confederation, in the manufacture of rude domestic goods for family use, for ornamental fringes, used by the 'Gaucho,' or peasant, and for various other purposes. I have seen a kind of towel, apparently made more for ornament than use, manufactured from the cotton of Entre Rios and Corrientes, equal to the same kind of fabric from the best Sea Island cotton in the United States. No manufactures of this material have been exported, so far as I am informed.

"The cotton is prepared on a rude roller-gin, by foot or hand. Some gins of a better class have been imported from England, but I have not seen any of them, nor have I ever seen a screw or press of any kind, nor a bale of cotton. I presume it is packed by hand, or foot rather, as Sea Islands generally are.

"I cannot learn with accuracy how much fibre is obtained from 100 pounds of green-seeded cotton, but, from the specimens I have seen, I should estimate the quantity at 25 pounds, or a little more. The seeds are as well covered as those of the Sea Island, generally, in Florida.

"The cultivation is to the last extent rude. In many cases the wooden plough, which merely scratches the earth, is used; and the hoe is applied so sparingly as to produce but little, if any, beneficial results. I have never heard of the application of manure of any kind. The seeds, if not left to ratoon, are generally planted in the late winter months, or the beginning of spring. But much depends upon locality. I am of the opinion that, in Corrientes, Entre Rios, and Santa Fé, they may be planted during all the winter months.

"The Banda Oriental, on the opposite side of the Rio de la Plata, is represented to be much better suited to this culture, both by soil and climate, than most of the other regions irrigated by its waters. Of this, however, I speak from report, and not from experience. Paraguay produces many varieties, among them the 'Nankin' cotton, of short staple and very fine, which is said to grow wild, but to have been introduced by the Jesuits. It is cultivated to a limited extent, and efforts are made, by means of liberal offers, to induce persons acquainted with its management to prosecute its culture and preparation; but the scarcity of labor is an impediment there, also, though not to the same degree as in the Confederation. Yet the objection is insuperable for

the present, and a century may elapse before any of these countries shall render the supply equal to the demand.

"I am not familiar with the history of Paraguay, but incline to the opinion that with adequate labor, experiments in the production of cotton would there be attended with interesting results. I saw a variety of cotton at Pernambuco of very fine quality, and was assured by an American merchant there that it commanded a higher price in Europe than any of our cotton; but the product was restricted. The variety was said to be perennial."

HAYTI.—G. E. Hubbard, Consul. Cotton, indigenous, annual and of long fibre. In 1789 near ten millions of pounds were grown; now the export is less than one million. Price 6 to 7 cents. Saw-ginned—none manufactured. Bales vary from 100 to 400 pounds. Soil and climate are favorable. It is planted in May, flowers in October, and harvested from January to March. Value of cotton lands, \$3 to \$10 per acre. The quality of cotton is superior, and only industry and enterprise are wanted.

BRITISH GUIANA.—A. Colvin, Consul. Cotton is not now cultivated in Demerara, having given way to sugar. It was once the staple. The soil and climate are, perhaps, better adapted to it than in the United States. Planting may be performed in any month of the year. There is no winter. In 1823-'4 and '5 nearly seven millions pounds were exported.

SARDINIA.—A. Herbemont, Consul. No cotton cultivated in Italy. The import from the United States is increasing; manufactures chiefly of coarse goods.

SANDWICH ISLANDS.—Thomas Miller, Consul. Cultivation once on a small scale, but now abandoned, as also the manufacture. The crop is well adapted to the country, and grows luxuriantly. Land can be bought from 25 cents to 50 cents per acre. Labor cannot be had.

BAHAMA ISLANDS.—D. Sargeant, Consul. Formerly cotton was cultivated, but is not now. The cotton-bug, droughts, but more than either the indolence of the inhabitants, and their propensity for fishing and wrecking, have put an end to the culture.

LOWER CALIFORNIA.—Thomas Sprague, Consul. A wild cotton here abounds, from which formerly the inhabitants manufactured thread and other articles. With care, much of this cotton could still be gathered and improved. Sea Island cotton would probably thrive.

SICILY.—T. W. Behn, Consul. Four species of cotton are cultivated, two of which are perennial. The American seed will not mature.

"The culture of cotton has prevailed here from an unknown period, and the seeds have always been procured from Spain, the Barbary States, and Malta. The fibre of all the varieties named, except the *G. barbadense*, has greatly deteriorated in length, strength, and uniformity, and the quantity diminishes yearly in the ratio of the increase of the seeds; but, in consequence of the annual renewal of the stock of the *G. barbadense*, no impairment of its good qualities has been observed since its introduction.

"The annual product of Sicily is from 1,750,000 to 2,000,000 pounds. From 500,000 to 750,000 pounds are exported to Naples for the manufactories of Castel-a-Mare di Stabbia. All the rest is spun on the Island, and manufactured into light-brown shirtings, a portion of which is afterward printed. The usual price of ginned cotton is from 14 to 15 cents a pound. Wooden rollers, manufactured in Sicily, are the agencies employed in ginning, and the product of fibre is nearly equal in weight to the seeds, say, averaging between 45 and 50 pounds in the hundred. The packing is done by hand or by wooden presses. A bale, by the former means, contains about 300 pounds, and by the latter, 375 pounds. The cost of production, including ground rent, is estimated at 12 cents a pound.

"The soil and climate are well adapted to the production of cotton, particularly on the southeast part of the Island, and within 20 miles of the sea. Further in the interior, the heat is not sufficient.

"The ground is not ploughed for cotton, but dug 18 inches deep with a kind of spade, four or five times during the period between November and May; the seed is then planted, and nothing more is done afterward, except to keep the ground clear of weeds. No other than stable manure is used on this island, and even this is not applied in preparing the soil for the culture of cotton. The seeds are planted between the 1st of May and the 15th of June; the plant flowers in July, August, and September, and the cotton is gathered in the latter part of September and during the month of October. The usual yield to an acre is from 1,150 to 1,200 pounds. The value of cotton-land is from \$150 to \$175 an acre; its annual rent is from \$20 to \$25 an acre.

"As physical causes injuriously affecting the cotton crop, the long-continued north winds may be named, but happily they do not often occur in the cotton-growing region. Catterpillars and ground-worms also occasionally do some injury. The political and social condition of the country might not be regarded as adverse to this department of industry but for the indifference and apathy manifested among the people, who pursue the same modes of cultivation and preparation of cotton that were practised by their fathers at the beginning of the present century.

"Nearly all the domestics, shirtings, &c., manufactured in Sicily, have been woven by the poor, upon old fashioned looms, in their own houses. Only four small weaving establishments exist on the island, two at Messina, one at Catania, and one at Palermo; and two printing establishments, one at Messina, and one at Catania. The building of a large spinning and manufacturing establishment, with steam as the motive power, is now, however, in contemplation."

NAPLES.—A. Hammett, Consul. Culture has not deteriorated the fibre. Annual product about 2,000,000 pounds, which are manufactured and consumed in the country. Price, 14 to 15 cents. Ginned by roller and saw-gins, made in the country. Artificial irrigation resorted to.

"The seed is planted in rows, between which channels are made for the flow of water drawn from wells. I am not aware that any other than stable manure is employed. The planting is performed in April, the flowering takes place in June, and the cotton is harvested in September, October, and November. The product of fibre to an acre is about 200 pounds, but some other crop, of less value, is also grown upon the same land. The value of good cotton land is \$450 an acre, or more. The rent is from \$20 to \$25 an acre, but the annual land tax, paid by the owner, in bi-monthly instalments is from one-fifth to one-fourth of the rent.

"The physical causes of injury to the cotton crop are, the occasional presence of destructive worms, and of mists, or fogs, in July and August. A greater evil, however, exists in the social condition of the inhabitants. The relations between the land owner and the cultivator are but too often characterized both by the oppressive exactions of the former, and the general bad faith of the latter."

AUSTRALIA.—G. Mitchell and James H. Williams, Consuls. Cultivation successful, though small for the last few years. Sea Islands have done well, and have not deteriorated. Only agricultural population is wanting.

"The cotton plant stands the heat and drought remarkably well. In our summer months of December, January, and February, the plants are in flower; the first frosts occur in April; and the cotton harvest may be said to extend from January till May. The product of an acre at Ipswich, Moreton Bay, was 920 pounds of Sea Island cotton in the seed, valued at 25 cents a pound cleaned, when it was supposed that it would weigh 300 pounds. The finest land can now be purchased at \$5 an acre, but the price rises with the influx of population. The best season for planting has not yet been determined. For ten years, the fall of rain has been nearly 50 inches per annum on this part of the Australian coast. From 200 to 500 miles further north, it averages about 70 inches. But the climate all along the coast is remarkably dry, notwithstanding, and to this is attributed its great salubrity. The alluvial land is too rich to require manure for any branch of cultivation.

"Nothing indeed is as yet known of physical influences adverse to the culture of cotton. Not only is it true that the frost is harmless, but that insects of any kind do not affect the crops."

Plant is perennial. It is picked five successive years from the same stalk, and in some cases the yield was largest the fourth year.

"The usual yield of an acre is from 1,000 to 1,200 pounds in the seed, or 250 to 300 pounds cleaned. The value of cotton-land is £1 per acre. Very little is rented, and none for the cultivation of this crop.

"The physical and social causes operating injuriously to the cotton-crop may be very briefly defined. The climate, as has been stated, is extremely propitious, the picking season extending over four of the coolest months. Insects do not injure the plants much, although the 'cotton-bug' has been seen among them. Nature seems to have designed this portion of the world for a cotton-field of the most gigantic dimensions."

RUSSIA.—John Ralli, Consul. Cotton not cultivated.

PORTUGAL.—N. Pike, Consul. Only grown in the gardens.

DUTCH GUIANA.—F. W. Cragin, Consul. Crop perennial, affording a crop every six months. Has been grown since 1706, and has not deteriorated, except the Sea Islands from the United States. Export about 1,000,000 pounds, to Holland and England. Price 12 to 12½ cents. Saw-gins made in the United States are somewhat used, and also roller-gins. Bales 330 pounds, packed by screws. Sea-coast lands well adapted to the crop.

"The plants are thinned in six or eight weeks and hoed twice. No manure is used, the exhausted land being abandoned and new land taken into cultivation; or, in some instances, the old land is put under sea-water for from one to four months, and then redeemed and replanted. This submersion leaves a coating of fine mud.

"The seeds are planted in April and May; the plants commence flowering in the latter end of July or early in August, and continue till the crop is in. The picking, or 'plucking,' as it is here termed, usually commences in October, and, in favorable seasons, lasts for several months, sometimes until May; but the principal crop is secured in October and November. The usual yield to the acre is from 150 to 200 pounds. The price of land depends entirely upon the value of the improvements made upon it, as any reasonable amount may be obtained from the Government, without other expense to the recipient than such as a petition and the conveyancing may call for. Land is never rented.

"The 'chenilla,' (*Noctua xyliana*), and, within the past twenty years, a white insect, at first taken for mildew, are both injurious to the plant; but severe droughts, and heavy and long-continued rains, especially in October and November, are still greater disadvantages to this culture."

RIO DE JANEIRO.—Robert Scott, Consul. Tree cotton usually grown, coming originally from Asia. Production very small, but of long fibre, strong and coarse.

"The mode of cultivation is as follows: The land is first cleared of wood and underbrush, which is burned where it falls; then, the ground is hoed up into hills, about 7 feet apart, in each of which 7 or 8 seeds are placed. In ten or fifteen days, the seeds sprout, and, when the young plants have attained some strength, 4 or 5 of the weaker ones are rooted up and thrown away, leaving 3 or 4 plants in each hill. In

from 6 to 8 months they yield the first crop of cotton ; and they continue to bear well for five or six years, provided, they are properly trimmed, and the ground cleared from weeds, &c., once or twice a year. When the cotton is planted, it is usual to plant or sow rice, beans, pumpkins, or other crops in the spaces between the hills. Even Indian corn is so planted, and with advantage, on account of the shade it affords to the young cotton trees. Of course, this is only done when the cotton is planted, as in a short time, the tree attains the height of 12 to 15 feet, and, if the soil is good, the trunk often grows to 4 inches in diameter, and naturally branches out in proportion. No manure of any kind is used for the cotton crop, nor anywhere, indeed, except in gardens and lots for grasses. The seeds are generally planted in November ; the plants flower mostly in June, but they open freely almost all the year ; the bulk of the harvest is in September and October, but cotton is picked, also, nearly all the year. The product per acre, and the value of cotton lands, cannot be well determined, because of the limited experience in this department of culture."

NETHERLANDS.—A. Bellmont, Minister. Cotton grown in the colony of Surinam, since 1735, to the extent of about one million pounds. Saw, as well as roller-ginned. Weight of bale, 331 pounds.

"The seeds are generally planted in December, in rows, 6 or 7 feet apart, ten or twelve being deposited in each hole, when they are covered loosely with earth. The pruning is done in April and May, a ninth of the plants being thus renewed every year. Manure is never employed. When the richness of the soil is consumed, new land is brought into cultivation, and the old abandoned. The plants flower twice a year, nine months after planting, in January or February. The cotton is harvested from September to December, and in February and March. The average yield is about 442 pounds to the acre. The value of land is estimated in proportion to the number of slaves attached to it, as well as to other circumstances. Cotton-lands are never rented.

"With respect to causes operating injuriously to the cotton-crops, it may be stated that they are rendered very precarious by the frequent presence of a worm, which is particularly destructive when the buds are forming ; and that the laborers are frequently troubled with the inflammation of the eyes, caused by the glare of the sun upon the fields.

"In the East Indies, cotton is cultivated for export to Europe ; and several attempts have been made to cultivate it in Java, (another colony of the Netherlands,) and, although with limited success, the enterprise is still prosecuted by the natives, who cultivate enough for their own use, and export small quantities to China."

MEXICO.—J. Chase, Consul. Chiefly cultivated on the coast of Vera Cruz, and manufactured in the country.

"From Vera Cruz, latitude 19° 12' north, to Matamoras, in latitude 26°, notwithstanding the vast extent of territory and its admirable

adaptation to the growth of cotton, none is produced, except a little in the neighborhood of Papantla, in latitude $20^{\circ} 30'$, which the Indians cultivate for their own use, and spin in the same primitive manner that their ancestors observed at the time of the conquest, namely, by means of a kind of wooden spindle, the point of which is put in a common wooden bowl, and its gyrations maintained by the figures. From the yarn, thus spun, they manufacture a narrow cloth.

"In the vicinity of Matamoras, cotton is raised in limited quantities, and also in Monclova, about latitude 27° , in the State of Coahuila, where 100 pounds of seed cotton are required to produce 25 pounds of fibre. The cotton crops of these places are consumed in the manufactories of Saltillo, near Buena Vista.

"On the western coast, mention may be made of Santiago, between Tepic and Mazatlan, where considerable quantities of cotton are raised, and sold to the factors at Tepic. Further south, between the towns of Colima and Autlan, which are embraced between the 18° and 20° of latitude, and from the line drawn between these towns and the sea coast, a very rich country is to be seen, in which immense quantities could be raised, were the laborers to attend to its cultivation. As it is, however, sufficient is gathered for the supply of the manufactories of Colima, and some of it even finds its way to Guadalajara, the capital of Jalisco. At Acapulco, on the coast, in latitude $16^{\circ} 50'$, cotton is raised in small quantities, and sent to Mexico, 185 miles northeasterly, to supply the manufactories of that city.

"The whole of the Pacific, as well as of the Gulf coast, of Mexico, for about 40 leagues inland, may be regarded as admirably adapted to the growth of cotton, labor alone being wanting. Except on the coast of Vera Cruz, there are few landed proprietors who devote their attention to the culture of this staple, and it is generally produced by small farmers (*rancheros*) who are content to receive 50 cents for 25 pounds, for their crops, which is about one-half the value; and these payments are made in advance, usually, in dry goods and groceries, at exorbitant prices. A recent experiment to raise cotton on a farm about 12 leagues from San Louis Potosi, between 6,000 and 7,000 feet above the level of the sea, has been attended with favorable results. An enterprising Spaniard is now engaged in a similar experiment about 5 leagues from Tula, 40 miles northwesterly from the city of Mexico. His farm is 4,500 or 5,000 feet above the level of the sea.

"The mode of culture throughout Mexico, with few exceptions, is simply to put the seed into the ground, and to gather the cotton when ready for picking. The consequence is, that the staple is not long nor the fibre fine, although it is considered good enough for the manufactories of the country. The plant is everywhere a perennial."

BARBARY.—M. J. Gaines and Wm. P. Chandler, Consuls. Experiments have failed at Tripoli. At Tunis.

"Sundry experiments in raising cultivated cotton have been made during the present season, (1856,) at the instigation of a celebrated Manchester manufacturer, who visited this country for the purpose last autumn. The seeds used have been Egyptian or American, naturalized

in Egypt or Algeria. These experiments seem to be considered decidedly successful. The staple is short, but the fibre is fine and glossy. One specimen which I have seen is very white also. It was grown at Gamart, a bold headland, or lofty promontory, about 15 miles north-east of this city.

"The Bey intends instituting some experiments on a larger scale during the ensuing season, and the individuals who have made the experiments of the past season purpose to pursue them further, having obtained American seeds.

"The wild and indigenous cottons are probably perennial, the others, annual. The coarse cotton of Bizerta and Sfax has been cultivated to a very limited extent for many years. The annual product is too insignificant to render a conjectural estimate of any value, as also the amount of imported cotton manufactured; nor is the little cotton raised prepared for manufacture by ginning or any other process.

"There is every reason to believe that the soil of Tunis is well adapted to the profitable growth of cotton throughout a great extent of the kingdom. The climate is less favorable, there being a want of rain during long periods, sometimes extending to four, five, or even six months. In other respects, the climatic influences, especially the mildness of the winters, may be regarded as favorable. This lack of rain, however, may be compensated by irrigation from wells or running streams, throughout a great portion of the kingdom."

IONIAN REPUBLIC.—A. S. York, Consul. A variety of cotton is cultivated to the extent of 300,000 pounds annually. Is planted in April, and harvested in August and September. Yield, 200 pounds to acre. Animal and vegetable manure employed.

CUBA.—One of the Journals published at Havana, the *Prensa*, speaks with great hopefulness of the eventual success of the Cotton culture in the island of Cuba. The climate and soil, in many parts, seem well adapted to the growth, and, according to the report made by our Consul, Mr. Robertson, the exports of cotton from Cuba, in 1854, were—

| | |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| To Spain..... | 32,600 pounds. |
| To "..... | 4,637 " |
| To United States..... | 25 " |
| Total exports..... | 37,262 " |

Mr. Robertson says, "he believes this cotton was raised on the island." It was probably unginmed, and, in that case, would amount to about 25,000 bales Louisiana cotton.

Recently, a company has been formed for the promotion of industry in Cuba, which has taken hold, with great spirit, of the cotton experiment, and we are told by the *Prensa*—

"That there are now on exhibition in Havana specimens of five varieties of cotton, all of which are valuable, and all of which can be grown with the greatest facility. It classifies them as follows:

- "1. Cleaned cotton from the sugar plantation La Herradura, at Bahia Honda.
- "2. Bolls of cotton from the district of Alquizar, from Louisiana seed.
- "3. Cotton raised from India seed, in the garden of Sr. Pedregal, and cotton called *de rinon* (kidney) from Creole seed raised in the district of Alquizar.
- "4. Cotton bolls from the farm of D. Joaquin Covarrubias, in Batabano.
- "5. Cleaned cotton, indigenous grown on stony soil, north and south of the Calle de Barreto, in Guanabacoa.

"Besides these, the *Prensa* describes specimens of an indigenous cotton, grown from Brazilian seed in San Felipe; a yellow cotton from Trinidad, a cotton produced by a dwarf tree in Santa Rita, and a silk cotton of very fine quality from the same neighborhood. All these cottons, the *Prensa* states, can be produced with the greatest facility, on the island, and, under the operations of the *Algodonera*, or cotton company, no doubt cotton will soon become an article of consequence in the commerce of Cuba."

AGRICULTURAL BUREAU'S IN THE SEVERAL STATES.

WE have long desired to see the States of the South alive to the importance of establishing, under appropriate laws, Bureau's for the encouragement of Agriculture in their midst, aiding at the same time local societies, and promoting the establishment of agricultural professorships. This is the line of legitimate action, and would obviate any dependence upon the National Government for matters peculiarly within the power of the States.

Entertaining these views, we are happy to learn that Mr. Hudson has introduced into the Legislature of Mississippi, a bill for the establishment of an Agricultural Bureau. Upon this subject, the *Planter and Mechanic*, published at Jackson, remarks:

"This measure of State policy has passed through the chrysalis periods of its formation, and will be ready for the deliberate action of the next Legislature. Through the indefatigable energies of Mr. Thos. J. Hudson, a talented member from Marshall, the bill in its details was drawn up and presented to the Legislature, in special session, last winter. What the National Bureau is to the whole country, the one he proposed to establish in our State must be to *Mississippi*. The great object of such an institution is to facilitate the planting interests, by the collection of information from the best and most authoritative sources, upon all the productions of the field, the garden, the orchard, and publish it at the expense of the State for the benefit of the people; so that they may improve upon their present plans and systems of cultivating those articles of consumption and export, that now engage their attention; to gather seeds, plants, fruits and vegetable products of every sort from our own country and others, as convenience and occasion will offer, through the agency of the National Bureau, and every other feasible means; to aid in introducing the best and most approved breeds of domestic animals and fowls, and give to private enterprise in such matters, the help and sanction, without which it is sometimes inadequate to so difficult an undertaking; to establish a Chemical Laboratory and a Mineral Cabinet, where soils, manures, minerals and waters may be analyzed, and their constituents, in quantity and in quality, demonstrated to exact figures.

"To make this Agricultural Bureau useful practically, it is highly important that agricultural societies should be formed in every county in the State, as auxiliaries, through which it can operate for the common good. If one, or even two or three counties should not have population and agricultural interest enough to warrant such societies, let more, or as many as may be necessary,

unite for the establishment of one. In the large and populous counties, there will be but little difficulty in organizing them, and we suggest the method of union only, to those, which may labor under such embarrassments as will forbid separate county organizations. With these societies, all over the State to act in concert with the Bureau in carrying out the great object for which it is created, we may soon expect a wonderful change in the agricultural prospects of the State. The importance of these county organizations cannot be too strongly enforced, for without any State Bureau, they have often worked wonders in revolutionizing practical systems of farming, and in improving the domestic stock of the country. First, they create a spirit of inquiry and superinduce a habit of investigation not common to Southern farmers, who become anxious to enlarge their information by reading books and periodicals, and looking somewhat into the principles of vegetable economy. We are a reading people, but unfortunately, our reading is too much of a political cast. Some of our largest planters, are good politicians, but sorry farmers, simply because their reading has all been political. Becoming engaged in the emulation gotten up by agricultural societies, they very naturally turn their attention to sources of light upon such matters, and in a little while, they are engrossed with the study of principles, and the history of facts, which, but for the interest excited by these agricultural meetings and discussions would, perhaps, ever have been sealed to them. These societies beget rivalry in the practical pursuits of the farmer, and he is led not only to observe more closely, but carefully to note the various stages of vegetable growth and decay. He enters the race for improved stock with an ardor unknown before, and in all that appertains to the society he feels a lively interest, the end of which, is a decided improvement in the looks and value of his estates. In view therefore of an Agricultural Bureau, any county having the facilities within itself, should organize an agricultural society forthwith.

HOW CALIFORNIA PROGRESSES.

THE growth of California constitutes one of the most remarkable chapters in the history of America. In a period little longer than what would make up the infancy of man, has been seen to start up a great State, with all of the elements of population, wealth, and prosperity. The "State Register for 1857" is full of the evidences of this, and we acknowledge the courtesy of the publishers, who have sent us a copy, by drawing largely upon its valuable material.

Receipts from Customs at San Francisco.

| | |
|------------|-----------|
| 1849 | \$216,453 |
| 1850 | 1,908,220 |
| 1853 | 2,689,408 |
| 1856 | 1,713,408 |

Total debt of California, January 1, 1857, \$4,128,927. Receipts for the year ending June 30, 1856, \$723,289. Expenditures in same time, \$1368,689. The Comptroller, however, estimates that for 1857 the two items will nearly balance. The large amount of bonds outstanding have been declared illegal by the Supreme Court, as having been issued in violation of the constitutional limitation; but the people, at the ballot-box, have affirmed their validity. The aggregate indebtedness of the counties of the State is estimated at \$2,365,260 more. The aggregate debt of the eight leading cities is

\$5,668,903, of which belongs to San Francisco \$3,361,730, and to Sacramento \$1,507,154. Thus the aggregate State, County, and City debt will be \$12,163,090.

The total tonnage of San Francisco, in 1856, was 735,157, being exceeded only by New York, New Orleans, and Philadelphia. The following will show the amount of treasure exported from San Francisco:

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------|---------------|
| 1849..... | \$4,921,250 | 1853..... | \$57,331,024 |
| 1850..... | 27,67,346 | 1854..... | 51,328,653 |
| 1851..... | 42,582,695 | 1855..... | 43,080,211 |
| 1852..... | 46,586,139 | 1856..... | 48,887,543 |
| <hr/> | | | |
| Aggregate in eight years..... | | | \$322,393,856 |

The value of the leading exports of native products other than gold was, in 1854, \$890,000; in 1855 and 1856 an average of about \$2,000,000 each.

Native California Exports from San Francisco.

| ARTICLES. | 1854. | 1855. | 1856. |
|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Quicksilver, flasks..... | 20,963 | 25,965 | 23,024 |
| Lumber, pieces..... | 2,682 | 402 | 579 |
| Lumber, feet..... | 3,169,000 | 2,457,212 | 1,203,211 |
| Lumber, bundles..... | ..... | 500 | ..... |
| Shingles, bundles..... | 3,764 | 4,596 | 600 |
| Shingles, M..... | 1,285 | 631,000 | 1,720,000 |
| Flour, equal to barrels..... | 35,961 | 115,716 | 77,675 |
| Barley, bags..... | 15,610 | 78,659 | 4,824 |
| Oats, bags..... | 3,194 | 49,306 | 9,622 |
| Potatoes, tons..... | 676 | 476 | ..... |
| Potatoes, bags..... | 12,396 | 7,151 | 419 |
| Potatoes, barrels..... | 300 | 75 | 10 |
| Onions, sacks..... | 1,030 | 62 | ..... |
| Wheat, bags..... | 4,967 | 4,967 | ..... |
| Sheepskins, number..... | 1,356 | 410 | ..... |
| Sheepskins, bundles..... | 382 | ..... | ..... |
| Sheepskins, bales..... | 387 | 1,613 | ..... |
| Calfskins, number..... | 2,063 | 3,951 | 3,303 |
| Hides, bundles..... | 816 | 86 | 220 |
| Hides, number..... | 43,708 | 105,730 | 147,839 |
| Tallow, casks..... | 92 | 182 | 1,147 |
| Tallow, barrels..... | 125 | 409 | 556 |
| Tallow, kegs..... | 4 | ..... | ..... |
| Wool, bales..... | 1,127 | 2,487 | ..... |
| Salmon, hogsheads..... | 55 | 52 | ..... |
| Salmon, barrels..... | 1,871 | 395 | ..... |
| Salmon, packages..... | 499 | ..... | ..... |

There arrived at San Francisco, in 1849, 91,405 persons; in 1850, 36,462; 1852, 66,988; 1854, 47,531; 1855, 29,198; 1856, 28,119. Aggregate arrivals from 1852 to 1856 inclusive, 205,069; departures, 122,100; remained in California, 82,969.

Education is liberally provided for. The school fund consists of the proceeds of 500,000 acres, appropriated by Con-

gress, of the public lands, and one-fourth of the amount of the poll-taxes. 46,000 acres were appropriated for a university. Besides these, the township grants, 1,280 acres in each, make up an aggregate school domain of 6,000,000 acres. A State superintendent of education is appointed, and in the cities a very good common school system has been established. The total amount appropriated for the school fund, in 1856, was \$47,856 70. Number of schools, 322; teachers, 417; children, 29,628—of whom 14,928 were boys, and 12,335 girls, but the school attendants of both together reached only 8,321.

The number of Indians in California is estimated at about 61,600, and the superintendent, in his last report, says:

"The Indians in every portion of the State have already been made acquainted with the policy proposed by the Government in regard to them, and are everywhere highly pleased with it, except in locations where malicious or interested white persons have, by false representations, prejudiced them against it. A few persons of this class in the various localities, have been the cause of most of the Indian difficulties which have occurred in this State. The Indians are generally peaceably and well disposed toward their white neighbors; and in almost all cases where they have been guilty of aggression, it has been to avenge some outrage committed upon them by the class of persons in question.

"In closing this Report, however, it is proper to remark, and I do it with great pleasure, that the mass of the white settlers of this State have uniformly treated the Indians with the greatest possible kindness, giving them protection and advice, and frequently contributing of their scanty means to relieve their pressing wants and save them from actual starvation. This was not an unusual circumstance, but has been of daily occurrence, from 1849 to the present day; and there are even now hundreds, and I doubt not, thousands of Indians, scattered remnants of tribes, whose existence depends materially upon the good advice and charity of our citizens. The general course of conduct of the people of California toward the Indians, has been such as to merit the approbation of all good men, as well as the thanks of the Indian Department."

There are six large Indian reservations, where, under the fostering care of the Government, much improvement is being manifested by this population in agriculture and general industry.

In the State prison, January, 1856, were 475 convicts. During the same year \$141,163 were disbursed for the Hospital System, and for the Insane Asylum \$130,746. Remaining in the Insane Asylum, December 31, 1856, 142 males and 30 females.

The Sacramento Valley Railroad extends a distance of 22 miles, and cost \$1,200,000. It is well employed in transporting both freight and passengers from Sacramento to Folsom. There are also six or seven very costly wagon roads.

Ninety-one newspapers and periodicals are published in the State, of which two are published in French, two in German, two in Spanish, and one in Chinese. Thirty-two are issued in San Francisco, seven at Sacramento, five at Marysville, and three at Stockton. Two telegraphic lines are in operation, covering a distance of 560 miles.

"The State of California, with all the imperfections alleged against her citizens, presents one of the most remarkable instances of the rapid advancement of a State in all the elements of substantial prosperity and real wealth which the world has ever beheld. With a climate, unsurpassed for salubrity; a soil, the wonderful products of which have excited the admiration and attracted the notice of her sister States and Europe; a commercial position to control almost the entire trade of Asia and the Pacific Islands, and the inexhaustible wealth of a mineral region, in extent equal to the aggregate area of several States of the Union, who shall attempt at this day to picture the brilliant future awaiting her enterprising and energetic population?"

The amount of land in California, adapted to agriculture and stock raising, is estimated at 76,000,000 acres, of which only 418,000 acres are now under cultivation, and under enclosure only 628,000 acres. Wheat crops from 20 to 30 bushels per acre, barley 30 bushels, oats about the same; Indian corn 31 bushels, potatoes 100 to 300 bushels. Says Dr. Jackson, in his report upon the geology of the State:

"The climatal condition of these plains, and the adaptability of their soils, are such as we may reasonably expect, ere a few years shall pass, that cotton, coffee, tea, sugar, and rice, the latter four articles particularly, will find a place in our catalogues of home productions, and the only impediment that now stands in the way of their immediate production is the high price of labor, which is consequent upon the sparseness of population."

In 1856 it appears that 176,000 acres were cultivated in wheat, producing 3,979,000 bushels; 154,674 acres in barley, producing 4,639,178 bushels; and 37,602 acres in oats, producing 1,263,359. The same year showed 106,991 horses, 30,641 mules, 253,312 sheep, 185,585 swine.

A large cultivation of grape vines and fruit trees is shown; and in addition to gold, Dr. Jackson enumerates and describes the most extensive mineral resources, to wit: silver, copper, iron, platinum, chromium, gypsum, nickel, antimony, quicksilver, salt, coal, granite, marble, burr stones, etc., etc.

As an important place of resort for the whale fisheries, San Francisco has no equal, as is shown in the message of Governor Bigler.

"In comparing our large and magnificent harbors, capacious storehouses, extensive wharves, and improved docks and dock yards, with those at present found at the Islands, it cannot be denied that San Francisco stands pre-eminent in all these particulars over any or all other ports on this coast. Necessary repairs can be perfected with greater facility and dispatch, and consequently, with less delay and expense at San Francisco, than in the enervating climate of the tropics. The prices of labor and materials in the two ports, I am assured, vary but little, and that all the material supplies for the perfect equipment of a whale ship are now exported from this country to the Islands, and, unless passed in bond, are subject to a duty of five per cent."

The whale fishery is now prosecuted by a company at Monterey, and extensive salmon fisheries are conducted on the Sacramento river, employing 150 boats and 300 men.

There are four thousand four hundred and five miles of artificial water courses for mining purposes, constructed in this State, at a cost of eleven million eight hundred and ninety thousand eight hundred dollars. In addition to these there are about nine hundred miles now in the course of construction.

In manufactures something is being done. There are 131 grist-mills, of which 67 are propelled by steam. Aggregate cost, \$2,400,000. Number of saw-mills 373, of which 171 are by steam. Aggregate cost, \$2,500,000. There is a sugar refinery at San Francisco, and a cordage factory and paper-mill not far off, besides numerous foundries and machine shops. In the State there are 18 tanneries, and four extensive distilleries. During last year several steamers and sailing vessels were constructed.

Sufficient is introduced to show that American interests on the Pacific are rapidly progressing, and when our railroads and wagon roads are brought into operation, that region will become as prosperous as the States of the Atlantic, or the Valley of the Mississippi.

AGRICULTURAL SURVEY OF MISSISSIPPI.

THE work prepared by Mr. Harper, and just published by the Legislature of Mississippi, evidences the growth in that State of very sound opinions upon the connection between geology and agriculture, and puts that comparatively new State far in advance of many of her sisters in this particular. Mr. Harper congratulates himself that the Geological Survey has been separated from the university, and that its continuation to completion has been decided on. What Mississippi is, he tells us:

"There is, perhaps, no country in the world which has four and a half millions of acres of such alluvial lands as our Mississippi bottom contains; an alluvial plain, in a mild and happy climate, level as the surface of the ocean, and of inexhaustible fertility, every acre of which is able to produce from sixty to eighty bushels of corn, and from one and a half to two bales of cotton, which will therefore, perhaps, after the lapse of half a century, produce as much cotton as all the Southern States together now produce and, perhaps, much more. A country of which we have said in the proper place: 'It is still a wilderness, the retreat of the bear, wolf, and panther. The prejudice of its unfitness for cultivation has only lately been removed from the minds of the inhabitants of our own and other States, and the axe of the woodman scarcely begun its ravages; but, after the lapse of another century,

whatever the Delta of the Nile once may have been, will only be a shadow of what the alluvial plain of the Mississippi river then will be. Cities like Memphis, Thebes, Andropolis, Busiris, Mendes, and Heliopolis, once more will spring up. It will be the centre-point—the garden spot of the North American Continent; the scene of action of the busy activity of a free and happy agricultural nation, where wealth and prosperity will culminate.

“And this alluvial plain is only a small part of the fertile lands of the State of Mississippi. The rich table-lands of North Mississippi; the splendid loamy lands along the bluff of the alluvial plain and the banks of the Mississippi river, in the southern part of the State; the dark and heavy prairie lands of the eastern part of the State; the productive alluvial bottoms of the rivers and creeks of the interior of the State, and the large quantity of good and productive lands of the tertiary formations, are not of less importance.”

The survey has thus far demonstrated the existence of marl beds, which have scarcely their equal, in quantity and quality, in any other part of the world, underlying more than two thousand square miles of the State, and in thickness from a few inches to one hundred feet. Vast deposits of the best porcelain clay have also been discovered, and silica for the fabrication of the finest glassware.

Mr. Harper enters into an argument in regard to the area of Mississippi, and contradicts the statement, which appears in Wailes' book, that it embraces 55,500 square miles. His own estimate is 45,468 miles. Had Mr. Harper looked into the Compendium of the United States Census, page 36, he would have found the true area to be 47,156 miles, as computed by Col. Abert, of the United States Topographical Bureau. This area is thus divided between the several formations:

| | Square miles. |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| 1. Carboniferous..... | 729 |
| 2. Cretaceous..... | 5,040 |
| 3. Eocene..... | 20,736 |
| 4. Miocene..... | 10,692 |
| 5. Postpliocene..... | 927 |
| 6. Alluvium..... | 7,344 |

We shall hurriedly consider the points presented in regard to each of these divisions of the State.

1. THE CARBONIFEROUS.—This is of little importance agriculturally. It contains no coal, but valuable stones for building purposes and for mills. Also, fine carbonate of lime for burning quick-lime, and for hydraulic cement. The region embraces Tishamingo county, where the land is generally poor and hilly, except a limited quantity along the creeks. The crops are cotton, corn, wheat, and oats, the average to the acre being 1,000 pounds seed cotton, 20 to 25 bushels corn, 10 to 12 of wheat, and 20 to 25 of oats. The forest growths

are the short-leaved pine, various oaks, such as black-jack, post, red, white, &c. ; some hickory, poplar, and sweet-gum, beech, cypress, birch, and black-gum. Many mineral springs are found, and the water-power is well adapted to manufactures.

2. THE CRETACEOUS.—The rotten lime-stone, which here abounds, is not adapted to building or for lime. There is, however, some of better character found, and a green sand-stone which can be used for building purposes. Many chalybeate springs also exist.

"The country where the limestone group crops out is generally not well watered ; and in summer there is a want of water, which is, in many places, supplied by artesian wells ; but such artesian wells can only be bored with perfect success, in Lowndes county and a part of Octibbeha county ; only there the cretaceous rocks are not too thick, and the water has fall enough to rise above the surface. Lower down, in Noxubee county, the cretaceous rocks are extremely thick. At the depth of about six hundred and fifty feet, the white carbonate of lime has not been bored through by the artesian auger ; and again in Pontotoc, Itawamba, Tippah, and Tishamingo counties, the water has not fall enough ; it does not rise to the surface, and must be dipped or pumped out of the bored holes."

The minerals of this region are well adapted for manures, especially the finest kind of shell-marl, which exists in unlimited quantities, commencing nearly on the line of Alabama, and running entirely across the State, and Mr. Harper thinks they must elevate her to the highest rank among the agricultural States of the South, and secure continued wealth and prosperity. It underlies, most probably, the whole of the lower cretaceous formation in Pontotoc, Itawamba, Tippah, and Tishamingo counties. The arable lands in this section are among the best in the State, and the prairies are the largest and most continuous.

"The largest portion of the arable lands of Tishamingo county, overlies the cretaceous formation, and among them are the best lands of the county. They are much more level and fertile than those lying above the carboniferous rocks.

"Especially the lands in the western part of the county are level and very fertile. In the southwestern portions, there are considerable tracks of prairie and hummock lands, alternating with rich bottom lands, as on the Twenty Miles creek and its tributaries. All of them have wide bottoms, not subject to inundations.

"The western and northwestern districts of Tishamingo county abound, also, in very fertile bottom lands along the head waters of the Tuscumbia river.

"About the twelfth part of the county consists of fertile alluvial or bottom lands, along the rivers and creeks.

"The average production of the county consists in from 10 to 12 bushels of wheat (this would be much increased by the introduction of a better preparation of the lands for this crop.) On good lands, frequently, 20 bushels of wheat are harvested. The average corn crop amounts to 25 or 30 bushels, but the best lands produce, frequently, 60 bushels. The average cotton crop amounts to from 700 to 1,000 lbs. per acre.

"Nearly one-half of the area of Tippah county, the whole eastern part, is occupied by the cretaceous formation, but this is not the fertile part, it is too hilly, and the overlying orange sand group renders it generally too sandy. The southeastern part of the county is the least fertile portion. The best lands are in the northeastern corner, occupied by the miocene formation, they consist partly in extremely fertile postpliocene deposits, to be mentioned later.

"This county possesses, also, large tracts of alluvial bottom lands along the Tippah, Hatchie, and Tallahatchie rivers, and Muddy creek. These bottoms are, within the county, from 15 to 25 miles long, from one-fourth to one-half mile wide, and very productive.

"The average production of the county amounts to about 25 bushels of Indian corn, from 8 to 10 bushels of wheat, and from 700 to 1,000 lbs. of cotton.

"The other counties of the cretaceous formation have not yet been submitted to a particular examination, with respect to agriculture."

The forest growth, on the upper cretaceous or lime group, are post, red, black, Spanish, overcup, white, and chesnut-oaks, sassafras, hickory, elm, sweet and black gum, sumach, short-leaved pine, red maple, persimmon, and cedar. In the bottoms grow the swamp, willow, and linn oak, magnolia, buckeye, cypress, poplar, hazel, linn, swamp snow-ball, walnut, willow, cucumber, beach, birch, bay, umbrella, dogwood, holly, pecan and Spanish mulberry. On the banks of the rivers are especially found sycamore and cotton wood.

3. THE EOCENE FORMATION.—The tertiary formations of Mississippi occupy three-fourths of the State, and the older of them constitute the eocene. It is not so important to national economy as the carboniferous, though possessing many valuable stones for building purposes, and great resources for lime burning. A lignite or brown coal is abundantly yielded in Marion and Lauderdale, near Vicksburg, in Claiborne, Franklin, Hinds, Ranken, and Yazoo. Valuable clays, sulphate of alumina, mill-stones, and mineral springs are also found. Among the last named, the most considerable are the Lauderdale springs, valuable for the quantity and quality of the water. Five of the springs are rich in sulphur, and two are chalybeate. Other springs are in Quitman and Clarke counties. Cooper's well, and the artesian springs, in Hinds and Madison, have great reputation throughout the Southwest. The marl-beds are most extensive. Says Mr. Harper:

"This agriculture has hitherto been a very exhausting one. Mississippi is a new State; it dates its existence only from the year 1818; and notwithstanding all its fertility, a large part of the land is already exhausted; the State is full of old deserted fields. It is, then, a most fortunate circumstance, that nature has so kindly provided for the refertilization of those exhausted fields, and that the highest authorities of the State made such careful, and prudent arrangements to open those resources at once."

The eocene is less adapted to agriculture than the other formations of Mississippi. Though some of the lands are good, the average is inferior. The best are in Lauderdale, Newton, Scott, Rankin, Hinds, Madison, Warren, and Yazoo. The lands towards the Louisiana line are very sandy, yielding light crops, but susceptible of much improvement. The trees in this formation generally keep their leaves during the winter. The long-leaf pine is rich in turpentine, and belongs to this region, and is the principal growth. There are, however, also, all the varieties of oak, and especially the live oak; varieties of hickory, gum, poplar, persimmon, sumac, sassafras, walnut, magnolia, bay, swamp spice, sycamore, cotton wood, paupau, prickly ash, red maple, linn, beach, elm, holly, dogwood, cypress, birch, ash, &c.

"It deserves to be noticed here, that it is especially the area of the eocene formation of the State which furnishes the best timber, and the greatest quantity of it. The whole country is overgrown by the long-leaf pine, (*pinus palustris*,) which grows here to a very large size, and yields most excellent lumber.

"Indeed this tree seems to indemnify the inhabitants of the lower part of the eocene—generally called the "Piny Woods," or also "Pine Barrens"—for the deficiency of their soil, yielding not only excellent timber, but also turpentine in abundance, and, when dry, for chimneys, the very best of fire-wood.

"Besides the pines, this country furnishes most excellent cypress trees; all the low places, where the water does not dry away entirely, are full of them. They also yield excellent timber, which resists the water for a long time without decaying, and is, therefore, especially useful for boats, canoes, and for shingles."

4. MIOCENE FORMATION.—This is the least important economically. There are deposits of lignite, sand-stones, fine clay, fuller's earth, &c. Valuable mineral springs are found in Yallobusha, Winston, Neshoba, Yazoo, Lafayette, Panola, and Calhoun counties. Among the best lands in this formation are the black soils of the table lands of Tippah, Marshall, and De Soto counties, which are still fresh, and in a fine state of fertility. The next quality is that found along the bluff of the alluvian formation in Yazoo, and from there to Madison county. The yellow loam, an excellent soil, is confined to the western part of the State. The red loam is of

middling quality only. The alluvians are extensive, and of great fertility. The live oak and long-leaf pine are not found in this formation.

5. THE ALLUVIUM.—We here introduce a passage from the report, showing the extent, history, and value of this region :

“Nothing but the outlines of the alluvium of the Mississippi river have hitherto been examined, and the report on it must, therefore, be confined to generalities.

“The alluvial plain between the bluff east of the Coldwater, Tallahatchie, Yallabusha, and Yazoo river bottoms, is, in an agricultural respect, one of the most important formations, not only in the State of Mississippi, but in all the Southern States: nay, more than that, even in the United States.

“Where it commences in this State, at the State line, under the 35° of N. latitude, it is very little more than 10 miles wide, but it widens rapidly, the Mississippi river turning S. W., and is, 30 miles southwards, where the dividing line between De Soto and Panola counties strike the bluff, just opposite the town of Helena, in Arkansas, about 36 miles wide. Thirty-five miles farther down, opposite the town of Charleston, in Tallahatchie county, it is about 58 miles wide. Opposite Carrollton, in Carroll county, the alluvial plain reaches its greatest extent in width; it is there 68 miles wide, and narrows from there, first slowly, but at last rapidly; opposite Yazoo city, it is, nevertheless, still more than 40 miles wide, but it ends near Vicksburg, where the tertiary hills extend to the bank of the Mississippi river. This alluvial plain is, in the State of Mississippi, more than 160 geographical, or 184 statute miles long, and contains more than 7,000 square miles, of the best land which our globe is able to produce. It is still a wilderness; the prejudice of its unfitness for cultivation has only lately subsided, and the axe of the woodman scarcely begun its ravages; but after the lapse of another century, whatever the delta of the Nile may once have been, will only be a shadow of what the alluvial plain of the Mississippi will then be. It will be the central point—the garden spot of the North American continent—where wealth and prosperity culminate; but this rich plain, formed, as it is, by a river unsteady in its bed, will always be subject to the destructive inroads of that river, and no human power will be able to put boundaries to its ravages.

“The whole alluvial plain is not the work of several rivers, it is the Mississippi river alone which forms it. The Coldwater, Tallahatchie, Yallabusha, and Yazoo river bottoms are only part of the Mississippi river bottom, and formed exclusively by this Father of Waters.

“The Mississippi river must always have shifted in its bed, as it does now; the many oblong lakes, formed exactly as the bed of the Mississippi, and lying, in many instances, parallel with it, are a certain proof of it. They were all once parts of the bed of the great river, but having been abandoned by the unsteady stream, the inlets and outlets of these old channels were filled up with river silt, and are now isolated lakes.

“It is still uncertain whether the large alluvial plain, on both sides of the Mississippi river, is formed entirely by the shifting of the river from one side to the other; and whether every part of it has been once

the channel or bed of the river, or whether it has entirely or partly been formed by the inundations of the river, and only a small part of it, immediately along the banks of the river, by its shifting.

"There are reasons for the adoption of either of those opinions. The whole alluvial plain is a perfectly level territory, of from sixty to seventy miles in width, and certainly one thousand miles in length. This territory, now nearly as level as the surface of the ocean, must have once been undulated and hilly, as both sides of the country beyond the bottom. It is scarcely possible that the overflowing of the river could have leveled the country in such a manner, which generally happens only once a year, when the snow and ice of the mountains, where the Mississippi and Missouri have their sources, melts; and at no other times, as the waters of all the other tributaries flowing into the gigantic river are, comparatively, only unimportant, and produce scarcely any difference in its water level.

"Such an occasional overflow, which occurs not even once a year, could not have swept down the hills and filled up the valleys; besides, the lakes on both sides of the river, which have evidently been once parts of the channel of the river, show that it must have shifted considerably from one side to the other. If we consider, then, how the river shifts now constantly; how, in a few years, many square miles of country are washed away on one side, and new alluvium of the same area formed on the other, we would scarcely doubt that the whole of the alluvial plain was not formed by a shifting of the unsteady river, during the many thousands of years of its existence. But there is a strong reason against this theory. The whole alluvial plain appears as a channel of an immensely large river, in the old bed of which the present bed of the Father of Waters occupies only comparatively a very insignificant channel."

STATISTICS OF GEORGIA BY THE ASSESSMENT OF 1857.

| | |
|---|-----------------------|
| Number of Polls..... | 97,149 |
| " Professions..... | 2,510 |
| " Slaves..... | 426,566 |
| Acres Land, 1st quality..... | 450,785 |
| " 2d "..... | 6,298,218 |
| " 3d "..... | 10,808,194 |
| " Pine..... | 15,728,316—33,285,669 |
| Aggregate value of Slaves..... | \$228,939,723 00 |
| Average value per head..... | 524 97 |
| Aggregate value of Land..... | 136,681,959 00 |
| Average value per Acre..... | 4 10 |
| Value of City or Town Property..... | 80,037,061 00 |
| " Money and Solvent Notes..... | 83,895,461 00 |
| " Merchandise..... | 11,831,899 00 |
| " Ship and Tonnage..... | 1,064,932 00 |
| " Manufactures..... | 5,750,001 00 |
| " Furniture over \$300..... | 2,019,602 00 |
| " Property not enumerated..... | 32,850,815 00 |
| " Foreign Bank Capital..... | 856,510 00 |
| " Property returned, 1857..... | 528,927,963 00 |
| " " " 1856..... | 495,478,045 00 |
| Increase in value taxable property..... | 33,449,918 00 |

COMMERCE OF SAVANNAH, 1857.

FROM the Prices Current of the Savannah Republican, we extract the following statistics, showing the leading Commercial movements in that city for the year, which terminated on the 31st of August last:

Exports of Cotton from Savannah.

| PORTS EXPORTED TO. | From Sept. 1, 1856, to Sept. 1, 1857. | | From Sept. 1, 1855, to Sept. 1, 1856. | |
|-----------------------------|--|----------|--|----------|
| | S. I. | Uplanda. | S. I. | Uplanda. |
| Liverpool | 6,371 | 121,384 | 7,403 | 155,052 |
| Other British Ports..... | 240 | 10,699 | 59 | 284 |
| Total Great Britain..... | 6,611 | 132,083 | 7,462 | 155,286 |
| Havre | | 3,504 | 676 | 16,181 |
| Other French Ports..... | | | | |
| Total France..... | | 3,504 | 676 | 16,181 |
| Other Foreign Ports..... | | 16,641 | | 5,715 |
| Total Foreign Ports..... | 6,611 | 152,228 | 8,138 | 177,182 |
| Boston | 5 | 34,209 | 224 | 36,020 |
| Providence | | 1,799 | | 7,229 |
| New York | 8,423 | 92,684 | 4,400 | 120,587 |
| Philadelphia | 11 | 20,424 | 33 | 18,403 |
| Baltimore and Norfolk.... | | 6,238 | | 4,436 |
| Charleston | 1,589 | 3,437 | 2,689 | 13,281 |
| Other United States Ports.. | | | | 470 |
| Total Coastwise..... | 10,028 | 158,791 | 7,346 | 200,426 |
| Grand Total | 16,639 | 311,019 | 15,484 | 377,608 |

Exports of Rice and Lumber from Savannah.

| PORTS EXPORTED TO. | From Sept. 1, 1856, to Sept. 1, 1857. | | From Sept. 1, 1855, to Sept. 1, 1856. | |
|-----------------------------|--|---------------|--|---------------|
| | Rice, cks. | Lumber, feet. | Rice, cks. | Lumber, feet. |
| Great Britain | 162 | 24,628,741 | 895 | 9,512,800 |
| St. John's and Halifax..... | | 4,619,193 | 15 | 3,831,700 |
| West Indies | 6,338 | 4,987,845 | 6,806 | 3,084,400 |
| Other Foreign Ports..... | 287 | 2,616,723 | 164 | 5,021,100 |
| Total Foreign Ports..... | 6,787 | 36,752,502 | 7,880 | 21,500,000 |
| Maine..... | | 390,423 | 7 | 4,961,400 |
| Massachusetts..... | 1,454 | 1,190,202 | 5,473 | 3,492,000 |
| Rhode Island, &c..... | 15 | | 122 | |
| New York | 12,899 | 3,722,531 | 9,046 | 3,292,000 |
| Philadelphia..... | 2,160 | 567,162 | 2,859 | 369,300 |
| Baltimore and Norfolk.... | 2,161 | 696,290 | 613 | 317,500 |
| Charleston | 345 | | 840 | |
| New Orleans, &c..... | 1,703 | | 2,964 | |
| Other Ports | 12 | 1,413,960 | 103 | 954,700 |
| Total Coastwise..... | 20,749 | 7,990,568 | 22,027 | 13,387,500 |
| Grand Total..... | 27,536 | 44,743,070 | 29,907 | 34,887,500 |

Comparative Receipts, Exports, and Stocks of Cotton, at the port of Savannah, from 1st September to date.

| Years. | Receipts. | Exports. | Stock. |
|-----------|-----------|----------|--------|
| 1847..... | 245,496 | 243,238 | 10,000 |
| 1848..... | 406,906 | 405,461 | 11,500 |
| 1849..... | 340,025 | 341,700 | 9,599 |
| 1850..... | 312,294 | 317,434 | 4,500 |
| 1851..... | 351,518 | 353,068 | 2,950 |
| 1852..... | 345,863 | 343,163 | 5,150 |
| 1853..... | 315,521 | 317,471 | 3,200 |
| 1854..... | 388,366 | 386,385 | 1,981 |
| 1855..... | 395,866 | 396,446 | 1,550 |
| 1856..... | 328,836 | 328,510 | 1,926 |

"THE TIMES ARE OUT OF JOINT."

The readers of the Review may naturally expect some reflections in it on the all-absorbing topic of the financial crisis.

There are no end to the theories which are advanced in regard to its cause. It certainly cannot be traced to the causes which produced the revulsion of 1837, since they have not been in operation. Then there had been a season of short crops, even grains were imported—a contest had been going on between the local banks and an unscrupulous mammoth corporation, which had, on its own admission, the power to crush any of them—the imports were vastly in excess of the exports; bank issues were strained to the utmost possible extent; gold disappeared, and speculation was pressed to delirious excess in every section of the Union. How stand the facts now in the comparison?

Bank Capital of the United States in 1837 and 1857.

| | Specie. | Circulation. | Capital. |
|---------------|------------|--------------|-------------|
| 1836-'37..... | 40,026,000 | 140,300,000 | 251,875,000 |
| 1856-'57..... | 63,206,000 | 176,750,000 | 373,960,000 |

Thus the specie in the banks has been increasing in a ratio twice as great as the circulation, or 58 per cent. against 26. In the meantime the population of the country has perhaps increased 60 per cent., and the legitimate demands of this population increased in a similar ratio. We have been receiving gold from California, which, whether it has remained in the country or gone abroad for an equivalent, has still largely added to its wealth.

Receipts of Gold from California.

| | | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| 1849..... | \$4,921,250 | 1853..... | \$57,331,024 |
| 1850..... | 27,676,346 | 1854..... | 51,328,653 |
| 1851..... | 42,482,695 | 1855..... | 43,080,211 |
| 1852..... | 46,586,139 | 1856..... | 48,887,543 |

Aggregate in eight years.....\$322,393,856

The following table will show the specie in the country, including that in the banks at several periods :

| | Specie in the country. | Bank Notes. | Authority. |
|--------------|------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| In 1800..... | \$17,500,000 | \$10,500,000 | Blodgett. |
| 1807..... | 20,000,000 | 18,000,000 | " |
| 1816..... | 26,500,000 | 70,000,000 | Gallatin. |
| 1820..... | 30,000,000 | 45,000,000 | " |
| 1830..... | 32,000,000 | 61,000,000 | " |
| 1836..... | 65,000,000 | 140,000,000 | Woodbury. |
| 1837..... | 73,000,000 | 149,000,000 | " |
| 1841..... | 75,000,000 | 107,000,000 | Gouge. |
| 1845..... | 100,000,000 | 75,000,000 | Hunt. |
| 1850..... | 154,000,000 | 131,000,000 | Treasury. |
| 1853..... | 204,982,432 | 160,000,000 | R. R. Record. |
| 1854..... | 250,000,000 | 204,000,000 | Treasury. |
| 1856..... | 270,000,000 | 162,000,000 | R. R. Record. |

Thus the proportion of coin is larger now than at any previous period, except in the year 1800, and more than twice as large as in 1837. The following will show our exports and imports:

Imports into the United States from Foreign Ports.

| Year end'g June 30. | Dutiable. | Free Goods. | Specie & Bullion. | Total Imports. |
|---------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 1845..... | \$95,106,724 | \$18,077,598 | \$4,070,242 | \$117,254,564 |
| 1846..... | 96,924,058 | 20,990,007 | 3,777,732 | 131,691,797 |
| 1847..... | 104,773,002 | 17,651,347 | 24,121,289 | 146,545,638 |
| 1848..... | 132,282,325 | 16,356,379 | 6,360,224 | 154,998,928 |
| 1849..... | 125,479,774 | 15,726,425 | 6,651,240 | 147,857,439 |
| 1850..... | 155,427,936 | 18,081,590 | 4,628,792 | 178,138,318 |
| 1851..... | 191,118,345 | 19,652,995 | 5,453,592 | 216,224,932 |
| 1852..... | 183,252,508 | 24,187,890 | 5,505,044 | 212,945,442 |
| 1853..... | 236,595,113 | 26,182,152 | 4,201,382 | 267,978,647 |
| 1854..... | 272,546,431 | 26,327,660 | 6,906,162 | 305,780,253 |
| 1855..... | 221,925,624 | 36,430,524 | 3,559,812 | 261,915,960 |
| 1856..... | 257,684,236 | 52,748,074 | 4,207,632 | 314,649,932 |
| 1857..... | 294,160,835 | 54,267,507 | 12,461,799 | 360,890,141 |

Exports from the United States to Foreign Ports.

| Year end'g June 30. | Dom. Produce. | Foreign Produce. | Specie & Bullion. | Total Exports. |
|---------------------|---------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 1845..... | \$98,455,330 | \$7,584,781 | \$8,606,495 | \$114,646,606 |
| 1846..... | 101,718,042 | 7,866,206 | 3,905,268 | 113,488,516 |
| 1847..... | 150,574,854 | 6,166,754 | 1,907,024 | 158,648,632 |
| 1848..... | 130,203,709 | 7,986,806 | 15,841,616 | 154,032,131 |
| 1849..... | 131,710,081 | 8,641,091 | 5,404,648 | 145,755,820 |
| 1850..... | 184,900,233 | 9,475,498 | 7,522,994 | 191,898,725 |
| 1851..... | 173,620,138 | 10,295,121 | 29,472,752 | 213,388,011 |
| 1852..... | 154,951,147 | 12,037,043 | 42,674,135 | 209,658,325 |
| 1853..... | 189,869,162 | 13,096,213 | 27,486,875 | 230,452,250 |
| 1854..... | 215,157,504 | 21,661,137 | 41,422,423 | 278,241,064 |
| 1855..... | 192,751,135 | 26,158,368 | 56,247,343 | 275,156,846 |
| 1856..... | 266,438,017 | 14,784,372 | 44,745,485 | 326,967,874 |
| 1857..... | 278,906,718 | 23,964,079 | 60,078,352 | 362,949,149 |

Much is said about the extent of speculations in Western lands and town lots, but these although undoubtedly carried to

a great extent within the last few years, have been of very partial character, and in the knowledge of almost every person, bear no comparison with the speculations of 1837. A large and increasing western emigration, good crops, and large prices, readier access to market, must have created demand for Western lands, raised their value very much, and continually developed new villages and towns. That speculation has not rested at these legitimate points it must be admitted, but there are no facts to show that it has, except in a few cases, been carried sufficiently further to create distress.

An adequate cause for the evil under which the country is suffering, may be found in the sudden abstraction of a large amount of capital from the uses of commerce, which was represented by railroad securities, and in the unwise and selfish course pursued by the banks of the North. Many hundreds of millions of dollars have been expended upon railroads in that quarter which have not been productive. The stocks and securities of these roads were elements of commerce, and the moment that their value was impaired or destroyed, bankruptcy and ruin might naturally be expected. The roads themselves, however, have, without any doubt, been substantial additions to the permanent wealth of the country which they intersect, giving value to the lands, increasing and extending population and developing States. If A, B, C, and D, as stockholders, are ruined, the rest of the alphabet is deriving the greatest advantages from their losses. Pericles, when charged with squandering the public treasures of Athens, pointed to the splendid structures with which he had embellished it.

Within the last thirty days the following railroad companies are reported as having either gone to protest on their floating debt, suspended, or made an assignment of their property:

| Names. | Total Liabilities. |
|--|----------------------|
| New York and Erie..... | \$38,000,000 |
| Illinois Central..... | 24,000,000 |
| Philadelphia and Reading..... | 20,000,000 |
| Michigan Central..... | 14,000,000 |
| Michigan Southern..... | 18,000,000 |
| Cleveland and Toledo..... | 7,500,000 |
| Milwaukie and Mississippi..... | 7,000,000 |
| La Crosse and Milwaukie..... | 14,000,000 |
| Cleveland and Pittsburg..... | 6,000,000 |
| Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western..... | 10,000,000 |
| Chicago, St. Paul, and Fond du Lac..... | 5,000,000 |
| North Pennsylvania..... | 6,000,000 |
| Cumberland Coal Company..... | 6,000,000 |
| Hunting and Broad Top..... | 1,200,000 |
| Steubenville and Indiana, estimated..... | 5,000,000 |
| Total..... | \$181,700,000 |

If this cause be thought adequate to account for the existing pressure, it will follow from it that the evil is not very deep and wide-spread, and that its existence will be of very short duration. This is our opinion.

Certain it is that at the South it has not been felt, except through her commercial relations with the North. The bankruptcies of individuals and banks, have all been in that quarter. We have seen, from their action, our exchanges embarrassed, and the price of our staples, contrary to all reason and propriety, greatly depressed. In seeing these things, we should be taught to look for the remedy, which can only be in that Southern commercial independence which has so long been the subject of our thoughts and our hopes. Now, more than ever, is action necessary at the South.

Another great truth should be inculcated at this time, and that is to leave commerce and other industry to the control of enlightened self-interest, rather to that of theorizing politicians. Panics and pressures, and commercial ruin, have followed, alike, high tariffs and low tariffs, national banks and no national banks, no gold and much gold, small bank inflations and great bank inflations, excess of exports and excess of imports, wide-spread speculation and no speculation, etc., etc., and no legislative tinkering with any of these will afford the required relief. Let industry work out its own redemption. It is entirely adequate to it. Even in our present state of depression, no country, under heaven, is more prosperous than ours. *Let us alone!* The recuperative energies of a free and industrious people, in a time of general peace, will soon begin to manifest themselves, and prosperity will resume again its empire in every section of the land.

We append to our article the complete banking statistics of the United States for 1837 and 1857.

Summary statement of the condition of all the banks in the United States, 1856-'57.

| States. | Specie. | Circulation. | Capital. | States. | Specie. | Circulation. | Capital. |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|------------|--------------|-------------|
| Maine..... | \$1,025,000 | \$4,600,000 | \$8,000,000 | Georgia | 1,500,000 | 5,000,000 | 10,300,000 |
| N. Hamp'se | 180,000 | 8,000,000 | 4,780,000 | Florida..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Vermont.... | 200,000 | 8,700,000 | 4,000,000 | Alabama.... | 800,000 | 250,000 | 8,100,000 |
| Massachus. | 4,518,000 | 25,000,000 | 59,760,000 | Louisiana... | 8,000,000 | 7,500,000 | 15,300,000 |
| Rhode Isla'd | 877,000 | 5,200,000 | 19,500,000 | Mississippi.. | 50,000 | 800,000 | 300,000 |
| Connecticut. | 800,000 | 6,840,000 | 18,300,000 | Tennessee... | 2,000,000 | 6,000,000 | 10,200,000 |
| New York.. | 15,000,000 | 22,000,000 | 101,000,000 | Kentucky... | 5,000,000 | 18,500,000 | 18,150,000 |
| New Jersey. | 750,000 | 4,800,000 | 5,000,000 | Missouri* | 1,140,000 | 3,200,000 | 1,300,000 |
| Pennsylv'nia | 6,000,000 | 15,400,000 | 23,700,000 | Illinois..... | 850,000 | 3,500,000 | 4,430,000 |
| Delaware... | 250,000 | 1,000,000 | 1,700,000 | Indiana..... | 1,500,000 | 5,800,000 | 4,500,000 |
| Maryland... | 3,300,000 | 5,100,000 | 11,100,000 | Ohio..... | 3,000,000 | 10,000,000 | 6,000,000 |
| D. Columbia | 800,000 | 850,000 | 1,800,000 | Michigan... | 690,000 | 1,000,000 | 8,580,000 |
| Virginia.... | 4,000,000 | 12,000,000 | 14,000,000 | Wisconsin... | 590,000 | 1,150,000 | 8,000,000 |
| N. Carolina. | 2,000,000 | 6,660,000 | 6,100,000 | | | | |
| S. Carolina. | 1,396,000 | 8,000,000 | 15,000,000 | Aggregate.. | 63,206,000 | 176,750,000 | 873,960,000 |

* Does not include the new banks.

The above returns were made in or near January last.

Summary statement of the condition of all the banks in the United States, 1835-'36, just before the suspension of specie payment.

| States. | Specie. | Circulation. | Capital. | States. | Specie. | Circulation. | Capital. |
|----------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|----------------|------------|--------------|-------------|
| Maine..... | \$176,839 | \$1,788,040 | \$3,935,000 | Florida..... | 89,087 | 714,589 | 1,484,886 |
| N. Hamps's | 150,000 | 1,526,512 | 2,663,308 | Alabama... | 1,562,494 | 6,179,107 | 6,558,969 |
| Vermont... | 76,892 | 2,086,860 | 1,125,624 | Louisiana... | 2,007,587 | 7,190,546 | 84,065,284 |
| Mass..... | 1,196,444 | 9,430,357 | \$9,410,000 | Mississippi... | 659,470 | 4,390,521 | 8,764,550 |
| Il. Island... | 565,416 | 1,644,259 | 8,750,681 | Tennessee... | 211,076 | 4,205,308 | 4,546,285 |
| Connecticut. | 650,000 | 8,874,212 | 8,519,368 | Kentucky... | 1,199,854 | 8,819,480 | 5,116,400 |
| New York... | 6,224,646 | 21,127,927 | 81,251,461 | Missouri..... | 871,653 | 2,000,000 | 1,200,000 |
| Pennsylvania | 8,876,568 | 10,992,023 | 18,858,482 | Illinois..... | 279,670 | 658,661 | 478,229 |
| New Jersey... | 846,132 | 1,755,829 | 3,970,000 | Indiana..... | 869,889 | 1,981,650 | 1,279,837 |
| Delaware... | 161,560 | 806,665 | 817,775 | Ohio..... | 2,924,906 | 9,975,644 | 8,909,744 |
| Maryland... | 1,800,868 | 3,200,163 | 8,206,575 | Michigan... | 172,071 | 1,164,495 | 909,779 |
| D. Columbia | 643,583 | 961,798 | 2,389,728 | | | | |
| Virginia... | 1,552,523 | 8,182,763 | 6,511,300 | Totals..... | 83,169,005 | 126,856,474 | 218,075,292 |
| N. Carolina... | 814,806 | 2,050,513 | 1,769,231 | Bank U. S.... | 7,650,589 | 15,444,564 | 85,000,000 |
| S. Carolina... | 2,500,427 | 7,488,727 | 7,486,818 | | | | |
| Georgia.... | 2,602,595 | 7,971,887 | 8,200,967 | Aggregate.. | 40,020,000 | 140,300,000 | 254,575,000 |

The remarks made by the New Orleans Picayune and those of the Vicksburg True Southron, upon the present sufferings of the South, on account of her ill advised and servile dependency upon the North, may well be reproduced in this connection.

Says the Picayune:

"The existing difficulties in the financial world promise now to teach us practically what mere theoretical argument, in its abundance, the last few years, has hitherto failed to impress us with—the value of commercial independence. We doubt very much if the whole history of mankind can produce a parallel to the condition in which we of New Orleans find ourselves at the present moment placed. Here we are, confessedly the great commercial depot and emporium of the Southwest—a tributary territory far greater in extent and richer in products than any of the renowned empires of antiquity—the largest exporting city, indeed, of the New World, and yet we find ourselves all at once brought to a complete stand-still, commercially paralysed, as it were, for the moment by the derangement of an indirect system of exchanges, and that, too, singular enough, as if to make the lesson more emphatic, at the very time when our rich products should flow fastest in upon us, and when they are most wanted in their proper markets of the Old World.

"This general description of our anomalous condition needs no specific illustration here, at a time when its truth will be recognised and felt by all; still there is one ready at hand which will force itself upon every mind. Cotton, our great staple, is worth in Liverpool at the present time, or was at the departure of the last steamer, eighteen to nineteen cents a pound, while the same qualities are now selling in New Orleans—when sold at all—at ten cents; an actual difference, making the usual allowance for expense of shipment, of about seven cents the pound between the two markets, or between the producer and the consumer. A state of things which, we venture to say, was never known in the commercial world before, certainly one which may well suggest an inquiry into the system whose temporary derangement has, by the confession of all, alone produced it.

"We know very well the difficulties that attend this subject, especially the controlling power of commercial centres, and of what is not inappropriately called the course of trade, and which have hitherto prevented, and, perhaps, generally speaking, always will prevent, the realization of what has been advocated theoretically by so many. The great convenience also of our present system of indirect exchanges, the suggestion and growth of long years of experience, and when not deranged, as at the present time, as perfect as well can be—though the support of an intermediate class is an additional tax upon either producer or consumer—is another difficulty in the way, if in this connection we may use a term apparently so contradictory and inappropriate. Simple as it may at first sight seem, commerce is, after all, a most complicated thing. The whole world of trade, indeed, is in general practice and almost indissolubly bound together. It is in fact what is properly called a "world" in itself, each part of which is mutually dependent upon the other, and of which no one can be affected without more or less seriously affecting the whole.

"There are, however, times when this complicated system seems resolved into its original elements, or rather entirely done away with, and we necessarily fall back upon the simplest laws of exchange. And such is our condition at the present time. The power on which we have been dependent so long has at length given way, and almost without knowing it, we have come, or are about to come, actually to realize in practice what has hitherto been considered by many an idle dream—direct trade with Europe. And should this step, which all must admit to be one in the right direction, in the present state of affairs certainly, result in our permanent emancipation from a system whose advantages are far outnumbered by their disadvantages—a system which wrings from us annually, without any return except the loss of influence and of power, millions of our hard earned dollars—we should think the financial crisis, with all its manifold evils, cheap to us. We have already paid humiliating tribute to others too long, and it is high time we declared ourselves commercially free and independent."

Says the Southron:

"We trust that the financial storm which is devastating the land will not be allowed to pass away without our profiting by the lesson it teaches the South and its people. For years we have occupied a position of vassalage to the North, and we hail the present as an auspicious period for throwing off the fetters which bind us. In commerce, in finance, as well as in literature, we have become mere hewers of wood and drawers of water for those who, while they fatten on our prosperity, rejoice in our misfortunes. Independent in itself—comparatively out of debt, indulging in none of the wild and profligate speculations of the day—controlling the great staple which is not inaptly denominated "king," the South is yet in a complete and thorough condition of serfdom. Producing the article which furnishes the basis of the world's trade—an article that rules and governs the commerce of the whole civilized globe, one that enables our merchants to whiten every sea with our sails, and carry our flag into every clime, the great pro-

ducing region is yet as powerless as a sick babe. It is one of the strangest as well as saddest sights that meets our gaze, that a people who are really independent, and who can dictate terms to all the world, should yet, by their own folly and supineness, recklessly throw away the advantages of their position and be made at once the sport and the laughing stock of the gamblers and swindlers of Wall street.

"The remedy, it strikes us, is plain and simple, and no more emphatic recognition of that remedy has ever been offered than is to be found in the history of the last three weeks. With a product worth from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars, with a people out of debt, blessed with tireless energies, boundless health and an abundant harvest, what do we now see! The gamblers and money-changers of New York—the thieves, forgers, and swindlers, who congregate in Wall street, and sport with men's fortunes as boys play with toys, have plunged into the wildest and most wicked speculations that ever before cursed a country. Not content with the slow but certain reward of honest industry, they have indulged in every species of gambling, with a boldness and an effrontery of which the world has had no previous example. In order to keep up palatial residences, fine wines, fast horses, fast women, and costly equipages, ordinary pursuits have been abandoned, or left to the few ancient fogies still to be found scattered here and there, and the entire capital of the country withdrawn from the legitimate channels of trade, and embarked in speculations which no people, not utterly drunk or demented, would ever dream of indulging in.

"The result is obvious—sensible men have long foreseen it—and now the consequences fall with crushing severity upon the very people least guilty, and who have had no part or lot in bringing on the catastrophe. Every failure, every swindle, every forging transaction at the North produces a convulsion in the money market there, and New York being the great monetary center of the country, it thrills and vibrates through every household in the South. There is not a planter in the South to-day who is not suffering from this very cause—suffering in credit, in character, and fortune. And these periodical convulsions will continue—they will return as regularly as the seasons change, until the South places herself in a position worthy of her high destiny and her boundless resources. She must make up her mind to extirpate the disease by cutting up the cause, root and branch. She must determine that she will no longer be the prey of rogues in ruffels, and rascals in palaces. The system must be broken up, and then if the thieves of New York will rob each other, why, let them—we at least will escape the consequences of their scoundrelism.

"We produce that which makes the commerce of the world; let us no longer be servants, but masters. Instead of being made tributary to New York, let us at once set about the work of building up one of our own cities. Why should New Orleans be tributary to New York? Why should not the money come to the former instead of the latter place? The answer is easy. We have not had the manliness to throw off our dependence. Instead of shipping our own products, and importing what we need from Europe, we have permitted New York to

do it for us, and she has so long controlled our great staple, so long dictated terms to us on every question of money, that we doubt if a proposition to dispense with her valuable services now would be regarded as less than downright rebellion. But whether treasonable or not, we think the end of the system is approaching, and none will hail its downfall with more sincere pleasure than he who pens these lines. If the present terrible crisis shall prove instrumental in bringing about so desirable a consummation, the South will have cause to rejoice that the crash came, and we are not sure that we should not be pleased to see it howl on for the next year, provided it should end in so valuable and desirable result.

"The cotton planters of the South have, within the last twenty days, lost money enough to equip a like of magnificent steamships, equal to any in the world, and capable of bearing off the products of our soil, and bringing us in return every thing that we desire. With such a line of steamers, and a direct trade growing up under it, New Orleans would become our monetary center. There gold would flow in from abroad to pay for our cotton, and though the grass should grow in Wall street, and the bulls and bears gore and tear each other to death, we should be unaffected. Our monetary affairs would move on—based upon the unfailing products of the soil—they would not be disturbed by the gamblers and stock jobbers of the North, but Southern prosperity, Southern capital, character, and confidence would enable us to bid defiance to any storm, and ride in safety where others were being engulfed beneath the waves."

THE MISSION OF SCIENCE.

EXTRACTED FROM A COLLEGE PORTFOLIO.

Among the manuscripts and papers which belong to that season of thoughtless gaiety, and boundless aspirations never to be realized, which is known as our College days, for it is to be presumed that most of us have preserved a part of them, at least, there will often be found some, which even a maturer judgment will not altogether condemn, and which even maturer efforts have not perhaps excelled. Opinions will be found expressed, which have long since yielded to experience, and faith, confidence and hope, which stern realities have dissipated like frost-work before advancing day. It is an innocent vanity which makes us prize these juvenilities, and whether they are mediocre or excrable in the opinion of others, they are none the less sacred in our own eyes.

Therefore, craving the readers pardon, and guiltless of the offence of expecting him to read further than it may please his fancy, to save the labor of composing anything new, we turn the pages of these early manuscripts and seize upon the following:

How appears God to the superstitious? A being frail, impotent, fickle as themselves; governing nature by laws for which a human statesman would blush; deputing as messengers of his will to man, and instructing them with his designs,

the brutes, soulless, mindless creatures of impulse and necessity! Initiating into the mysteries of his providence the most weak and depraved of creatures—the witch, the sorcerer, and fortune-teller. Does science give us such a government, or is it not one where Jehovah sits to administer laws immutable, universal, eternal, effecting the wisest ends by the wisest means?

But do we use science as synonymous with learning? We do not. All science is learning, but learning is not necessarily science. It is possible that one may have attained the knowledge of language ancient and modern, be competent to refined criticism on its grammatical construction, may be a shrewd dialectician, jurist, political economist, but it does not follow thence that he is a man of science. Dr. Samuel Johnson occupied this place. He had made the most profound and varied attainments in general literature, yet science never once shed her light upon his soul. Superstition seemed to have held her court there, and the most childless forebodings continually disturbed the equanimity of his mind. Nicolai, the German, brought on by over exercise an affection of the mind. Spectres and apparitions danced in his vision by day and by night. They carried with them no terrors. He knew them to be the idle creations of a distempered fancy. He was a man of science: he had investigated the great laws which govern the universe: from nature as well as from human records were maxims and truths fixed upon his mind which were ineffacable. The mineral, the plant, the animalculæ, pointed him not less forcibly to a God than did orbs rolling ponderous in their orbits—a God varying not each moment his designs and government, but eternally *one*.

Yet Greece, says an objector, celebrated for science and art, the home of the muses, the favored of Minerva, Greece placed a thousand gods in the calendar, with all of the vices of men, and few of their superior moral virtues. How know we in reply that we understand at all the complicated system of Greek theology? Who shall say that this refined people had not robed in allegorical garbs their whole theology?

The learned have even had strong reasons to suspect that a Supreme Being *was* acknowledged, distinct from any usually spoken of, who governed the world through their lesser agency, and passages of Orpheus and Homer have been selected in confirmation of the fact. It must be admitted, however, that science, though cultivated by the enlightened minds among the ancients, seldom strayed beyond the academy, the lyceum, or the porch, at least for the practical purpose of popular enlightenment.

Revert for a moment to the dark ages, when men specula-

ted upon things as they should be, rather than as they are, if, indeed, any but a few of the most learned speculated at all: contemplate the wonderful and illuminated doctors of that period, and the superstitious creeds which they indulged in common with the multitude: see the hoary head of Gallileo, exposed to all the vindictiveness of the inquisition, and hear the seven cardinals pronounce, in learned and solemn conclave, "that to maintain the sun to be immovable, and without local motion in the centre of the world, is an absurd proposition, false in philosophy, heretical in religion, and contrary to the testimony of scripture, and that it is equally absurd and false in philosophy to assert that the earth is not immovable in the centre of the world, and considered, theologically, equally erroneous and heretical." See Copernicus imprisoned by the Pontiff, until making recantation his absurd dogmas, Faustus flying from the reputation of his Bibles, Bacon charged with satanic intercourse. Even glance over the ponderous tomes of Thomas Aquinas, Abelard, Duns Scotus, and Peter Lombard, and you will form proper conceptions of that golden era when science had been expelled from the world. Compare this era with that of Bacon, the genius of inductive science who clearly defined the lines which limited it, and taught the conditions on which only could it be advanced. Who can express the amazing truths which have been developed by this philosophy, the elevation which it has added to the mind that investigates, and our ideas of the architect who devised and created it. Behold, since then,

"Earth's disembowelled! measured are the skies!
Stars are detected in their deep recess!
Creation widens! vanquished nature yields!
Her secrets are extorted!"

The illiterate, the savage, whose sordid minds can only be moved by unusual and appalling manifestations of power, "see God in clouds and hear Him in the storms;" but it is for the refined and delicately sensitive mind of the scientific to see Him in the delicately moulded and beautiful combinations of nature. The earthquake, causing mountains to quake and totter on their bases, ocean to heave up her immense volumes in massive columns, and bare her profound caverns to the eye of man, rivers to break up their channels, cities to rock and be swallowed in wild abyss, these are God to trembling man universally revealed—God in his might, his awful magnificence; but to a few only is he recognized in the soft beauty of the landscape, the meandering stream, the rippling fountain and the cascade, the zephyr bearing on its breast Flora's balmy fragrance, the blade of grass, the pebble, the shell—God, the kind and attentive parent—God, the benefactor and

the friend, ministering with equal hand to the great family of living existences.

Go with the astronomer, and contemplate the illimitable empire of worlds, and like Newton, overpowered, trace the great law that connects them, or contemplate the phenomena of our own; see it selecting from an infinity of lines upon which it might have revolved the only one that science has established to be permanent; see it assuming a position the best of all possible in its orbit, for with an axis, for example, perpendicular or parallel to the plane of the ecliptic, could there have been as now the recurrence of seasons and animal life, or would not all have been a dreary and interminable solitude? Contemplate with the chemist the great laws of definite proportions, the polarization of light, the magnet, electricity's subtle and powerful fluid, pervading nature. See, with the mineralogist, the regular formed and polished crystals, which the great architect has fashioned, the earth embowelled to the geologist, the great mountains traversed to elucidate their structure and arrangements, its fossils sought to determine the period since it emanated from its Maker's hand; examine, with the botanist and anatomist, organic sensible and organic insensible nature; everywhere is excited an intensity of sensation, all is great, wonderful, and inexplicable! Or if mental philosophy be admitted to the dignity of science, the single discovery, that the laws of association which influence memory are in themselves indestructible, that an affection of the body stimulates their action, and that submitted to certain modifications the whole train of past thoughts, feelings, and affections, which now seem shrouded in the vista of the past, may be completely developed, so that not one item of life shall be lost, if clearly established, must open a field for the exercise of the deepest and most profound reflection.

The ultimate end or final cause of all science being then so momentous, insensible must be that heart that does not glow when it is mentioned, unenviable the condition of that mind, and infatuated and enslaved by the objects and gratifications of mere corporeal sense which can be led astray from its pursuits, "for certainly," says Bacon, "man is akin to the brutes by body, and if not akin to God by spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature."

And may we not appeal to that God which science has revealed to us, that He will foster it and suffer it to be perfected—that He will sweep away the ignorance and prejudice that oppose barriers to its advance—that He will permit no more the great book of nature to be closed, as in the days of superstition and barbarism—that a lustre, brighter each day, may beam from its pages, diffusing and reflecting wherever the

name of man is heard, chasing away the clouds of error and idolatry, consuming the trivial animosities that distract and divide the human family, and ushering in the great and desired era—the *Millennium of Science*.

DANIEL BOONE—THE WESTERN EXPLORER.

On a height which overlooks Frankfort, Kentucky, and in one of the most romantic locations, where sleep the many of the fair and the brave of that old Commonwealth, repose, side by side, the remains of Daniel Boone and his wife. We have visited the spot on more than one occasion. Mr. Bancroft, the historian, thus speaks of Boone:

“In his peaceful habitation on the banks of the Yadkin river, in North Carolina, Daniel Boone, the illustrious hunter, had heard Finley, a trader, so memorable as the pioneer, describe a tract of land west of Virginia as the richest in North America or in the world. In May, 1679, leaving his wife and offspring, having Finley as his pilot, and four others as his companions, the young man of about three and twenty wandered forth through the wilderness of America “in quest of the country of Kentucky,” known to the savages as the “Dark and Bloody Ground,” “the Middle Ground” between the subjects of the Five Nations and the Cherokees. After a long and fatiguing journey through mountain ranges, the party found themselves, in June, on the Red Bank, a tributary to the Kentucky, and from the top of an eminence surveyed with delight the beautiful plain that stretched to the northwest. Here they built their shelter, and began to reconnoitre and to hunt. All the kinds of wild beasts that were natural to America—the stately elk, the timid deer, the antlered stag, the wildcat, the bear, the panther and the wolf—crouched among the canes, or roamed over the rich grasses, which, even beneath the thickest shades, sprang luxuriantly out of the generous soil. The buffaloes cropped fearlessly the herbage, or browsed on the leaves of the reed, and were more frequent than cattle in a settlement of Carolina herdsman. Sometimes there were hundreds in a drove, and round the salt licks their number was amazing.

“The summer in which for the first time a party of white men enjoyed the brilliancy of nature near and in the valley of the Elkhorn, passed away in the occupations of exploring parties and the chase. But one by one Boone’s companions dropped off, till he was left alone with John Stewart. They jointly found unceasing delight in the wonders of the forest, till one evening, near the Kentucky river, they were taken

prisoners by a band of Indians, wanderers like themselves. They escaped and were joined by Boone's brother; so that when Stewart was soon after killed by savages, the first victim among the hecatomb of white men slain by them in their desperate battling for the lovely hunting ground, Boone still had his brother to share with him the dangers and attractions of the wilderness, they building and occupying the first cottage in Kentucky.

"In the spring of 1770 that brother returned to the settlements for horses and supplies of ammunition, leaving the renowned hunter 'by himself, without bread, or salt, or sugar, or even a horse or dog.' 'The idea of a beloved wife,' anxious for his safety, tinged his thoughts with sadness; but otherwise the cheerful, meditative man, careless of wealth, knowing the use of the rifle, not the plough, of a strong, robust frame, in the vigorous health of early manhood, ignorant of books, but versed in the forest and forest life, even fond of tracking the deer on foot away from men, yet in his disposition, humane, generous, and gentle, was happy in the uninterrupted succession of 'sylvan pleasure.'

"One calm summer's evening, as he climbed a commanding ridge, and looked upon the remote 'venerable mountains,' and the nearer ample plains, caught a glimpse in the distance of the Ohio, which bounded the land of his affections with magic grandeur, his heart exulted in the region he had discovered. 'All things were still.' Not a breeze so much as shook a leaf. He kindled a fire near a fountain of sweet water, and feasted on the loin of a buck. He was no more alone than a bee among flowers, but communed familiarly with the whole universe of life. Nature was his intimate, and as the roving woodsman leaned confidently on her bosom, she responded to his intelligence.

"For him the rocks and fountain, the leaf and the blades of grass had life; the cooling air laden with the wild perfume, came to him as a friend; the dewy morning wrapped him in its embrace; the trees stood up gloriously round about him as so many myriads of companions. All wore the character of design or peril. But how could he be afraid! Triumphant over danger, he knew no fear. The perpetual howling of the wolves by night round his cottage or his bivouac in the brake, was his diversion; and by day he had joy in surveying the various species of animals that surrounded him. He loved the solitude better than the towered city or the hum of business.

"Near the end of July, 1770, his faithful brother came back to meet him at the old camp. Shortly after, they proceeded to Cumberland river, giving names to the different waters, and he then returned to his wife and children, fixed in his

purpose, at the risk of his life and fortune, to bring them as soon as possible to live in Kentucky, which he esteemed a second Paradise."

EDUCATIONAL WANTS OF GEORGIA.

The Governor of Georgia, in his annual message, delivered a few days ago, thus adverts to the subject, and well details the causes at work in retarding Southern educational movements:

"It is needless to adduce argument, to convince intelligent men of the educational wants of Georgia. It is demonstrated by the fact, that there are many thousand adults in our midst who can neither read nor write, and as many poor children who must be forever debarred the blessings of education, in consequence of the poverty of their parents; by the great deficiency of teachers to supply the demand in almost every section of the State; by the character of our political institutions, which are based upon the assumed capacity of the people for self government: by the fact that too many of our children are sent to distant States for education, where they are liable to imbibe doctrines hostile to our peculiar social organization, and are surrounded by influences calculated to impart an anti-Southern tone to their sentiments and feelings; by the crime that burdens our criminal dockets, and levies its thousands of tribute upon the earnings of honest industry, to support paupers and prisons; by the violence and corruption that desecrate the ballot-box, at all our popular elections; by the exhaustion of the soil, under a system of Agriculture that glories in excluding the application of scientific principles. I am aware, that education, to be effective, must command the zeal and appreciative energies of the parents of each succeeding generation, I am equally aware, that the establishment of any general scheme, will require, in the end, a large expenditure of money. But, as it may not be accomplished in a day or a year, so the entire amount need not be appropriated at once. It must be a work of time, and its fruits gathered through successive years of patience and toil. But shall this be an argument for postponing indefinitely its commencement? Is it not rather an incentive to speedy action, stimulated by the promptings of patriotism and philanthropy? But the obligation of the Legislature rests upon special grounds. The Constitution is mandatory. Article IV. Sec. XIII. declares that "The arts and sciences shall be promoted, in the establishment of one or more seminaries of learning, and the legislature *shall*, as soon as conveniently may be, give such further donations and privileges to those already established, as may be necessary to secure the objects of their institution; and it *shall* be the duty of the General Assembly, at their next session (that is the next session after the adoption of the Constitution) to provide effectual means for the improvement and permanent security of the funds and endowments of such institutions." What has been done to carry into effect this clause of your constitution? How little? It has reference mainly to

the State University, which had been chartered in 1785. Hence, it is obvious, that it is the *sworn* duty of the General Assembly to place our State University upon the footing contemplated by its wise and patriotic founders, or, in other words, "give it such donations and privileges as may be necessary to secure the objects of its institution." Indeed the whole subject of education is confided to the General Assembly, with the positive injunction to such action as may be proper to supply the wants of the State. The contracted policy which is ever standing at the door of the Treasury, with a flaming two-edged sword, is but little better than moral treason to the Constitution, which for more than half a century, has been pleading for conformity on the part of those who swear to obey. Education is the friend of the State. It will elevate the people. It will diminish crime and the expense of executing the laws. It will prize out the poor from the mire into which innocent poverty has sunk them and place them on an intellectual equality with the favored sons of fortune. It will dig from the mine many an unpolished gem, to glitter in the crown of cultivated society. It will stimulate enterprise, and direct its energies to profitable objects. It will dignify labor and open new channels for capital. It will disinter the mineral wealth of the State, and add millions to the productions of Agriculture. It will bring into the field of science an array of mind that will adorn our escutcheon, and dazzle the world by its achievements. In a word, Georgia must fail of her great mission, without the adoption of a wise and comprehensive educational policy. Away, then, with that narrow stinginess which begrudges a dollar to such a cause, while it is often wasteful of thousands, upon objects that possess little or no merit. Go forward boldly, firmly, liberally, to meet the wants of the State. Adjust your scheme to the character of our population. Apply to the task your wisest deliberations. Impart to it the element of self-vindication and support. Make it simple, in its details, and dependent for its success and growth upon the voluntary support of the people."

EDITORIAL NOTES—BOOKS, ETC.

A committee of the American Medical Association are desirous of obtaining facts bearing upon the establishment of a general system of *Registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths* in the several States, and invite information upon certain points. The committee consist of James Wynne, 62 Clinton Place, New York city, Dr. F. B. Hough, Albany, New York, E. B. Elliott, Boston, Massachusetts. The subject is a very important one, and we trust they will be furnished with abundant lights upon it.

1. What officers or persons might with the greatest propriety be charged with the duty of registering Births, Deaths, and Marriages? 2. What rules would be necessary to secure full and

accurate reports to this officer? 3. What compensation should be allowed for registration and report, and how should this be paid? 4. What are the probable difficulties that would attend the application of the system, and how might they be lessened or removed? 5. What plans of registration are now in use, what is their history, and what are their defects? 6. Have any systems of this kind been attempted without success? and if so, what were the causes of their failure?

James D. Tradewell, Esq., of South Carolina, places us under obligations by furnishing a copy of his able *Address on the Study of the Federal Constitution*, delivered before the Polytech-

nic and Caliopean Societies of the Citadel Academy, at Charleston, South Carolina. The orator well remarks: "What then is it we ask of our countrymen, citizens of the same great Republic, who acknowledge allegiance to the same great Charter of civil, religious, and political rights? Nothing more than that the Constitution shall be studied, understood, and allowed to prevail. And shall this be denied to us? If so, the die is cast. If we cannot find safety and peace under the sanctified ægis of that instrument, the fabric of the Union must fall."

We are indebted to the author, whose name is not given, for a copy of a very valuable and instructive pamphlet, entitled *An Appeal for the speedy completion of the Water Line of Virginia, reaching from Norfolk into Kansas, and to the very basis of the Rocky Mountains*. It is illustrated with a map.

Thanks to the publishers, D. Appleton & Co., of New York, for volumes 3 and 4 of the most valuable abridgement of the *Debates of Congress* made by the Hon. Thomas H. Benton. Volume 2 we have already noticed, but regret that volume 1 has not been received. This work will be completed in 15 volumes of 750 pages each, comprising what is now contained in over one hundred volumes. The price in cloth is but \$3 50 per volume. Each volume contains a complete index. No one doubts Mr. Benton's eminent fitness for any undertaking requiring peculiar labor, and there can be no possible room for partisan feelings in a work like this. His *Thirty Years View* was field enough for that. Volume 4 brings down the *Debates* to 1813, and in the next, we shall have much of greater interest in regard to the war. Every intelligent citizen should endeavor to procure such a record of his country's political history. We extract from the prospectus:

"These pages record the evidence that man is capable of self-government. The opinions of BUSINESS men, and the plainest speakers, as well as celebrated orators, will be embraced in these volumes. It will be no *PARRY* abridgement, for, whatever opinion may be entertained with regard to the Editor, no one can call in question his decided ability and strict integrity in editing the work. The time has come when these *Debates* may be of inestimable benefit to the

people, and we appeal to the citizens of the United States in behalf of the work, and solicit the aid of their subscriptions."

Lippincott & Co., of Philadelphia, place upon our table a useful manual, entitled *The Life of John Fitch the inventor of the Steamboat*, by Thos. Westcott. It will furnish us the basis of an interesting article hereafter. The object of the work is to show that the honor of the application of steam belongs to Fitch and not to Fulton, and that he has been robbed of it, as was Columbus of the honor of giving name to the New World. The material of the work is quite attractive.

To the same publishers our thanks are due for *Freedly's Legal Adviser*, showing how to diminish losses, avoid law-suits, and save time, trouble, and money, by conducting business according to law. The work is by the author of that most useful volume, entitled a *Practical Treatise on Business* which we noticed fully several years ago.

"The pathway of trade, so far as legal principles are applicable to it, is lucidly traced from its starting-point to its close. Taking a young man by the hand, at the outset of his Mercantile career, the author defines his rights and duties as an *Agent*, then as a *Partner* and what he must do when he rents his store, and thus establishes the relation of *Landlord and Tenant*; then he states the points, which, when he comes to *buy his stock*, the law requires him to observe; what points his legal security requires him to observe, when he comes to *sell his stock*; and so conducts him, step by step, through various duties of mercantile business, such as *Insuring Goods, Taking and Giving Notes, Bills, and Guarantees, Collecting Debts*, when his Debtors fail and make an Assignment, and how to *pay Debts*; and finally instructs him how, when he has made his fortune, he may dispose of his accumulations by Will without leaving behind a law-suit."

Quits, a Novel, by the Baroness Tautphoeus, author of the *Initials*, two volumes in one. Philadelphia; J. B. Lippincott. 1857.

A further offering from Lippincott comes in the shape of a little volume—"*Slavery Ordained of God*," by Rev. F. A. Ross, of Alabama, which manages

with ability the scriptural argument upon slavery, but which arrives at many results which we are very far from adopting or even admitting. Though conceiving slavery to be an evil and a curse, yet to be done away with, the author is constrained to say:

"Let us then, North and South, bring our minds to comprehend two ideas, and submit to their irresistible power. Let the Northern philanthropist learn from the Bible that the relation of master and slave is not in sin *per se*. Let him learn that God says nowhere it is sin. Let him learn that sin is the transgression of the law; and where there is no law there is no sin, and that the Golden Rule may exist in the relation of slavery. Let him learn that slavery is simply an evil in certain circumstances. Let him learn that equality is only the highest form of social life; that subjection to authority, even slavery may, in given conditions, be for a time better than freedom to the slave of any complexion. Let him learn that slavery, like all evils, has its corresponding and greater good; that the Southern slave, though degraded compared with his master, is elevated and ennobled compared with his brethren in Africa."

Another volume on slavery has been placed before us by George M. Weston, which argues the abolition side of the question, and takes the positions that have been over and over refuted, but which will continually be brought up in despite of all argumentation. The author advises a new mode of attack upon slavery, and it would be well to put our readers in possession of it. Undoubtedly it is dictated by the most astute policy.

"Another object of the present work is to submit some considerations which may be weighed in deciding the direction of so much of the emigration from the free States, as may be controlled for the purpose of extending free institutions. The contest in Kansas has shown how great the power of a free emigration is; it will, of course, augment as population advances; and it is of vital moment that it should be brought to bear upon the right points. Unless the acquisition of Cuba shall precipitate a struggle for the possession of that Island, it is the opinion of the author, of the soundness of which the reader must judge, that free emigration to warmer climates should be directed to the

southwest, immediately to Missouri and Kansas, but soon to Arkansas, with a view to the Indian Territory behind Arkansas, to New Mexico, and to Northern Texas; and that, when slavery is surrounded upon its southwestern frontier, it will be time enough, and until then utterly useless, for any purpose of extinguishing it, to invade it in Virginia and Kentucky."

The History of the United States, from their Colonization to the end of the 26th Congress, by George Tucker; 4 vols. Philadelphia, Lippincott & Co.

Vol. I.—Extends from the discovery and settlement of the Colonies, to the year 1798.

Vol. II.—Embraces the interesting period which preceded and attended the second war, and terminates in 1812.

Vol. III.—Comes down to 1830; and

Vol. IV.—Completes the subject.

Prof. Tucker is well known as an eminent statistician, and the author of a work on the population of the United States. He has made an exceedingly useful work in this instance upon its history. As a Southern man he would have the opportunity not often exercised by Northern historians to do proper justice to his own section. We have not been able to read far enough yet to judge if he has done so. From a hasty perusal of the first hundred pages, we fear he has consulted too much Northern authority, and fallen too much into Northern ways of thinking. We shall read further and then speak. He says in his preface:

"To aid him in the execution of his work, it has been his good fortune to have a personal knowledge of many who bore a conspicuous part in the Revolution, and of nearly all those who were the principal actors in the political dramas which succeeded. In seeking to profit by this advantage, he will endeavor to guard against those biases to which writers of contemporary history are exposed. He does not, indeed, claim to have been free from party prejudices. Such indifference is neither attainable nor desirable. But now, that time has cleared away the mists by which political objects were once enshrouded, he trusts that he shall be able to do substantial justice to all parties, and thus, as truth may require, commend that he may have once disparaged, and censure that which he once approved."

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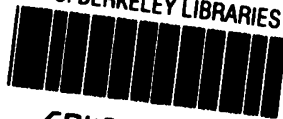
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